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FROM RULERS' DWELLINGS TO TEMPLES

ARCHITECTURE, RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN EARLY IRON AGE GREECE (1100-700 B.C.)

by

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ABSTRACT

This study constitutes a thorough treatment from the archaeological point of view of the rulers' dwellings and the cult buildings of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods in Greece (roughly the 11th-8th centuries B.C.). The emphasis lies in the possible interactions between the two categories of buildings, with the hope of determining some of the reasons of the resurgence of the temple of the Greek polis.

The evidence from each site is assembled in Chapter I. The extant EIA rulers' dwellings and cult buildings are grouped together and are classified by two criteria combined together: typology, and geographical distribution. This part of the study is not always a mere transcription of existing viewpoints, but whenever required a critical discussion of these, often resulting in the adoption of a view opposed to the commonly accepted one. Into the discussion have also been brought dwellings of ordinary people and buildings which served other domestic functions, such as workshops, granaries, storerooms, etc. (Parts 4, 5 and 9). Another aim of this chapter (Part 10) is to examine in more detail the shapes of the facades of EIA apsidal and rectangular buildings (especially of cult buildings and rulers' dwellings), in conjunction with the arrangement of the interior space. The typology of oval and circular buildings is a much more simple task and is discussed in the end of the relevant sections (Parts 4 and 5, respectively).

The second part of this study (Chapters II-VI) examines the archaeological evidence of the possible links between rulers' dwellings, and cult practices. One of the main problems encountered by the scholar researching the subject of the genesis of Greek religious architecture has always been in distinguishing between sacred and profane buildings. The aim of Chapter II is to present briefly the criteria and the method which may contribute in distinguishing a cult building or a ruler's dwelling from an edifice which would have served some other profane function.

Chapter III investigates the connections between cult practice and rulers' dwellings: in Part 1 the entire body of evidence is analysed. Part 2 is a brief reference to the Mycenaean period and the function of the palatial megara. In Part 3 one may find a catalogue of EIA sanctuaries; the status of the earliest sanctuaries (11th-early 8th c. B.C.), especially those in which cult buildings have been discovered, is discussed in more detail in order to understand their relationship with the contemporary rulers' dwellings. Consequently, Part 4 constitutes an attempt to classify the rulers' dwellings in relation to cult practices, sanctuaries and cult buildings. Part 5 deals with the buildings associated with the cult of ancestors or heroes and investigates the possible connections between rulers' dwellings and hero cult.

Chapter IV is an attempt to compare the archaeological data with the contemporary or later written sources. Part 1 investigates the nature of Homeric kingship (A) and focuses on one aspect of the Homeric nobleman, his competence in religious matters (D). In the same section the controversial topic of the identity of the Homeric house (B) and temple (C) is briefly treated. The post-Homeric literary references for the religious role of EIA rulers are discussed in Part 2.

The last section, Chapter V brings together the evidence analysed in the previous chapters. Part 1 is a reassessment of the previous discussion, that is to say the role possibly played by the rulers of the EIA in the religious affairs of the communities. The second and last section (Part 2) deals with questions related to the rise of the temple of the Greek polis (from the architectural and the functional points of view) and tries to tackle the reasons which dictated its creation.

In order to facilitate comparisons, all the buildings included in this study have been drawn at a uniform scale. Tables I-IX may serve as a visual guide of a large number of well preserved buildings (mostly free-standing units) of the PG and Geometric periods. The illustrations are arranged in a geographical order, site by site. The figures of building models are assembled separately.

Cover. The so-called "Heroön" at Toumba, Lefkandi. Adapted from J.J. Coulton, *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, pl. 28 (by permission).

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Fig. 460. Dreros. Isometric reconstruction of temple of Apollo, by the author. Scale 1:200. *Cf.* Fig. 454.
Fig. 461. Karphi. Plan of the settlement (LM IIIC-SMin and perhaps early PG). J. Pendlebury, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) pl. IX [reproduced from Drerup, *Baukunst* (1967) 38, fig. 33].
Fig. 462. Karphi. Imaginative restoration of settlement by K. Nowicki. K. Nowicki, *JbZMusMainz* 34:1 (1987) 220, fig. 5.
Fig. 463. Karphi. Plan of the Temple. Scale 1:200. B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 166, fig. 242.
Fig. 464. Karphi. Graphic restoration of the temple according to B. Rutkowski. *Ibid.*, 166, fig. 243.
Fig. 465. Karphi. Plan of Unit 8-9/11-17 ("Great House"). Scale 1:200. Adapted from J. Pendlebury, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) pl. IX.
Fig. 466. Karphi. Plan of Unit 135-144. Scale 1:200. Adapted from *ibid.*
Fig. 467. Karphi. Bronze tripod fragment from Room 137. Adapted from *ibid.*, pl. XXIX, no. 638.
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Fig. 469. Kato Syme. Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite. Structures and terraces of the Geometric and Archaic periods. A. Lebessi, *AE* (1981) pl. A opposite p. 11.
Fig. 470. Smari. Plan of fortified acropolis on the summit of the hill of Prophetes Elias (MM II and EIA periods). Combination of D. Chatzi, *Lyktos* 1 (1984) 10, fig. 2 and 13, fig. 3.
Fig. 471. Smari. Plan of Building A (SMin?-EO). Scale 1:200. Adapted from *ibid.*, 13, fig. 3 and *id.*, *Συντήρηση μνημείων - Τεχνικές ανασκαφών*, Voroi 1989, 96, map 1, and p. 98, fig. 2.
Fig. 472. Smari. Building B. Animal bones by the N wall of the main room. D. Chatzi, *Συντήρηση μνημείων-Τεχνικές ανασκαφών*, Voroi 1989, 101, fig. 9.
Fig. 473. Knossos. Shrine of Glaukos. Scale 1:200. Adapted from P. Callaghan, *BSA* 73 (1978) 2, fig. 2.
Fig. 474. Afrati (Arkades). Plan of sanctuary. In black: Geometric period. In outline: EA period. Scale 1:200. Adapted from A. Lebessi, in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 88, fig. 1.
Fig. 475. Prinias. Topographical plan. G. Rizza, *La ricerca scientifica* 100 (1978) 88, fig. 2.
Fig. 476. Prinias. Plan of EIA architectural remains. W trench: old excavations; E trench: new excavations. Adapted from *ibid.*, 93, fig. 6.
Fig. 477. Prinias. Plan of "Temple B". Scale 1:200. Adapted from L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 27, fig. 7.
Fig. 478. Gortyna. Map of the Acropolis (Ay. Ioannis), Armi and Prophetes Elias areas. Adapted from A. Di Vita, *Transizione* (1991) 318, fig. 8 and *Creta Antica. Cento anni di archeologia italiana, 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, fig. 36.
Fig. 479a. Gortyna. Acropolis. Plan of temple (last quarter of the 8th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200. Adapted from G. Rizza & V.S.M. Scrinari, *Il santuario sull' acropoli di Gortina* I, Roma 1968, pl. B.
Fig. 479b. Vourvoulitis hill, near Gortyna. Plan of EIA (7th c.?) temple. Scale 1:200. G.F. La Torre, *ASAtene* 66/67 (1988/89) 296, fig. 18.
Fig. 480. Gortyna. Prophetes Elias. Plan of houses of the Geometric period. Scale 1:200. N. Allegro, *Transizione* (1991) 325, fig. 5 [*ASAtene* 64/65 (1986/87) 470, fig. 55].
Fig. 481. Phaistos. Map. 1: Unit AA and dependencies. 2: "Greek Temple". 3: Temple (?) at Ay. Georgios. 4: SMin-PG fortification wall. 5: Ay. Photeini. 6: Chalara. Adapted from *Creta Antica. Cento anni di archeologia italiana, 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, 122, fig. 136.
Fig. 482. Phaistos. Plan of Building AA-HH/P-R, SW of the Minoan palace (PG B-LG). Scale 1:200. Adapted from Renard, *Notes d' architecture* (1967) pl. IV (fig. 6) and referring to *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/75) 170, fig. 1 and *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) pl. A.
Fig. 483. Phaistos. Ay. Georgios at Phalandra. Plan of temple (?) (LG-SG or later). Scale 1:200. Adapted from D. Levi, *Festos e la civilta minoica*, 1:2, Roma 1976, 599, fig. 965.
Fig. 484. Phaistos. Ay. Georgios. Isometric reconstruction (cut-away) of temple (?), according to the author. Adapted from Fig. 483.
Fig. 485. Kommos. Plan of the sanctuary in the Iron Age. J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 132, figs. 1-2 and R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 62, fig. 28.
Fig. 486. Kommos. Plan of the architectural remains of Temples A (late 10th c.-end of 9th c. B.C.) and B (*c.* 800-620/600 B.C.) underneath Temple C (*c.* 350 B.C.). Scale 1:200. Adapted from J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 231, fig. 5.

Fig. 487. Kommos. Tentative restoration of the plan of Temple A. Scale 1:200. Adapted from Fig. 486. The location of the rear wall is conjectural (it probably lies beneath the bench of Temple C: p.c. by Prof. J. Shaw).
Fig. 488. Kommos. Temple B1: restored plan (*c.* 800-late 8th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200. Adapted from J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 187, fig. 8.
Fig. 489. Kommos. Temple B2: restored plan (EO period). Scale 1:200. Adapted from *ibid.*
Fig. 490. Kommos. Temple B3. Restored plan (7th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200. Adapted from *ibid.*
Fig. 491. Kommos. Isometric drawing of Temple B2 by J. Shaw and G. Bianco. *AJA* 93 (1989) 169, fig. 5.
Fig. 492. Kommos. Restored drawing of "tripillar shrine" (phases B1-B2). Scale 1:200. J. Shaw, *AJA* 93 (1989) 168, fig. 4.
Fig. 493. Sybrita. Topographical plan of the site and location of pits and LM IIIC and/or PG architectural remains. Adapted from L. Rocchetti, in *Sybrita. La Valle di Amari fra Bronzo e Ferro* I, ed. L. Rocchetti, Roma 1994, 238, fig. 2 and p. 243, fig. 15 and N. Metaxa-Prokopiou, in *ibid.*, 249, plan 1.
Fig. 494. Sybrita. Plan of the LM IIIC and/or PG architectural remains. Scale 1:200. L. Rocchetti, in *Sybrita. La Valle di Amari fra Bronzo e Ferro* I, ed. L. Rocchetti, Roma 1994, 243, fig. 15.

BUILDING MODELS

Fig. 495. Aetos (Ithaca). Clay model of apsidal building according to I. Beyer's graphic restoration (*c.* 700 B.C.). See however Fig. 496. I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, pl. 25.
Fig. 496. Aetos (Ithaca). Restoration of clay model of apsidal building (*c.* 700 B.C.). Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 29, fig. 4.
Fig. 497. Areopagus. Clay chest surmounted by five models of granaries discovered in a wealthy female tomb (end of EG II). E.L. Smithson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968) pl. 27.
Fig. 498. Ano Mazaraki (Rakita). Terracotta building models of three granaries. Adapted from M. Petropoulos, in *Πρακτικὰ Γ' Διεθνοὺς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν, Καλαμάτα, 8-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1985*, Athens 1987/88, 88-90, pl. IA', fig. 9.
Fig. 499a-f. Perachora. Votive deposit S of apsidal temple of Hera Akraia. Clay models of apsidal buildings (third quarter of 8th c. B.C.?). a: Model A (pres. base: 35,6 x 20,8cm) . b-c: fragments of Model D. d-e: roof fragments of Model B. f: graphic restoration of a model, based on the above fragments. H. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, pl. 9a-b and Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 33, 36f., figs. 6-10.
Fig. 500. Argive Heraion. Clay model of rectangular building with prostyle porch (*c.* 700-650 B.C.). G. Oikonomos, *AE* (1931) 15, fig. 15 [see also Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 23, fig. 1].
Fig. 501. Sparta. Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Fragment from EA (?) clay building model. R.W.V. Catling, *BSA* 89 (1994) 270, fig. 3.
Fig. 502. Heraion (Samos). Rectangular model of poros stone, no. 27 (second half of the 8th c.). Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 65, fig. 27.
Fig. 503. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of rectangular building, no. 13 (8th c. B.C.). *Ibid.*, 45, fig. 14.
Fig. 504. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of rectangular building, no. 12 (8th c. B.C.). *Ibid.*, 43, fig. 13.
Fig. 505. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of rectangular building, no. 18 (perhaps early 8th c. B.C.). *Ibid.*, 49, fig. 17.
Fig. 506. Heraion (Samos). Limestone rectangular model with upper storey, no. 26 (before the middle of the 6th c. B.C.). *Ibid.*, 64, fig. 26.
Fig. 507. Heraion (Samos). Clay model of apsidal building, no. 37 (last quarter of the 8th c. B.C.). *Ibid.*, 77, fig. 36.
Fig. 508. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of oval building, no. 38. Length: *c.* 20cm (*c.* 650-550 B.C.). *Ibid.*, 79, fig. 37.
Fig. 509. Knossos. Unexplored Mansion. Round clay model GB 1 (LPG). J.N. Coldstream, in *Knossos. Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion* II, ed. L.H. Sackett, London 1992 (*BSA* Suppl. 21) pl. 62.
Fig. 510. Knossos. Chaniale Teke. Clay model of square building discovered in a tomb. Dim.: 26,5 X 26,5cm; height: 31cm (PG B). H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang Roms*, Heidelberg 1959, pl. 20:5-5a.
Fig. 511. Knossos. Round clay model from Spring Chamber (LM IIIC-SMin). R. Merserau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 38, fig. 26.
Fig. 512. Archanes. Clay building model, discovered in a tomb. Height: 18cm; diam.: 14,2cm at the base (PG B). H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang Roms*, Heidelberg 1959, pl. 19:4-4a.
Fig. 513. Phaistos. Cylindrical clay model from Room R3 (MG-LG). Adapted from photograph in R. Merserau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 43, fig. 30.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS OF TERMS

DA:	Dark Age/Dark Ages
EA:	Early Archaic
EG:	Early Geometric
EH:	Early Helladic
EIA:	Early Iron Age
EO:	Early Orientalizing
EPG:	Early Protogeometric
LBA:	Late Bronze Age
LG:	Late Geometric
LH:	Late Helladic
LM:	Late Minoan.
LPG:	Late Protogeometric
MG:	Middle Geometric
MH:	Middle Helladic
MM:	Middle Minoan
MPG:	Middle Protogeometric
p.c.:	personal communication
PC:	Protocorinthian
PG:	Protogeometric
SG:	Subgeometric
SMin:	Subminoan
SMyc:	Submycenaean
SPG:	Subprotogeometric

PERIODICALS AND STUDIES

Apart for the Abbreviations in the *Archäologische Bibliographie* (1986), the following abbreviations have been used:

AA: Archäologischer Anzeiger.
AAA: Αρχαιολογικὰ Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών.
AAX: Ανθρωπολογικὰ και Αρχαιολογικὰ Χρονικά.
AbhBerlin: Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
ActaArch: Acta archaeologica, København.
ΑΔ: Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.
ΑΕ: Αρχαιολογικὴ Εφημερίς.
AEM: Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών.
ΑΕΜΘ: Το Αρχαιολογικὸ Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη.
AHom: Archaeologia Homerica, ed. F. Matz & H.-G Buchholz, Göttingen.
AJA: American Journal of Archaeology.
AM: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Atchäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.
AnatSt: Anatolian Studies.
AntCl: L'antiquité classique.
Antiquity: Antiquity. A quartely Review of Archaeology.
AntK: Antike Kunst.
Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995): C.M. Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors. Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Iron Age Greece*, Lanham 1995.
AR: Archaeological Reports.
Archaeology: Archaeology. A magazine dealing with the antiquity of the World.
ASAtene: Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente.
AW: Antike Welt.
BCH: Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
BICS: Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies.
BJb: Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn.
Boreas: Boreas. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
BSA: The Annual of the British School at Athens.
CAH: The Cambridge Ancient History.
CdA: Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte.
ClAnt: Classical Antiquity.
ClQu: The Classical Quarterly.
Coldstream, *GG* (1977): J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977.
CRAI: Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
CSA: Current Swedish Archaeology.
DdA: Dialoghi di Archeologia.
Délos: Exploration Archeologique de Délos, Paris.

Desborough, *LMTS* (1964): V.R.d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors. An Archeological Survey c. 1200-c. 1000 B.C.*, Oxford 1964.
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Δεσμός: Δεσμός: amitiés grèco-suisses, Lausanne.
DossAParis: Histoire et archéologie. Les dossiers, Paris.
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EEKM: Επετηρὶς Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών.
Έργον: Το Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
Expedition: Expedition. Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988): K. Fagerström, *Greek Iron Age Architecture: Developments through Changing Times*, Göteborg 1988 (*SIMA* 81).
FD: Fouilles de Delphes, Paris.
Finley, *WO* (1979): M.I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, Harmondsworth 1979[2].
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Gallia: Gallia. Fouilles et monuments archéologiques de la France métropolitaine.
GaR: Greece and Rome.
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Hesperia: Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
ILN: The Illustrated London News.
IM: Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul.
JbZMusMainz: Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz.
JFA: Journal of Field Archaeology.
JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JMA: Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.
JPR: Journal of Prehistoric Religion, Jonsered.
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MusHelv: Museum helveticum.

Neue Forschungen (1976): *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern. Internationales Symposion in Olympia vom 10. bis 12. Oct., 1974*, ed. U. Jantzen, Tübingen 1976.

OJA: Oxford Journal of Archaeology.

ÖJh: Jahrshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien.

OlF: Olympische Forschungen, Berlin.

OpAth: Opuscula Atheniensia.

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ΠΑΕ: Πρακτικὰ της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικὴς Εταιρείας.

PECS (1976): *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. Stillwell, W.L. MacDonald & M.H. MacAlister, Princeton 1976.

PEQ: Palestine Exploration Quarterly.

PZ: Prähistorische Zeitschrift.

PP: La parola del passato.

ProcCambrPhilSoc: Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.

RA: Revue archéologique.

REA: Revue des études anciennes.

REG: Revue des études grecques.

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RHR: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.

RWAW: Rheinisch-Westfalische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge.

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SIMA: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Lund-Göteborg-Jonsered.

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SMEA: Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici.

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SOsl: Symbolae Osloenses.

Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984): K.Th. Syriopoulos, *Εισαγωγὴ εις την αρχαίαν ελληνικὴν ιστορίαν. Οι Μεταβατικοὶ Χρόνοι (απὸ της μυκηναϊκὴς εις την αρχαϊκὴν περίοδον, 1200-700 π.Χ.)*, Athens 1983 (vol. A), 1984 (vol. B).

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INTRODUCTION

This book derives from a Ph.D. thesis, submitted at the University of London in 1987.[1] The main ideas, however, have been presented already briefly and in a preliminary form.[2] The delay of the publication of this work has resulted in the radical rearrangement of its structure and practically the rewriting of most sections, in order to include new discoveries and publications. The result is a book which does not pretend to be a thorough investigation of all the questions related to the architecture of Early Iron Age Greece; moreover, the book is not concerned with EIA sanctuaries or settlements as a whole. The analysis concerns two well specified categories of EIA buildings, the so-called "rulers' dwellings" and the "cult buildings" (see *Definitions* below). The focus is not on the architectural description and analysis but on the possible interaction between sacred and non-sacred. Having said this, I must stress the fact that I have taken into consideration the entire body of evidence concerning EIA settlements and cult places of the Greek World, even if I have not included several of these sites in my discussion.

Chronological scope

The chronological range of the study spans a period of *c.* four centuries, i.e. from the final collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation to the very first years of the 7th c. B.C. I have chosen to use the broad term "Early Iron Age" (EIA) to designate this period, while I have restricted the use of the conventional term "Dark Ages" (DA) to *c.* shortly before the middle of the 8th c. B.C., i.e. to the beginning of the pottery style known as Late Geometric. The 7th c. B.C. is also referred to here as "Early Archaic period" (EA).[3] The "Dark Ages" thus embrace the pottery styles from Subminoan/Submycenaean to Middle Geometric. I have also chosen to use the terms Minoan, Mycenaean, Protogeometric, Geometric and their derivatives to designate the various subdivisions of the "Early Iron Age". Whenever these terms are used to denominate mere pottery styles, this is made clear. For the chronological and regional subdivisions of the PG period I rely on A. Snodgrass,[4] and for those of the Geometric period on J.N. Coldstream.[5] However, for further refinements of the local chronology from each site one has to take into account detailed recent studies. Those of W. Coulson[6] and K. Wardle[7] on DA Laconia, Messenia and NW Greece are essential. For the DA Argolid I rely on the studies of Wells,[8] for Euboea on those of V. Desborough, J. Boardman, R. Catling and I. Lemos,[9] and concerning Crete on J.K. Brock.[10] Other studies which have contributed in defining better the

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[1] *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples. A Study of the Origins of Greek Religious Architecture in the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods*, Ph.D. diss., University of London 1987.

[2] See especially "Contribution a l' étude de l' architecture religieuse grecque des Ages Obscurs", *AntCl* 54 (1985) 5-48 and "Early Greek Temples: Their Origin and Function", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 105-119.

[3] For an attempt to push down the dates of the LBA and EIA periods of the "Old World", including those of Greece, see P. James *et al.*, *Centuries of Darkness. A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology*, London 1991. See also the studies by J.A. Frankish, I.J. Thorpe, N. Kokkinos and P.J. James, in *Studies in Ancient Chronology* 1 (1987), esp. pp. 15-40.

[4] *DAG* (1971) 134f.

[5] *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968 and *GG* (1977) 385.

[6] In McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983); *id.*, "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta", *BSA* 80 (1985) 29-84 *id.*, "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta II: Vrondama", *BSA* 83 (1988) 21-24; *id.*, *The Dark Age Pottery of Messenia*, Göteborg 1986.

[7] *The Greek Bronze Age West of the Pindus*, Ph.D. diss., London 1972 and "Cultural Groups of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in North-West Greece", *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 153-199.

[8] *Asine* II: *Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970-1974*, fasc. 4: *The Protogeometric Period.* Part 2: *An Analysis of the Settlement*, Stockholm 1983.

[9] *Lefkandi* I, London 1980; *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990.

[10] *Fortetsa*, *BSA* Suppl. 2 (1957) 214.

chronology of the Dark Ages are those of B. Hänsel for Macedonia,[11] and M. Sipsie-Eschbach for Thessaly.[12] K. Reber's book dealing with the handmade wares of the EIA is also important.[13]

It should be stressed that often buildings falling outside this chronological framework have been included, either because several among them, erected in the LH/LM IIIC or even in earlier periods were still in use during the EIA, or others which were erected in post-Geometric times contribute towards a better understanding of the developments of the PG and Geometric periods. There is, however, a substantial number of edifices dated "around 700 B.C.", many of which could date in the beginning of the 7th c. On the other hand, I must confess that if I were to start this study from the beginning, I would have certainly included the evidence from the 7th c., which at least concerning domestic buildings is rather confused and apparently less well documented in the archaeological record.[14]

It is today not uncommon to discuss together subjects which concern both the LBA and the EIA. In this study this was not attempted, partly because the data concerning LBA cult buildings and rulers' dwellings is better known,[15] and partly because the main aim was to investigate the period between the LBA and the EA period. Yet, reference to evidence of the former age has been made in order to investigate the possibility that the EIA rulers' dwellings and cult buildings trace their origins back to the LBA.

Geographical scope

The geographical scope of this study is the totality of the Greek World of the EIA (see Map 1), with the exception of the island of Cyprus,[16] and South Italy and Sicily,[17] which for obvious reasons would have deserved a separate treatment. I admit, however, that the exclusion of Cyprus is regrettable, since it is today well established that the Greeks had close contacts from very early times with the Cypriot Greeks;[18] if I were to start from the zero, I would have at least devoted a separate section for its inclusion. On the other hand, I have discussed certain sites from the latter area, such as Pithekoussai. Despite the fact that Crete is an idiosyncratic region, it was a thriving part of the ancient Greek World and therefore has been included in this study (incidentally, the emergent pattern is not so dissimilar to that of the rest of the Greek World[19]). Macedonia has also been included since it is beyond doubt that this was a geographical area already inhabited by Greeks during the EIA, the Macedonians.[20]

Definitions and Terminology

Two main categories of EIA buildings are fully discussed: the so-called rulers' dwellings and the cult buildings (for a more thorough definition of the two terms see pp. 270f.). Here it will suffice to note that it seems that EIA communities in Greece did not always have a single leader at their head. In some places, one suspects, the management of the communal affairs would have been shared by a group of wealthy and powerful individuals. One should therefore bear in mind that the function

[11] *Kastanas. Die Grabung und der Baubefund* (*Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa* Band 7, Teil 1) Berlin 1989.

[12] *Protogeometrische Keramik aus Iolkos in Thessalien*, Berlin 1991.

[13] *Untersuchungen zur Handgemachten Keramik Griechenlands in der submykenischen, protogeometrischen und der geometrischen Zeit*, Jonsered 1991.

[14] For cult buildings of that era see Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976). Now see F. Lang, *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland. Struktur und Entwicklung*, Berlin 1996, which appeared too late to be included in this study.

[15] Concerning the former now see G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596).

[16] *Cf.* for instance A. Snodgrass' statement that "it is certain that a visitor from the Aegean world would have found the Cypriot sanctuaries strange and difficult to assimilate" ("Cyprus and Early Greek History", in *Κύπρος. Από την προϊστορία στους νεότερους χρόνους*, Nicosia 1995, 121).

[17] See in general J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London 1980[3], chapter 5; R. Ross Holloway, *Italy and the Aegean 3000-700 B.C.*, Louvain-la-Neuve & Providence 1981.

[18] See most recently N. Kourou, "Εύβοια και ανατολική Μεσόγειος στις αρχές της πρώτης χιλιετίας", *AEM* 29 (1990/91) 237-279; V. Karageorghis, ed., *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.*, Nicosia 1994.

[19] *Cf.* L. Nixon, "Minoan Settlement and Greek Sanctuaries", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A2, Chania 1990, 59-67.

[20] For a brief summary of the evidence see M. Sakellariou, in *Μακεδονία. 4000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, Athens 1982, 49-63.

of a "ruler's" house varies from site to site. Dwellings of the non-governing élite are also included under the same title, while dwellings of ordinary people which have yielded evidence of private cult practice in their interior are also discussed in this study. Lastly, buildings which may have served some public or communal function have been included in the discussion.

Some clarification is also needed concerning the significance of the term "cult buildings". The first requirement is that the structure be roofed (something not always easy to determine) and the second one that it serve functions connected with cult practice. Thus in the category of "cult buildings" I have included not only temples of divinities ("heavenly" or "chthonian"), but also edifices connected with cults of heroes or of the dead (relatives or ancestors, or legendary figures from the epics or the sphere of myth). *Hestiatoria* for the practice of ritual meals and other auxiliary buildings within sanctuaries are also taken into consideration.

To my knowledge, there exists no thorough treatment of the archaeological evidence for kingship in PG and Geometric Greece, despite the fact that several studies, including the three recent monographs by R. Drews [*Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece* (1983)], P. Carlier [*La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (1984)] and J.R. Lenz [*Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.): Epic, Archaeology and History*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993] have been devoted to this subject. As a rule, historians have neglected the archaeological evidence and have based their opinions concerning the institutions of this era, and especially of the questions of "kingship" in EIA Greece, chiefly on the Homeric epics, limiting their comments of the extant archaeological evidence to a few well known instances, such as the presumed rulers' dwellings at Zagora and Emporio.[21] Having said this, I wish to emphasise that my own work is not a study of kingship and institutions in Early Iron Age Greece; my main concern is the reflection of the political, social and religious situation in architecture. The aim has been to set apart two categories of buildings, the dwellings of the élite and the cult buildings and to thoroughly investigate any possible interactions between these two types of roofed structures. Another, more obvious and perhaps more useful goal, has been to assemble all the data concerning the architecture of the EIA, thus facilitating scholars to investigate other aspects of one of the most stimulating periods of Greek history.

A note on methodology: I have avoided the current trend of a statistical analysis. Sample sizes are still too small since most of the important sites are either partly explored or imperfectly published. I personally feel that there is no need to proceed into complex statistical diagrams and charts in order to apprehend a self-evident trend.

The term "megaron" has been used only to designate the central unit of the Mycenaean administrative centres. Yet, it has been retained whenever it has been used consistently in earlier literature to designate a specific building (i.e. Megaron B at Thermon). Whenever the term is used in its Homeric meaning, I have used italics,[22] and the same stands for the term "oikos".

The term "polis" has been avoided for its meaning is subjective if not ambiguous. The recent study by M. Sakellariou (see below) is the most complete synthesis on the subject.

The conventional terms "urban", "suburban" or "extraurban" have been used in order to define the status of a cult building or sanctuary. A definition of these conventional terms is provided by F. de Polignac:[23] by "urban" one means that the temple is situated in the heart of an agglomeration or on the acropolis; "suburban" or "periurban"[24] is dubbed the temple which lies in the settlement's confines or at a short distance from it; under the title "extraurban" have been grouped the temples which are located far from a settlement, though still on the settlement's territory. In any three of these

[21] Even J.R. Lenz, in his important recent study, has omitted most of the possible instances of rulers' dwellings, without, however, discussing each alleged case separately (his archaeological analysis in confined to the cases of Lefkandi, Koukounaries, Zagora, Emporio and Eretria).

[22] P. Darque has suggested that the term should be abandoned altogether and suggests the definition *unité principale* for the central unit of the Mycenaean palaces. As Darque notes, the confusion has resulted from the borrowing of the term from Homer, where, however, the term is ambiguous since it serves to designate the gathering-hall of men, the apartment of women, the bedroom and by extension the big house or palace ["Pour l'abandon du terme *mégaron*", in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 Juin 1987*, ed. P. Darque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 21-31, esp. 23 and 31].

[23] *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 31-33.

[24] For the use of the latter term see Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space. Fragments of a Discourse", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 1ff.

cases, the sanctuary to which the temple belongs is dependent on a settlement. "Interstate" is a broad conventional term which refers to sanctuaries serving several communities, but not necessarily from different "states".

Structure and goals

The evidence from each site is assembled in Chapter I. The totality of extant EIA rulers' dwellings and cult buildings are grouped together and are classified by two criteria combined together: typology, and geographical distribution. It should be emphasised that this part of the study is not always a mere transcription of existing viewpoints, but whenever required a critical discussion of these, often resulting in the adoption of a view opposed to the commonly accepted one. Into the discussion have also been brought dwellings of ordinary people and buildings which served other domestic functions, such as workshops, granaries, storerooms, etc. (Parts 4 and 9). Nevertheless, this is by no means an attempt to discuss in depth EIA architecture and settlements as a whole. The aim was to present a global though superficial view of the architecture of the EIA, a starting point, it is hoped, for those scholars who would wish to pursue further a related study. At the same time, this comparison contributes in the drawing of conclusions on the (dis-) similarities between cult buildings and rulers' dwellings with ordinary domestic buildings. Moreover, the presentation of all the important free-standing buildings of that age allows one to judge if some of the interpretations put forward by the author are justified. The clay building models the significance of which is much disputed by scholars are conventionally included in the relevant typological and geographical sections, though they have not been thoroughly discussed since they have been recently assembled and thoroughly studied by Th. Schattner.[25]

Another aim of this chapter (Part 10) is to examine in more detail the shapes of the facades of EIA apsidal and rectangular buildings (especially of cult buildings and rulers' dwellings), in conjunction with the arrangement of the interior space. The typology of oval and circular buildings is a much more simple task and is discussed in the end of the relevant sections (Parts 4 and 5, respectively).

The second part of this study (Chapters II-V) examines the archaeological evidence of the possible links between rulers' dwellings, and cult practices. One of the main problems encountered by the scholar researching the subject of the genesis of Greek religious architecture has always been in distinguishing between sacred and profane buildings. The aim of Chapter II is to present the criteria and the method which may contribute in distinguishing a cult building or a ruler's dwelling from an edifice which would have served some other profane function. These criteria are taken into account in the previous discussion (Chapter I). Chapter III investigates the connections between cult practice and rulers' dwellings: In Part 1 the entire body of evidence is analysed. Part 2 is a brief reference to the Mycenaean period and the function of the palatial megara. Part 3 is a full catalogue of EIA sanctuaries and cult places. The status of these sanctuaries, especially of those in which cult buildings have been discovered, is briefly discussed, in order to understand their relationship with settlements and rulers' dwellings in particular. Consequently, Part 4 constitutes an attempt to classify the rulers' dwellings in relation to cult practices, sanctuaries and cult buildings. Part 5 deals with the buildings associated with the cult of ancestors or heroes and investigates the possible connections between rulers' dwellings and hero cult.

The analysis throughout this study has intentionally focused on the archaeological record. The textual evidence has been used only to supplement previous discussion. Thus, Chapter IV is an attempt to compare the archaeological data with the contemporary or later written sources. Part 1 investigates the nature of Homeric kingship (A) and focuses on one aspect of the Homeric nobleman, his competence in religious matters (D). In the same section the controversial topic of the identity of the Homeric house (B) and temple (C) is briefly treated. The post-Homeric literary references for the religious role of EIA rulers' is presented in Part 2.

The last section, Chapter V, brings together the evidence analysed in the previous chapters. Part 1 is a reassessment of the previous discussion, that is to say the role possibly played by the rulers of the EIA in the religious affairs of the communities. The second and last section (Part 2) deals with

[25] *Griechische Hausmodelle. Untersuchungen zur frühgriechishen Architektur, AM* 15. Beiheft, 1990.

questions related to the rise of the temple of the Greek polis (from the architectural and the functional points of view) and tries to tackle the reasons which dictated its creation.

Tables I-IX may serve as a visual guide of a large number of well preserved apsidal and rectangular buildings (mostly free-standing units) of the PG and Geometric periods. The rulers' dwellings and other dwellings of the élite are assembled in Table X. The illustrations are arranged in a geographical order, site by site. The figures of building models are assembled separately. Plans of buildings are as a rule reproduced at a uniform scale (1:200), though in a few cases, when the preserved remains were small (i.e. Isthmia, Fig. 196, Tiryns, Fig. 217 or Tegea, Figs. 279-280), they were reproduced at 1:100.

Limitations

Despite the fact that several general studies dealing with the architecture of the EIA have appeared since Drerup assumed the task of bringing together the data available at the time, no such study (not even the present one) can claim to be the final word for the years to come. Apart from the obvious fact that new discoveries may some day alter the existing picture, one has to overcome the frustrating reality that a large percentage of the excavations which have been conducted remains insufficiently published. Despite the fact that I have visited most of the sites which present problems or are insufficiently published, the uncertainties could not be resolved. The scarcity of the data therefore constitutes a severe limitation for the analysis and cannot be overcome. Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood has stated that "since we do not view data neutrally, but through perceptual filters shaped by culturally determined assumptions, this leads to serious distortions".[26] My own study relies up to a certain degree on assumptions and is a testing of a model, which, however, need not be applicable to the entire Greek World. Indeed, if we were to avoid the shaping of theories, studies on the "Dark Ages" should be limited to the mere presentation and the description of the data, which would have been pointless and contrary to the definition of the archaeological science.

Recent developments

The subject of the genesis of Greek religious architecture is an enormous one and this is one of the reasons why I chose to exclude from the discussion several architectural matters, such as the method of construction, the building techniques and materials and even a thorough discussion of the various categories of EIA cult buildings and of their function(s). In that respect, I should point out that concerning the architectural matters, H. Drerup's study *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit* published in 1969 remains a valuable reference which should be read in conjunction with A. Mallwitz's article which appeared in the *AA* of 1981, K. Fagerström's recent dissertation *Greek Iron Age Architecture* which was published in 1988, and Th. Schattner's *Griechische Hausmodelle. Untersuchungen zur frühgriechishen Architektur*, which appeared in 1990. F. Lang's most recent important contribution, *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland. Struktur und Entwicklung*, 1996, bridges the gap between the Geometric and Classical periods. The basic reason, however, for not insisting on architectural matters was that my aim was to go deeper and to try to focus on the function of the two categories of buildings, rather than to examine them exhaustively from an architectural point of view.

Since 1986, known discoveries received final publication (Vitsa Zagoriou, Kastanas, Lefkandi Heroön, Zagora) or at least were presented in preliminary (Pyrrha) or complementary (Argive Heraion, Gortsouli, Vathy Limenari on Donousa, Old Smyrna) form. Several new important discoveries were made (for instance at Toumba in Thessalonike, Poseidi and Koukos, Isthmia, Rakita, Tegea, Oropos, Hypsile, Iria, Kabeirion on Lemnos, Ephesos, Vourvoulitis, Aptera, Sybrita), while old excavations were reopened (Aetos, Thermon, Olympia, Tegea, Pallantion, Gortsouli, Xobourgo, Hephaistia, "Greek" temple at Phaistos, Ephesos). Not to mention that the ongoing excavations at several sites has significantly increased the bibliography and information which had been included in my 1987 thesis (for instance Assiros, Delphi, Kalapodi, Isthmia, Asine, Lefkandi, Eretria, Grotta, Koukounaries, Minoa, Miletos, Vronda and Kastro at Kavousi, Smari, Kato Symi, Gortyna, Kommos, etc.). Yet, it has not been possible to bring into the main stream of my

[26] "Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 1.

argumentation important recent general studies such as Fagerström's above mentioned dissertation, unless I opted to delay further the publication of the book. Among the monographs which could not be fully treated I could mention I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society*, Cambridge 1987, A. Foley, *The Argolid 800-600 B.C.*, Göteborg 1988 (*SIMA* 80), M.B. Sakellariou, *The Polis-State: Definition and Origin*, Athens 1989, M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia*, Göteborg 1990 (*SIMA* pocket-book 97), C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, Th. G. Schattner, *Griechische Hausmodelle. Untersuchungen zur frühgriechishen Architektur, AM* 15. Beiheft, 1990, J. Whitley, *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece*, Cambridge 1991, J. Vanschoonwinkel, *L'Égée et la Méditerranée orientale à la fin du IIe millénaire*, Louvain-la-Neuve & Providence 1991, H. Van Wees, *Status Warriors*, Amsterdam 1992, N. Marinatos & R. Hägg, ed., *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches*, London & New York 1993, S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, ed., *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 1994, K. Syriopoulos, *Η προϊστορικὴ κατοίκησις της Ελλάδος και η γένεσις του ελληνικοὺ ἐθνους*, Athens 1994, C.M. Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors. Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Iron Age Greece*, Lanham 1995, just to mention a few. I should note also the recent publication of the proceedings of important symposia in 1987 (*Gifts to the Gods*, ed. T. Linders & G. Nordquist, Uppsala), 1988 (*Early Greek Cult Practice*, ed. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos & G. Nordquist, Stockholm), 1991 (*Transizione* and *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung. Rückblick und Ausblick*, ed. J. Latacz, Stuttgart & Leipzig), 1992 (*Polydipsion Argos*, ed. M. Piérard, *BCH* Suppl. 22) and 1995 (*Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam) and a plethora of important articles. Nevertheless, the remarkable increase of the body of evidence the past ten years (excavations and publications) did not affect the general conclusions I had reached at in 1986, and no new discoveries contradict the views presented in my thesis, despite the fact that the publication of certain excavations, and the inevitable new insight of the topic due to the intervening years, has led me to reconsider the evidence from a few sites and to slightly alter my original ideas.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY AND TYPOLOGICAL DIVISION OF CULT BUILDINGS AND RULERS' DWELLINGS (INCLUDING A COMPARISON WITH DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It is perhaps necessary to repeat here that this study does not constitute a thorough study of EIA architecture as a whole, but of certain specific categories of roofed buildings: cult buildings of all sorts, rulers' dwellings and, exceptionally, other structures of "public" use. Nevertheless, I have tried to compare this data with the remaining body of evidence; consequently, one may find a brief discussion or at least a mention of the other domestic buildings of the EIA, especially in Parts 4, 5 and 9.

The chapter is not a mere catalogue but a critical synthesis of the available data. The data has been classified according to two parameters: the typology and the geographical location of each building. There is one basic disadvantage in the typological classification, since inevitably the evidence from a single spot is sometimes split into pieces. The only way, however, to avoid this, would have been to present a geographical or alphabetical catalogue. The former, however, would have enabled the reader to grasp better the evidence of each site, but it would have made it difficult to compare with similar plans from other sites. A separate chapter would have been needed in order to clarify questions of typology, which would have resulted in considerable repetitions. Moreover, despite the fact that this study deals with sociological rather than architectural matters, it would have been a pity not to provide scholars wishing to examine the data from an architectural point of view with the necessary framework. Therefore, I opted the geographical and typological division of the edifices, since the existence of numerous unsolved issues in matters of date and function did not allow a happier and more subtle classification. Within each section, the buildings are discussed following a geographical "circle": Northern Greece, NW Greece, Central Greece (Oropos has been conventionally included in this section, despite the fact that the architecture and pottery point towards the cultural milieu of Euboea), Euboea (the site of Pithekoussai has been conventionally included here), Attica (including Aigina and Megaris), the Peloponnese (including Perachora which appears to have been a Corinthian foundation from the beginning), the Cyclades, the East Greek islands, Asia Minor and Crete. Building models have been inserted in the geographical and typological context, but have not been described or fully discussed. If the plan of a building is uncertain, the edifice has been included, whenever possible, in the section that probabilities are the strongest. In several cases, however, even such a decision was impossible to take and I have been forced to create various sub-categories: edifices of hybrid plan (Part 7) have been grouped together; curvilinear (Part 3) or other buildings -presumably rectangular- of uncertain or even unknown ground plan (Part 8) have been moved to separate sections. The conclusions concerning the typology of apsidal and oval domestic buildings have been grouped together, due to the fragmentary condition of several among them which does not allow one to classify them in the one or the other category (end of Part 4). Buildings which have been thought until now to belong to the EIA but following the discussion have been dismissed from the list of PG or Geometric buildings have been included in the analysis.

PART 1

APSIDAL BUILDINGS

NORTHERN GREECE

The remains of two apsidal buildings set side by side were excavated on the summit of **Assiros** Toumba in central Macedonia (Figs. 9, 12).[1] The width of the narrow passage between the two edifices ranges between 0,60-1,00m. The walls consist of a very low and flimsy stone socle. Some gaps were observed in the line of the foundations and therefore it is possible that vertical posts were set against the walls. Among the debris on the floors of the two buildings clay lumps with reed or branches impressions have been found, suggesting wattling daubed with clay.

The **northern building** measures *c.* 14,00m in length and 8,50m in width. A cross-wall separated the apsidal compartment from the main chamber. Of the **southern building** only the northern half was preserved. The NW corner and the beginning of the curve of the apse were preserved, suggesting a length no less than 15,00 metres. The entrance at the W was broad and two groups of stones suggest the existence of two posts set between the antas. A rectangular structure set against the inner face of the N wall appears to post-date the destruction of the building.[2] A horseshoe-shaped clay structure was found approximately in the centre of the apse, possibly to be identified with a hearth.

Both apsidal buildings have been tentatively dated to phase 1, i.e. to the first half of the 8th c. B.C., but today it would seem that they were built around 700 B.C. and were in use throughout the 7th c. B.C.[3] The finds included pithoi and small vessels, suggesting domestic use for both buildings, though "these would have been the most important buildings in the settlement at this period".[4] Indeed, a comparison with other domestic edifices of the same period from southern Greece proves that such dimensions, especially the width of both structures, are exceptional. We should add here that the settlement appears to have been abandoned around 900 B.C. and the apsidal buildings and a few trace of walls to the NE represent a new beginning in the occupation history of the site.[5]

The late J. Vocotopoulou excavated in Kassandra (Chalkidike), at the promontory called today **Poseidi** (Figs. 26-27), an apsidal cult building (**Building ΣΤ**) dated in the EPG period (11th c. B.C.).[6] The edifice faces S and measures *c.* 14,00 (pr. length) X 5,40m. The lower part of the walls, which are preserved to a height of 0,40m, were built with large rounded stones. In the interior, on the clay floor, there were pits which contained the remains from burnt sacrifices. Approximately in the centre of the structure there was a circular heap of ashes and burnt matter (δ), *c.* 2,50m in diameter and exceeding 1,00m in height, presumably an ash altar. Cult activities were centred on this spot already from the SMyc period, as the numerous ashes, burnt fat earth, calcinated bones of small and large animals, sea shells and broken vases, attest. Howéver, it is not yet clear whether the apsidal structure was roofed, since the excavator notes that there were stones in the centre of the cone of ashes which prevented the deterioration of the mound from the rain water or the wind.[7]

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1 Excavations: British School, 1986 (K.A. Wardle). Bibliography: K.A. Wardle, *BSA* 82 (1987) 315-318.

2 Public lecture by K.A. Wardle at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, March 1, 1995.

3 *Ibid.* As Professor Wardle informed me, the dating of the two buildings is still uncertain due to the almost total absence of associated imported wares from southern Greece.

4 *BSA* 82 (1987) 317f.

5 The only trace of use of the site in the intermediate period is a pithos burial, presumably of the Geometric period (lecture by K.A. Wardle at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, March 1, 1995).

6 Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1992-93 (J. Vocotopoulou). Bibliography: J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 3 (1989) 416f.; 4 (1990) 401-403; 5 (1991) 303-310; 6 (1992) 443-446; *id.*, "Το ιερό του Ποσειδώνα", *Καθημερινή*, July 23, 1995. See also G. Myrtsioti, *Καθημερινή*, Feb. 17, 1994. The PG building was discovered near the oval Building Γ which was built in the second quarter of the 6th c. B.C. and preliminary published by J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 5 (1991) 304-307. However, in the latest preliminary report [*ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 444], it is noted that the S apse of this edifice belongs to an earlier building phase.

7 *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 445.

The excavator suggests that the sanctuary was founded by the Eretrians in order to honour their patron god who assisted them in their colonial enterprises, which is rather difficult to accept.[8] However, Poseidon was worshipped here not only as a divinity of the seafarers but also as the god of earthquakes. The chthonian nature of the cult is illustrated by certain clay channels enabling the libations to penetrate deep into the earth. The practice of burnt animal sacrifices is beyond question. It is further noted that the building and the entire area were blackened by the action of fire from the sacrifices.[9] It would therefore seem that the curvilinear plan of Temple Γ, which was built in the late 7th or early 6th c. B.C. in contact with the apse at the N extremity of the earlier cult building, reflects a tradition rooted in the 11th c. B.C.

NORTHWEST GREECE

No certain apsidal cult building has been discovered in NW and northern Greece (see however Aetos and Kalydon, *infra* pp. 94f.). We may mention here the fragmentary apsidal **building model** which was found in the sanctuary of Apollo at **Aetos** in Ithaca (Figs. 495-496). The model dates around 700 B.C. and its painted decoration points towards a Corinthian origin.[10] The chequered pattern of the roof has sometimes been regarded as an indication of a tiled roof, though the steep pitch may speak against this assumption.

According to the traditional view, **Megaron A** at **Thermon** (Fig. 40) was built towards the end of the MH period or in the early years of the Mycenaean era.[11] The edifice measures 22,00 by 6,00m and was divided into a porch, a main room and a rear compartments at the apse. The walls were 0,55m wide and preserved in places to a height of 0,60-0,90m. Originally, Megaron A seems to have been provided with an open porch, but perhaps during a second phase was closed by a wall, leaving an opening for the entrance at the SW corner. Certain facts indicate that the building was still standing in the EIA (*cf.* Fig. 45a). Indeed, no Mycenaean pottery was reported from Megaron A. Soteriades describes the sherds which he found as "Geometric",[12] though this does not necessarily imply a dating in the EIA, for Geometric patterns of MH character were even produced at the time

[8] J. Vocotopoulou, *Καθημερινή*, July 23, 1995. On the present evidence, Eretria was founded later than the sanctuary at Poseidi (unless the excavator was referring to Lefkandi which she may have equated with Strabo's "Old Eretria", or, more probably, was of the opinion that the Eretrians may have reused a pre-existing local sanctuary).

[9] J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 3 (1989) 416f.; 4 (1990) 403 concerning the identification of the site with the sanctuary of Poseidon which may have been an "extraurban" sanctuary of the city of Mende, founded by the Eretrians, situated *c.* 4 km to the E. Concerning the excavations at Mende see *ΑΕΜΘ* 1 (1987) 280-282; 2 (1988) 331-337; 3 (1989) 409-415; 4 (1990) 399-401 (in the latest report we are informed about the discovery of three superimposed circular stone platforms dated in the third quarter of the 8th c. B.C., to which a domestic function was assigned).

[10] M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948) 101f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 74 and 119; R.M. Cook, "The Archetypal Doric Temple", *BSA* 65 (1970) 17, n. 1; R.V. Nicholls [*Gnomon* 44 (1972) 703 and letter of March 28, 1986] suggests that only the fragments of the roof [*BSA* 43 (1948) pl. 45, no. 600 a-b] and some unpublished fragments should be ascribed to the model, which would have been *c.* 0,45-0,50m long. As Dr. Nicholls informed me, the other fragments (*ibid.*, no. 600 c-f and possibly g) are different in fabric and scale and belong to various vessels. Thus one should question the validity of I. Beyer's reconstruction and conclusions concerning the model (*Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 26, 39f., n. 84 and pl. 25, here Fig. 495); for a correct restoration see Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 29, fig. 4, here Fig. 496.

[11] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1898-1908 (G. Soteriades); 1912-14 (K. Rhomaios). Bibliography: G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 179-181; K. Rhomaios, *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 232-237; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 263-265, 761, 768; *id.*, *BSA* 84 (1989) 273-275 (with further bibliography). Lately, scholars tend to lower the dating of Megaron A to the LH III period but the reasons are not specified. *Cf.* for instance B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 118, R. Hope Simpson, *Mycenaean Greece*, Park Ridge 1981, 97 and K. Werner, *The Megaron during the Aegean and Anatolian Bronze Age*, Jonsered 1993 (*SIMA* 108) 93, 122. In R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I: *The Mainland and the Islands*, *SIMA* 52 (1979) 104 one reads: "An apsidal megaron and some rectangular structures are apparently later stratigraphically and may be associated with the considerable quantities of LH III pottery found (this division is suggested by K. Wardle)". However, there must be a misunderstanding for Wardle ["Cultural Groups of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in North-West Greece", *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 159] considers Megaron A contemporary or slightly earlier than the neighbouring houses which were destroyed in LH IIA.

[12] G. Soteriades, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 19; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 136.

when LH IIA pottery was imported.[13] Soteriades believed that it was a heroön, for he claimed to have found in the apsidal compartment two cremation burials, one of a child, the other of a woman.[14] Rhomaios, however, refuted this claim and argued that the so-called burial shafts could have belonged to a hut partly dug into the earth.[15] Today, after the publication of Soteriades' correspondence by J. Papapostolou, it seems more likely that tombs were indeed discovered in the apsidal compartment (Fig. 46a-b), one of which contained ashes, charcoal, human bones, fragments of bronze obeloi and a gold ring.[16] Another tomb which contained burnt bones, five very long iron swords and a fragment from a "Geometric" vase was discovered by Soteriades next to the W stylobate of Temple C, i.e. in front of Megaron A.[17] In the central compartment of Megaron A, next to the apsidal end, there were numerous small pithoi and amphorae, placed upside down and filled with ashes and animal bones (Figs. 45a, 46a-b). The fact that these vases were inverted could indicate a cult of chthonian nature, perhaps associated with the dead.[18] One whole pot, a kyathos (Fig. 49),[19] which was apparently found in Megaron A, has been ascribed to the EIA by K.A. Wardle, who has studied in detail the pottery of Thermon.[20] It seems that this vase was contained inside a grave in the apse of the building.[21] Therefore, the first conclusion to be drawn is that Megaron A was either built or perhaps more probably still standing in the EIA.[22]

CENTRAL GREECE

A curved wall at **Delphi** may possibly be assigned to a humble apsidal (?) shrine, though it is equally possible that this was a normal house within the LG settlement. The wall was found below the small apsidal treasury (Building XXIX), S of the temple of Apollo (Fig. 64:1).[23] Unfortunately, neither a description nor a plan of the edifice have been published yet. Likewise, the only photograph published is not useful. The wall is believed to be contemporary with the neighbouring LG settlement. It has also been suggested that there existed a temenos wall in the 8th c., but this cannot be proved.[24]

The proximity of this curvilinear structure to the later temple of Apollo and the fact that such plans were not the rule in EIA Delphi could be taken as indications that it was of sacred character.[25] However, the evidence is inconclusive and one would have expected to find the first temple of

[13] K.A. Wardle, *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 163f., 168.

[14] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 180f.; *id.*, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 19.

[15] *AΔ* 1 (1915) 235ff.

[16] *AE* (1990) 197f.

[17] *Ibid.* However, in *AE* (1900) 178 Soteriades mentions these finds but does not specify that they belong to a tomb.

[18] See P. Åström, "Inverted Vases in Old World Religion", *JPR* 1 (1987) 7-16, esp. 13.

[19] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 181, n. 1. It may be that this vase is the one illustrated in *AΔ* 1 (1915) 265, fig. 31β. K.A. Wardle [*Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 164 and fig. 8, no. 335 at p. 173] includes it in his discussion of the local "Geometric" pottery, which ware, according to him "almost certainly had an Iron Age context".

[20] *The Greek Bronze Age West of the Pindus*, Ph.D. diss., London 1972, 52-92.

[21] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 181, n. 1; J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 197.

[22] Mazarakis Ainian, *Temples* (1988) 115, n. 26 & *BSA* 84 (1989) 273-275; J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 197.

[23] Excavations: French School, 1934-35 (L. Lerat). Bibliography: L. Lerat, *RA* 12 (1938) 215; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 64; C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 68, n. 47; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "The Myth of the First Temples at Delphi", *ClQu* 73 (1979) 231-251, re-edited with changes in her book *"Reading" Greek Culture: The Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford 1991, 192-216 (see also pp. 217-243); Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 527f.; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, esp. 126-137 (on the apsidal building see p. 132); *id.*, "The Origins of Pan-Hellenism", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 27-32. For a recent reassessment of the evidence for cult activity in the Mycenaean period see S. Müller, "Delphes et sa région à l'époque mycénienne", *BCH* 116 (1992) 445-496, esp. 455-489 and *id.*, "Delphes mycénienne: un réexamen du site dans son contexte régional", in *Delphes. Colloque de Strasbourg, 6-9 nov. 1991*, ed. J.-F. Bommelaer, Leiden 1992, 67-83.

[24] S. Price, in *Greek Religion and Society*, ed. P. Easterling & J. Muir, Cambridge 1985, 129f.; *contra* see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 132f.

[25] In her earlier study, C. Sourvinou-Inwood suggested that the apsidal wall should perhaps be identified with the first mythical temple of Apollo, the "Daphnephoreion" [*ClQu* 73 (1979) 235f.]. In the revised version of the same article, no longer convinced that Building A at Eretria was a replica of the "Daphnephoreion", she no longer holds this hypothesis (*"Reading" Greek Culture*, Oxford 1991, 211, n. 21).

Apollo below the cella of the actual temple. If the small apsidal edifice of the Archaic period is correctly identified with a treasury,[26] then its predecessor, which was presumably apsidal as well, may have served some secondary function in the Geometric sanctuary, though it is equally conceivable, and even more likely, that it was a house. Indeed, just to the E of the temple, beneath the ramp, there was another apsidal building with a hearth (the apse towards the E), presumably a house as well (Fig. 64:2).[27] On the present evidence, judging by some early roof tiles, the first monumental temple at Delphi cannot be dated before the second half of the 7th c. B.C.[28]

A tripartite apsidal temple of considerable dimensions was located on the outskirts of the unexcavated settlement by the lake **Paralimni** in Boeotia (Figs. 71-72).[29] The ruins of the settlement on the S slopes of Mount Ptoon have been revealed following the withdrawal of the waters of the lake. From the limited excavations carried out at the W-NW edge of the lake it has been determined that the site was continuously occupied from the EH (or perhaps even Neolithic) period down to the Classical era.[30] It has been suggested that the site should be identified with ancient Isos,[31] and more convincingly with Hyle,[32] but Spyropoulos speaks of an unidentified ancient settlement.[33]

The edifice described here was found immediately outside the settlement, in the area of the ancient cemetery.[34] The following details are the result of personal observations during my visit to the site (Fig. 71).[35] The building approximately faces towards the E. Its dimensions are *c.* 16,00m in length and *c.* 6,00m in width. The walls are constructed of enormous blocks of stones. The rear and N walls are preserved to a considerable height (*c.* 1,00m) and are 0,50m thick. From the S long wall and the facade only the lowest course of stones was preserved. The S wall is badly damaged and its stones have moved from their original position towards the S. It seems that the facade was constituted of a single course of stones of flat surface; one could restore two columns *in antis* in that place. The interior was divided into three compartments by two cross walls, 0,50m wide: the depth of the "pronaos" is 1,80m, of the "sekos" 9,80m and of the "adyton" 2,40m. It seems that the opening through the rear cross wall was slightly off-centre.

The walls of the rear compartment are partly resting on top of a curved wall, portions of which are visible in the NW and SW corners.[36] Since the rear wall and the beginning of the N wall are built with smaller blocks and in a different style than the rest of the edifice, it is established that originally the rear end of the building was apsidal and that during a second building phase it was transformed to rectangular.

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[26] G. Roux, *Delphes: son oracle et ses dieux*, Paris 1976, plan at back of volume: "trésor archaïque anonyme".

[27] P. Amandry, L. Lerat & J. Pouilloux, *BCH* 74 (1950) 321f.; plan in E. Hansen, *Delphes. Colloque de Strasbourg, 6-9 nov. 1991*, ed. J.-F. Bommelaer, Leiden 1992, 126, fig. 1.

[28] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 133 with references.

[29] Th.G. Spyropoulos, *AAA* 4 (1971) 319-328; 6 (1973) 205f.; *id.*, *AΔ* 26 (1971) Χρον., 215f.; 27 (1972) Χρον., 316; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) 704f.; Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 22; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 784; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 35f.; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 693-695; J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 235-243, esp. 236. See also E. Touloupa, S. Symeonoglou & J.M. Fossey, *AΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 198-202.

[30] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1971 (Th. Spyropoulos). Bibliography: Th.G. Spyropoulos, *AAA* 4 (1971) 328, 331; J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 236; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 130. There is even evidence that the site was inhabited during the SMyc and PG periods [see Th.G. Spyropoulos, *AAA* 4 (1971) figs. 15 and 16 (both PG in date), R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I: *The Mainland and the Islands*, *SIMA* 52 (1979) 252 (G 42) and F. Schachermeyr, *Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der mykenischen Ära bis auf die dorier* (*Die Ägäische Frühzeit* 4) Wien 1980, 327, pl. 64b, e and f].

[31] Hope Simpson & Dickinson, *op.cit.*, 252 (G 42) and Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 130, both presumably having confused the topography and based on N. Faraklas, *AAA* 1 (1968) 139f., and *AAA* 2 (1969) 96f. who, however, refers to other ruins at the NE bank of the lake.

[32] J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 239-243.

[33] *AAA* 4 (1971) 322 ("Η Παραλίμνη τῆς ὁποίας ἀγνοῦμεν τό ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα, ...").

[34] J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 236.

[35] Dr. Spyropoulos kindly authorised me to draw a rough ground plan of the building and to publish it in *ARG* (1985) 36, fig. 15.

[36] When I visited the site in 1985, the apse was scarcely visible (partly destroyed and partly covered by stones). On an earlier photograph, published by H. Lauter [*Lathuresa* (1985) pl. 5a], the apse is clearly discernible.

The earliest finds from the interior are a skyphos, dated in the last years of the 8th c. and two fibulae of the LG period.[37] The majority of the sherds belong to the Archaic and Classical periods. We may therefore assume that the building was erected around 700 and that it was in use during the above-mentioned periods. The apsidal plan of the original structure also favours this dating.

The interior also yielded six omphalic phialai[38] and one curious figurine,[39] dated in the beginning of the Archaic period, as well as fragments of bronze jewels. These finds leave no doubt that we are dealing with a temple. Unfortunately, the temple of Paralimni has not attracted the attention it deserves, for it remains unpublished. For further details one must await the final publication of the site by Th. Spyropoulos.

Between 1985 and 1986 the late A. Dragona excavated an extensive settlement of the Geometric period at Skala Oropou (ancient **Oropos**, perhaps to be identified with the Homeric city of Graia, Figs. 74:1-2, 75).[40] The remains were discovered at a depth of *c.* 3,30m beneath soil level and the remains at the eastern part of the excavated area belong to an extensive metalworking quarter organised around apsidal, oval and circular buildings (Fig. 75:II and 77). Several tombs of the Geometric and Early Archaic periods were discovered between the buildings in this area but their relationship with the buildings is not clear yet.

In 1985, in the western part of the excavated area, the remains of a monumental apsidal structure came to light (Figs. 75:I and 76, Wall 34). The ruins were detected at a depth of 3,74 (S), 4,16 (middle), 4,56 (further N), 4,60m (at the apse) from the surface, indicating that in antiquity, as today, there was a drop from S to N, i.e. towards the sea. The long E wall (Wall 34) passes beneath the W retaining wall of an ancient road and the successive layers of this road, which was in use in the Archaic period.

The structure follows a direction from N to S (more precisely from NW to SE) and the stone socle is 0,45m wide. The rectilinear part of the uncovered wall is 28,10m long. At the N extremity it continues in a curve, forming an apse which comes to an abrupt end. In the interior, near the apse, there was a concentration of small river stones which according to the excavator would have been a retaining structure or part of the superstructure of the apse. By observing the plans and photographs of the wall it is clear that Wall 34 has two faces.

The W wall of the structure was not found, despite the fact that a trench was dug across the presumed width of the building, down to a depth of almost 5,00m, reaching the actual sea level. Approximately 10,00m further to the W a rectilinear wall (Wall 35, Fig. 76) which on the plan appears to be parallel with Wall 34 is founded at a much higher level (discovered at -2,80). In fact, Wall 35 rests upon the abandonment fill which covered the earlier structure. Wall 35 belongs in fact to a monumental structure or peribolos of the Archaic or Classical (?) period, extending in the opposite direction (i.e. towards the W).

It is not clear whether Wall 34 belongs to a building, in which case one could identify it with an *hekatompedon*, facing towards the SE. The two faces of wall of similar building technique support this hypothesis, but the failure to reveal the W side of the building should incite caution. It is possible to identify the structure as a retaining wall bordering the W side of a street, or a river bed. Indeed, the

[37] *AAA* 4 (1971) 326, fig. 9; *id.*, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., pl. 268. The fibulae at least could date in the early 7th c. B.C.: J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 236.

[38] And not twelve as stated by J.-P. Michaud [*BCH* 96 (1972) 704].

[39] Th. Spyropoulos, *AAA* 4 (1971) 326, fig. 8.

[40] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1985-86 (A. Dragona). Publication in preparation under the direction of the author [the first detailed account will appear in *Έργον* and *ΠΑΕ* (1996)]. In general on the ancient city of Oropos and its territory see V. Petrakos, *Ο Ωρωπός και το Ιερόν του Αμφιαράου*, Athens 1968, 6-58; *id.*, *Το Αμφιάρειο του Ωρωπού*, Athens 1992, 5-11, topographical plan fig. 2; J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 28-42. On Graia see U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, "Oropos und die Gräer", *Hermes* 21 (1886) 91-115; R. Hope Simpson & J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford 1970, 22; J. Fossey, "The Identification of Graia", *Euphrosyne* 4 (1970) 3-22, also included in *Papers in Boiotian Topography and History*, Amsterdam 1990, 27-51; see also Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 230. St. Byz. s.v. Ὠρωπός and Γραῖα (quoting Aristotle).

whole settlement occupies a marshy area and in antiquity several secondary streams of the river which flowed through the settlement, further E, winded between the buildings. Moreover, the ruins of the entire site, including Wall 34, were covered by a sandy layer, indicating a destruction by flooding, as for the rest of the occupied area.

The earliest pottery from Oropos belongs to the LPG-SPG/EG period.[41] The exact date of the construction of Wall 34, as well as that of its destruction cannot be estimated until the pottery is fully studied. From the few indications on chronological matters in the excavation diaries, it would seem that the site was occupied from the first half of the 9th c. B.C. down to the end of the 7th c. B.C. The pottery that I have been able to examine so far seems to support a dating of the long apsidal structure in the LG period.[42] No significant finds were collected during the excavation of this structure, but one must remain cautious since the interior of the building was practically left unexcavated.

At **Lathouriza** near Vari in Attica, the ceremonial banquet room of the ruler's dwelling (**II**) was apsidal (Fig. 149), but since this is not a free-standing room it is discussed in Part 7 (p. 235).

EUBOEA

The so-called **"Heroön"** of **Lefkandi** in SW Euboea is the most sumptuous architectural achievement of this new era (Fig. 82).[43] No such splendid apsidal building is to be seen until the end

[41] The earliest material (including numerous pendant semicircle skyphoi and a few Athenian vases) belongs to the late 10th-early 9th c. B.C. and was found in the cemetery which was excavated *c.* 600m E of the main area, in a plot owned by the telephone company (O.T.E., Fig. 74:3). Therefore, on the present evidence, the foundation of Oropos appears to have preceeded that of Eretria, in which case the former could not have been a foundation of the later (*cf.* V. Petrakos, *Το Αμφιάρειο του Ωρωπού*, Athens 1992, 5). The evidence, however, is not conclusive: for instance a PG (?) tomb was apparently discovered recently at Eretria [E. Touloupa, *ΑΔ* 35 (1980) Χρον., 227, area 23 of map on Fig. 101], while an amphoriskos of the EG II period was discovered in Building plot 740 [P.G. Themelis, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 75f., pl. 39α, area 10 of map on Fig. 101].

[42] The pottery found in immediate contact with the stone foundation was LG. The fill above the structure contained LG and later material (basically Archaic).

[43] Excavations: British School/Greek Archaeological Service, 1980-83 (M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa, P. Calligas). Excavations in the Toumba cemetery are still in progress. Bibliography: Basic preliminary reports: M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, "The Hero of Lefkandi", *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 169-174; *id.*, *BSA* 77 (1982) esp. 246-248 & n. 47; P. Calligas, "Ανασκαφές στο Λευκαντι Ευβοίας, 1981-1984", *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 253-269; *id.*, "Hero Cult in Early Iron Age Greece", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 229-234; M.R. Popham, "Lefkandi and the Dark Ages", in *Origins*, ed. B. Cunliffe, London 1987 (BBC Books) chapter 6. Other preliminary reports: N.A. Winter, *AJA* 86 (1982) 550f.; 88 (1984) 850; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1980/81) 7; (1981/82) 15-17; (1982/83) 12-15; (1983/84) 17; E.B. French, *AR* (1991/92) 34; (1992/93) 40f.; G. Touchais, *BCH* 105 (1981) 850; 106 (1982) 588; 107 (1983) 807; 108 (1984) 813; P. Calligas, *AAA* 14 (1981) 33f.; C.N. Runnels, "On the Destruction of Archaeological Sites", *JFA* 8 (1981) 91-93; A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, Aug. 22, 1980; May 23, 1981; July 5, 1983; July 10-11, 1983; Oct. 18, 1984; April 13-14, 1985; *The London Times* Apr. 24, 1981 and *The New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1980. Final publications: R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, *The Protogeometric Building at Toumba*. Part 1: *The Pottery, Lefkandi* II, ed. M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas & L.H. Sackett, London 1990; J. Coulton, H.W. Catling *et al.*, *The Protogeometric Building at Toumba*. Part 2: *The Excavation, Architecture and Finds, Lefkandi* II, ed. M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas & L.H. Sackett, London 1993. Concerning the excavation of the Toumba cemetery see M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980; M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, "Further Excavation of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, 1981", *BSA* 77 (1982) 213-248; M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas & L.H. Sackett, "Further Excavation of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, 1984 and 1986", *AR* 35 (1988/89) 117-129; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 31. Other publications: D. Ridgway, *L'alba della Magna Grecia*, Milano 1984, 29-31; P. Blome, "Lefkandi und Homer", *WürzbJbAltWiss* 10 (1984) 9-22; C. Bérard, *MusHelv* 42 (1985) 274; *id.*, *Δεσμός* 11/12 (1986) 9-11; J. Boardman *et al.*, *The Oxford History of the Classical World*, Oxford 1986, 21; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 6-9; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 53; J. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100-480 B.C.*, Ithaca & London 1985, 42f.; O.T.P.K. Dickinson, "Homer, the Poet of the Dark Age", *GaR* 33 (1986) 24; P. Calligas, "Η Ελλάδα κατά την πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου", *AAX* 2 (1987) 18f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 638-648; A. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece: The Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford 1987, 161, 182-184; *id.*, "The Archaeology of the Hero", *AnnAStorAnt* 10 (1988) 24; I. Morris, "Tomb Cult and the Greek Renaissance", *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 753f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *Temples* (1988) 116; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 59f.; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 33-40; J. Whitley, "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 349f.; S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 188, n. 18; P. Blome, in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung*, ed. J. Latacz, Stuttgart & Leipzig 1991, 46-50; K.A. Raaflaub, in *ibid.*,

of the 8th c.[44] At Lefkandi, we witness a fresh start which, though in total contrast with the architectural achievements of the Mycenaean Age, is nevertheless no less impressive. The building lies on the summit of a low hill, named Toumba (Fig. 80). It faces E and measures at least 47,00m in length and 10,00m in width (Fig. 82).[45] The W end is not well preserved but there is enough evidence for the existence of an elliptical apse there.[46] The long sides are slightly convex.[47] The exterior walls are 0,60m wide at the base, 0,50m at the top.[48] They are composed of a massive stone socle of a coarse grey marble[49] which supported a mud brick superstructure.[50] In certain places the stone socle is preserved to a height of 1,15-1,30m and in the inner face a thick (0,04-0,06m) coating of plaster is preserved.[51] The floor consists of a thin layer of clay[52] which like the lowest course of stones of the socle, rests directly on the rock. Rectangular timbers were set against the inner face of the wall at intervals of 0,80-2,15m (1,28-1,83m inside a single room).[53] A similar row of supports at a distance of 1,80m from the outer face of the two side walls and the apse, set at intervals varying from 1,02 to 2,47m and usually match with the corresponding wall posts.[54] The section of the posts against the wall and of those of the veranda was rectangular (0,20-0,30m wide and 0,06-0,10m thick),[55] whereas

211f.; S. Deger-Jalkotzy, in *Transizione* (1991) 62; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 122, 124; D.D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London 1991, 47; N. Kourou, "Εύβοια και Ανατολική Μεσόγειος στις αρχές της πρώτης χιλιετίας", *AEM* 29 (1990/91) 242f.; *id.*, "Λευκαντί. Ο αρχαιολογικός χώρος που επέβαλε τον επαναπροσδιορισμό των Σκοτεινών Χρόνων", *Αρχαιολογία* 42 (1992) 43-45; I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1992, 149f.; I. Lemos, "Euboean Enterprise in the Eastern Mediterranean: Early Import at Lefkandi", *AJA* 96 (1992) 338f.; J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 131-142; M.K. Langdon, *From Pasture to Polis*, ed. M.K. Langdon, Columbia and London 1993, 21f.; J.P. Crielaard, "Ναυσικλειτή Εύβοια: Socio-Economic Aspects of Aegean Trade and Colonization", *AEM* 30 (1992/93) 45-53, esp. 46f.; *id.*, "Les Mycéniens et les poèmes épiques d'Homère", *DossAParis* 195 (1994) 132f.; *id.* & J. Driessen, "The Hero's Home. Some Reflections at Toumba, Lefkandi", *ΤΟΠΟΙ* 4/1 (1994) 251-270; M. Popham, "Precolonization: Early Greek Contact with the East", in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis, Oxford 1994, 11-34; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 236-243; H. Catling, in *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter & S.P. Morris, Austin 1995, 126; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *"Reading" Greek Death*, Oxford 1995, 115f., 118; A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Όμηρος και αρχαιολογία: Η συμβολή των Ευβοέων στη διαμόρφωση του έπους", in *Συνάντηση με τον Όμηρο και την Οδύσσεια στο Ιόνιο, Κέρκυρα 13-15 Οκτ. 1995*, ed. S. Dimoulitsas, Athens 1996 (in press).

[44] Compare the dimensions of the building at Lefkandi (*c.* 47,00 by 10,00m) to those of the LG monumental apsidal temples at Eretria (*c.* 35,00 by 7,00/8,00m) and Rakita (*c.* 27,50 by 7,50m). Nevertheless, none of these buildings attains the monumentality of the PG edifice of Lefkandi.

[45] 50,00 by 13,80m veranda included.

[46] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 36.

[47] *Ibid.*, 35.

[48] *Ibid.*, 37.

[49] *Ibid.*: rubble masonry, two aligned sets of stones and a fill of smaller stones in between.

[50] *Ibid.*, 37f. Up to four courses were preserved (see also M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 13), each course 0,10-0,12m high. It seems that there was an alternation of several colours in the mud brick superstructure, as in Temple B at Kalapodi (p. 138), presumably for decorative reasons: see J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 55, 57.

[51] There has been extensive stone robbing at the site. For that reason the eastern half of the N wall has almost entirely disappeared, but the plaster with which the inner faces were coated was preserved in places in its original position (M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 10f. and J. Coulton, in *ibid.*, 34, 42f.). In 1980, one wall was still preserved to a height of 1,60m: see P.G. Calligas, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 5 and J. Coulton, in *ibid.*, 53

[52] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 9f., 27 (porch extending up to Tomb 49, whitish soil), 12 (E Room, brown), 16 (Central Room, grey N of shafts, yellow-brown just SE of central column C4, yellowish-green in front of clay box of SE corner: *ibid.*, pl. 9), 23f. (N and S Rooms), 25 (apse, greenish-yellow), and pl. 37. The floor of the West Corridor consisted of a gravel set in clay or mud (*ibid.*, 22).

[53] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 40.

[54] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 27f. Coulton (*ibid.*, 47 and fig. 1 at p. 54) assumes that horizontal timbers linked the wall posts with those of the peristyle at approximately eaves height, passing through the wall, in order to stabilise the latter.

[55] p.c. by Dr. Touloupa (Sept. 1, 1981). Now see J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 38f. The rectangular timbers were placed into roughly round or sub-rectangular pits *c.* 0,50-0,70m in diameter and *c.* 0,60m deep, cut into the rock. These holes were afterwards backfilled with their conglomerate. The timbers decayed and were transformed into a grey dust. A plaster cast of one of them was made.

the posts of the interior colonnade were circular, 0,18-0,25m in diameter and the span was *c.* 3,00m.[56] The floor of part of the Central Room was covered by a grey-coloured layer of organic material which represents the remains of the roof thatched with reeds or rushes.[57] The roof which was certainly pitched (*c.* 45° pitch, Fig. 88), was supported by the axial wooden colonnade. Coulton assumes that the slope of the roof was continuous from eaves to ridge.[58] There may have been a wooden floor separating the space beneath the roof from the ground floor, thus creating a loft.[59] He also restores an open gable, though he considers the possibility of a lightly constructed gable wall with an opening that could be closed if necessary (Fig. 89).[60]

The edifice was divided into several compartments separated by doorways which were framed with wooden jambs.[61] The main entrance was at the E. In front of the entrance, three pits set in a triangle may have served to support a huge bronze tripod (*cf.* Fig. 81).[62] A porch, 2,40m deep, was formed by the extension of the two side walls (Fig. 85).[63] The pitched roof perhaps extended over the porch as well, for a post hole was found in the middle of the presumed line of the facade. A larger circular pit by the N wall of the porch may have held a container for purification of those entering the building.[64]

The opening between the porch and the East Room to the W was *c.* 4,80m wide and presumably "there were no doors in this broad opening".[65] The room (East Room, Fig. 85) is almost square (int. dimensions: 8,80m N-S, by 8,30m E-W) and it is divided into two unequal parts by a row of eight posts, aligned in a N-S direction (circular shallow pits, 0,25m deep).[66] Since those post holes are not aligned with the timbers along the walls and consequently with those of the peristyle, one could assume that they represent a low fence or balustrade, a kind of internal partition.[67] However, it should not be ruled out that these uprights supported the timber floor of a storey beneath the roof. In the two S corners and in the NW corner of the room three enigmatic structures were investigated: in the NW there was a rectangular "box", *c.* 1,95m long, 0,95m wide and 0,32m high, built of mud bricks. It was empty and had been filled by stones, pebbles and pieces of clay, presumably from the fill that covered the building.[68] In the SW, a raised oval platform of sea pebbles upon a clay base, measuring 1,60 by 1,30m and 0,14-0,20m high, coated with mud,[69] and in the SE, a circle of stones, 1,75m in diameter, containing a fill of pebbles. The purpose of these structures in not clear since no finds were associated with them. Coulton suggests that the platform of the SE corner served for food preparation, that of the SW is compared to similar platforms which R. Hägg associates with ancestral cults,[70] while the container in the NW corner could only contain something non-liquid.[71] In the SW corner of the room, beneath the floor, a burnt area was observed, as well as two sets of pits which could be interpreted as tripod stands.[72]

A doorway, 2,30m wide led to the main living room of the building (Central Room, Fig. 86). A low retaining wall assured the transition from Room 1 to Room 2, for the floor of the latter was

[56] The central posts were placed in large circular pits *c.* 1,45m in diameter and *c.* 1,40m deep! Coulton (*Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 41) calculated that if they reached up to support the ridge pole the height would have been *c.* 8,50m. There was no absolute correlation between the axial colonnade and the wall posts.

[57] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 18.

[58] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 46. The hypothesis of a main roof set higher than the roof of the peristyle is also discussed but not retained.

[59] *Ibid.*, 47 and fig. 1 at p. 54, pl. 28.

[60] *Ibid.*, 45, pl. 28.

[61] *Ibid.*, 43.

[62] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 214; (1979) pl. 79. The diameter of the cauldron is estimated to have been *c.* 1,00 - 1,20m.

[63] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 35f.; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 9.

[64] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 52; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 9.

[65] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 44.

[66] M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 12.

[67] J. Coulton, in *ibid.*, 44.

[68] M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 11f.

[69] *Ibid.*, 11.

[70] *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-193 and *Sanctuaries* (1992) 19.

[71] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 51f.

[72] M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 12; J. Coulton, in *ibid.*, 52, Pits 9, 11, 12 and 13-15.

presumably at a slightly lower level than that of the former. The interior dimensions of the main room are *c.* 22,00 by 9,00m.[73] Originally there was an opening, 1,47m wide, in the S wall, which later on was blocked with mud bricks. In the NE corner, parallel to the cross wall between Rooms 1 and 2, two walls projecting from the N long wall were discovered.[74] Coulton suggests that they may represent the foundations of a staircase which led to a loft beneath the roof.[75] A rectangular clay "box", similar to the one in Room 1, was found in the SE corner. It measured 1,30 by 0,70m and was preserved to a height of 0,20m. It contained fine grey wood ash, a few small fragments of intensively burnt bone, including two from caprines, a clay weight and a fragmentary clay button and seems to have been connected with funerary practices.[76] Approximately in the centre of the building (Figs. 82, 90), on either side of the interior colonnade, two rectangular pits contained the graves of a couple (to the S), and of four horses (to the N).[77] In the SE corner of the room, between the shafts and the clay box, intensive burning covered the rock, beneath the clay floor (?).[78] Thirteen holes were found in this area which contained black earth or ashes and sporadically (Pits 1, 4 and 11) small bones, one identified as belonging to a dog.[79] Similar traces of burning and holes were noted to the NE of the burial shafts and in the East Room.[80] The western part of Room 2 was destroyed by illegal bulldozing and therefore we know nothing about its interior details and furnishings (Fig. 83).

The passage from the main room to the rear apsidal compartment was gained by a corridor *c.* 1,50m wide (West Corridor, Fig. 84), formed by two antithetical rooms (North and South Rooms, 3 and 4 respectively), approximately 3,00m square (int. dimensions).[81] These may be explained as bedrooms or rooms for storage.[82] Seven round pits in a N-S curving line indicate a partition similar to the one in the East Room.[83] In the SE part of the apse, eleven large circular pits were found, probably intended to receive large storage jars (pithoi).[84] Further similar pits were discovered in the northern half of the apse, but curiously enough they had been covered by the clay floor of the building.

The burial shafts in the Central Room were sunk into the room's floor (Figs. 90-91).[85] The southern one was 2,63m deep (measurements from the surface of the rock). It was lined with mud bricks and coated with plaster. Inside were found the skeleton of a woman, adorned with precious jewels (Fig. 93a-c)[86] and a bronze amphora/amphoroid krater decorated in relief (Fig. 94-95) and covered by a bronze bowl, an import from Cyprus, dated however in the late 13th or 12th c. B.C. (i.e. an "antique" in the first half of the 10th c.), which contained the cremated remains of a male person,

[73] Despite the destruction of this part of the building, the trial trenches dug by the Ephoreia in 1980 prove that there were no internal divisions. See P. Calligas, *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 256; J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 35.

[74] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 14f.

[75] *Ibid.*, 15f. For the interpretation of the structure as a staircase see J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 50f. (see however *ibid.*, p. 47) and p.c., March 14, 1984 (Mr. Popham remarks that if that was the case, one should expect the first flight of steps to be of stone or of mud bricks. He concedes on the other hand that the structure recalls Minoan staircases: p.c., March 20, 1985).

[76] The bones were analysed but no firm conclusion could be drawn for they are too small. For the function of the structure see J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 50 and M. Popham, *ibid.*, 99.

[77] Dimensions of S pit: 2,70 X 2,30m. It seems that the human burials were provided with a wooden cover or, less likely, were contained in a wooden coffin: *cf.* M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 173 and p.c. by Mr. Popham, March 20, 1985. The dimensions of the N pit are 2,40 by 1,80m.

[78] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 15 concerning the clay floor around the box.

[79] *Ibid.*, 15, 99.

[80] *Ibid.*, 16, 100.

[81] The clay floor of the northern room, unlike the rest of the building, did not rest immediately over the rock but on a fill of pebbles instead (M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 23). Coulton (in *ibid.*, 37) notes that the walls of these two rooms do not bond with the exterior wall but maintains that this should not be regarded as evidence that they were additions to the original building.

[82] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 50.

[83] *Ibid.*, 44.

[84] M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 25f.

[85] For a detailed description see *ibid.*, 17-22.

[86] For a summary description of the finds see *ibid.*, 20f. The gold pendant was a heirloom of *c.* 2000 B.C., from Babylonia: M. Popham, in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis, Oxford 1994, 15.

wrapped in a funerary dress.[87] Next to the cremation urn were found a sword, a razor, a spear of iron and a whetstone, indicating that the deceased was a warrior. An iron knife adorned with an ivory handle was lying beside the head of the inhumed woman (Fig. 93d).[88] The northern shaft was not as deep as the southern one (2,23m below the surface of the rock) and contained the skeletons of four horses. The animals had been presumably thrown (or lowered?) head first inside the pit. Two of them had iron bits in their mouth.[89] Fragments of a huge krater were found from above the floor and in the lower part of the fill to the S of the burials (Fig. 92).[90] It is not clear whether this was a "sema" or a cult vessel of some kind (see discussion p. 55ff.).

Excavations revealed that this monumental apsidal building was intentionally demolished (though only partly dismantled), covered with earth and transformed into a tumulus *c.* 4,00m high at the centre and presumably roughly rectangular in plan:[91] a rough retaining wall was built along the line of the facade, while the apse was dismantled and a retaining wall was constructed in alignment with the W wall of the apsidal room (Fig. 82).[92] These two walls served to contain the mound which covered the building.[93] In order to fill the interior with earth, an inclined ramp, formed of mud bricks stacked one above the other and earth, was erected against the outer face of the long walls of the building (Figs. 87-88). Soon after, the area adjacent to the E retaining wall, was transformed into a cemetery (Fig. 81).[94]

[87] For a description of the finds see M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 172-173 and M. Popham, in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis, Oxford 1994, 15f. For the bronze urn see H.W. Catling, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 81-92 and *id.*, in *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1994, 137f. For the identification of the cloth as a funerary dress: public lecture by Dr. Calligas, Athens, Dec. 10, 1986.

[88] M. Popham, in *Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis, Oxford 1994, 15, fig. 2.3. This could serve as an argument for those scholars who would be willing to claim that the woman was sacrificed in order to follow her companion to the grave; moreover, the skeleton lay extended on the back but the hands and feet were crossed, indicating that they may have been bound; also, the skull had rolled back from the neck, though this could have occurred if there was a wooden cover over the grave: see M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 20f., D.D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London 1991, 46f. and H. Catling, "Heroes Returned? Subminoan Burials from Crete", in *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter & S.P. Morris, Austin 1995, 126 who suggest a possible suttee for the female inhumation. On human sacrifice in the DA see Hughes, *op.cit.*, esp. 35-70; E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I, Stockholm 1934, 216-218, 226-232, 234-240, 265; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 350. See also the new discovery at Eleutherna in W Crete, though it seems that the victim was executed for revenge: N. Stampolidis, *Ελεύθερνα. Από τη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή νεκρόπολη. Ταφικές πυρές και ομηρικά έπη*, Rethymno 1994, 27; *id.*, "Homer and the Cremation Burials at Eleutherna", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 289-308; A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, Aug. 28, 1993 and Sept. 29, 1993. On human sacrifice in the LBA see Hughes, *op.cit.*, 13-35; R.J. Buck, "Mycenaean Human Sacrifice", *Minos* 24 (1989) 131-137. The most recent account of the possible human sacrifice at Archanes is J. Sakellarakis, *Experiment* II:3 (1995) 88-125.

[89] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 21; L.H. Sackett, in *ibid.*, 71, no. 1, pl. 32. In 1986, another pit containing two horses was discovered in the NE part of the Toumba cemetery (Tomb 68): M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas & L.H. Sackett, *AR* (1988/89) 118 and M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 22. For other horse burials see H.W. Catling, *AR* (1978/79) 50f. (Knossos), G. Rizza, "Gli scavi di Prinias e il problema delle origini dell'arte greca", in *Un decenio di ricerche archeologiche (La ricerca scientifica* 100) Roma 1978, 124f. (Prinias) and V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus*, London 1969, 23-150; P. Dikaios, *AA* (1963) 126-210 (Salamis). See also E. Kosmetatou, "Horse Sacrifices in Greece and Cyprus", *JPR* 7 (1993) 31-41, where, however, the Lefkandi horse burials have been omitted.

[90] R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 25f., pls. 17-18, 54-56; J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 50; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 11f.; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1982/83) 15, fig. 21.

[91] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 53 for the measurement of the height and the shape of the mound. The restoration of a circular tumulus *c.* 40m in diameter by Calligas [*Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) p. 231, fig. 1] is uncertain. Popham seems also to accept the idea of a roughly circular tumulus due to the arc-like arrangement of the graves E of the porch: *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 9; see also M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas & L.H. Sackett, *AR* (1988/89) 123.

[92] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 36, 55; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 9, 30.

[93] *Ibid.*, 38. A third wall, parallel to the S long wall of the building was partly revealed in 1992. Perhaps it formed the S limit of the mound [E.B. French, *AR* (1992/93) 40].

[94] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 105, 168-196; M. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, *BSA* 77 (1982) 213-248; M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas & L.H. Sackett, *AR* (1988/89) 117-129. One of the earliest graves (T.49) dates in the late MPG or early LPG phase. The cemetery was in use until the SPG III

The majority of the finds contained in the fill and those ascribed to the use of the building belong to the MPG period (see below). However, Mycenaean sherds and fragments of 13 LH IIIC terracotta figurines were found in the fill of the apsidal compartment.[95] No Mycenaean chamber tombs were found beneath this part of the building, as anticipated by the excavators in their first report,[96] and it was subsequently established that these were contained in the fill which was used to cover the edifice. The earth with the mud bricks and sherds of the fill were brought from different localities, presumably from the neighbourhood or from Xeropolis.[97]

The only finds which could be associated with the period of use of the building are few almost complete vases, especially along the N wall of the main room (*cf.* also South room), the large krater to the S of the shafts (P.327, Fig. 92), fragments of storage vessels from the apsidal compartment,[98] some clay objects such as buttons, weights of unbaked clay and a fragment from a figurine foot (no. 26a)[99], perhaps some of the stone tools[100] and a few metal items, including a metallic lock system (bronze bolt and iron hook) from a door lock in the apse.[101]

The dates of the building and the twin burial in its interior are not easy to establish.[102] The sherds from the floor and the fill (i.e. the mound) over it are stylistically the same and therefore belong to the same period; moreover, it has been difficult to separate the fill material from that belonging to the floor.[103] This fact indicates that the building was used for a short time, possibly not more than 20 or 25 years. The latest pottery is MPG,[104] but ten fragments of skyphoi decorated with pendant semicircles were also found.[105] It is possible that these fragments represent early specimens in the series of LPG pendant semicircle skyphoi and therefore could still belong in the MPG period.[106] In terms of absolute chronology, the construction and destruction of the building fall in the early 10th c., certainly before *c.* 950 B.C.[107]

No pottery was associated with the twin burial and the exceptional character of the majority of the metal items renders their chronology uncertain. Some of the precious jewels, such as the gold pendant, are Eastern imports,[108] while the bronze urn was a heirloom of the 12th c. B.C.[109] Such

period (contemporary with Attic MG I).

[95] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 30; L.H. Sackett, in *ibid.*, 77, pl. 32, nos. 12-24. Another Ψ-type figurine was found in Trench D (Central Room) of the Ephorate trial excavation in 1980 (P.G. Calligas, in *ibid.*, 5 and L.H. Sackett, in *ibid.*, 77, no 24a) and the hindquarters of an animal figurine came from the North Room (L.H. Sackett, in *ibid.*, 77, pl. 32, no 25). A few MH, SMyc and earlier PG sherds were also included in the fill (*ibid.* and R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 91).

[96] M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 174.

[97] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 30; L.H. Sackett, in *ibid.*, 73; R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 91. The figurines seem to indicate that at least the W end of the fill was brought from an unknown locality of a Mycenaean shrine. It is worth noting, however, that MPG pottery was not found in the Xeropolis excavations, though this could be fortuitous due to the limited excavation of this site.

[98] R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 3-5; J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 52; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 16f., 24, 25.

[99] L.H. Sackett, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 73f., 78, nos. 26a, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41 and 42, pls. 32-35.

[100] *Ibid.*, 74, 78f., nos. 48-56, pl. 33.

[101] *Ibid.*, 71f., nos. 2 & 4, pl. 32. A fragment from a second lock (?) came from the E Room (*ibid.*, 72, no. 3).

[102] The first impression of the excavators was that the pottery from the edifice was LPG (p.c. by Dr. Touloupa, Sept. 1, 1981). See also R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 92: "the choice lies between the middle and late stages, MPG and LPG".

[103] R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 3, 92.

[104] *Ibid.*, *passim*, esp. 4, 91-95. See also M. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, *BSA* 77 (1982) 247, n. 47.

[105] R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 22f.; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1983/84) 17.

[106] Catling & Lemos, *op.cit.*, 92.

[107] *Ibid.*, 95.

[108] The pendant [*Antiquity* 56 (1982) pl. XXIII:b] is perhaps an import from the E (lecture by Mr. Popham, Athens, Jan. 12, 1983). Now see M. Popham, in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis, Oxford 1994, 15.

[109] H.W. Catling, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 81-92. The amphoroid krater which contained the ashes of the warrior was doubtless manufactured in Cyprus and would date in the LH IIIC period (12th c.): *cf.* J.N. Coldstream, "Archaeology in Cyprus 1960-1985: The Geometric and Archaic Periods", in *Archaeology in Cyprus, 1960-1985*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1985, 51; H.W. Catling, in *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.*,

objects which could have been handed from generation to generation provide little help in dating the burials. On the other hand, the huge krater which stood over or near the graves is definitely MPG.

The main question consists in establishing whether the burials post-date or antedate the erection of the building, in order to decide whether, as J. Coulton puts it, "the building was erected either as a princely residence for the deceased before his death, or in imitation of (though possibly grander than) such a residence, for his use after death".[110] M. Popham[111] and J. Coulton[112] suggest that the graves are roughly contemporary (in fact slightly earlier) with the building and therefore it was built in order to contain the dead couple. The main arguments in favour of such an interpretation are the following:[113] (1) The traces of burning beneath the clay floor of the main room could be taken as evidence from the pyre on which the warrior was incinerated. The ashes in the box in the SE corner of the same room were perhaps collected there after the end of the ceremony. However, as mentioned above, subsequent excavations proved that the burnt area was larger than suspected in the beginning and that it even extended to Room 1. The presence of a similar box in the NW corner of Room 1, complicates the situation. (2) The grey layer encountered over the floor of the entire building and belonging to the roof which collapsed, extended also over the shafts of the graves. Inside the burial pits, this layer lay below the level of the floor. A probable explanation of this situation is that when the wooden cover of the shaft decayed, the earth fill over the grave subsided, and with it the portion of the roof which had fallen over the pit.[114] (3) The possible wider span of the central columns implied by the dimensions of the southern burial shaft, indicate that the architects took into account the pre-existing burials.[115] (4). The building is situated inside an area which up to the present day has revealed nothing else but tombs (*cf.* Fig. 80)[116] and therefore it must have served funerary purposes as well.

On the other hand, certain facts tend, in my opinion, to prove that the graves were dug some time after the construction of the building:[117] (1) It was observed that the clay floor of the building did not extend over the pits of the burials (in fact, in the section published -Fig. 91- it seems cut by the shafts).[118] This could be explained if they were dug after the floor was laid. (2) The plan of the building is more appropriate for a dwelling than for a funerary building. One notices many internal divisions and separate rooms, not to mention the possible presence of a loft beneath the roof. The rear part of the building may have served for the storage of provisions, as the numerous round pits which probably contained large pithoi suggests. (3) It is rather difficult to understand why the building was deliberately demolished if one accepts that it was built in order to serve as a heroön. Indeed, since the building was presumably used for a certain period (for instance there is evidence that some pithoi in the apse "appear to have been installed"), why would one deliberately destroy it? J. Coulton assured me that the building did not suffer from any technical problem,[119] though M. Popham does not exclude "that the building may have suffered some structural damage before it was abandoned".[120] Even if this is correct, the logical thing to do, especially since this was an exceptionally large and sumptuous building, would have been to repair the damage and not to complete it! Indeed, the

ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1994, 137f.

[110] *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 49.

[111] p.c., Apr. 4, 1982 and March 20, 1985, not explicetely repeated in the final publication (*Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 97-101), where all possibilities are examined but no definitive answer is adopted.

[112] *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 49f.

[113] p.c. by Mr. Popham, Apr. 4, 1982 and March 20, 1985. Now see *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 97-101.

[114] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 18f.: a less plausible assumption is that the skeleton was contained in a coffin and the bronze urn in a box.

[115] J. Coulton, in *ibid.*, 49.

[116] P.G. Themelis, "Die Nekropolen von Lefkandi Nord auf Euboea", in *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis 9. Jh. v. Chr.*, ed. S. Deger-Jalkotzy, Wien 1983, 145-160; M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, *passim*; Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 101f.

[117] Hypothesis maintained by P. Calligas [*AEM* 26 (1984/85) 266 and in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 232. See also M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 101] and myself in earlier publications [Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 8f. and in *Temples* (1988) 116]. See also J. Whitley, *BSA* 86 (1991) 350.

[118] p.c. by Dr. Touloupa, Sept. 1, 1981 and see *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, section pl. 12.

[119] p.c., March 14, 1984.

[120] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 98 (see also p. 100).

manpower required for the dismantling and filling of the building was not negligible.[121] (4) The site of Toumba was transformed into a cemetery after the erection of the tumulus over the ruins of the building and was used as such until *c.* the end of the 9th c. B.C. Thus, during the building's existence there were apparently no graves in the immediate vicinity.[122] The main problem is the burnt area beneath the floor in the SE corner of the Central Room. Since, however, similar burnt areas were detected in the northern part of the same room and also in the East Room, the "funerary pyre" theory advanced by Popham is weakened. A peculiar detail seems to be the nature of this "clay floor", which was thicker around the clay box and became thinner towards the E, until it could not be distinguished from the rock.[123] One could perhaps suggest that a foundation sacrifice took place before the construction of the building and that a portion of the sacrificial remains were piously preserved in the clay box of the SE corner of the Central Room,[124] though the hypothesis that the contents of the box should be associated with the funerary ceremony is more credible (p. 57). (5) Lastly, "intramural" burials were a regular practice at Xeropolis/Lefkandi during the second LH IIIC period.[125]

It remains hazardous to choose between the two possibilities, i.e., a heroön (e.g. a "funerary palace") or a dwelling. My personal impression is that the sumptuous building of Lefkandi served as a dwelling of the local chieftain and his family. If this assumption is correct, then the events which took place can be summarised as follows:

1. Levelling of the rock in order to construct the building.

2. Foundation sacrifices (i.e. the traces of burning and the pits beneath the clay floor of the building) and construction and use of the building for a period less than a generation.[126]

3. The next episode of the history of the building is more equivocal due to the discovery of the huge krater in the main room. The krater was presumably placed *beside* the burials and not on top of the fill, since many fragments were found in contact with the floor.[127] Therefore, it could have been either a *sema* or, more probably, a ceremonial vessel for the practice of ritual meals.[128] If the hypothesis that it was a grave marker is retained, one must seek for an explanation for the reason for which the krater was not placed on the summit of the mound. The obvious solution would be that the krater was contained inside the building which served for a short period as a heroön, but for some reason (technical failure? earthquake?) it was soon abandoned.[129]

On the other hand, the discovery in 1994 of a huge krater in the fill of the shaft of a cremation warrior burial at Toumba, dated in the SPG II period (early 9th c. B.C.), allows one to assume that such vessels served during the funerary ceremony in connection with rich burials.[130]

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[121] See J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 55f.

[122] M. Popham, *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993,100 who notes that the closest cemeteries in use in the MPG period were situated at a distance of *c.* 150m from the building (Skoubris and Palia Perivolia, Fig. 80). Concerning the argument of proximity of graves see also J.P. Crielaard & J. Driessen, *ΤΟΠΟΙ* 4/1 (1994) 263f.

[123] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 15.

[124] L.H. Sackett (*Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 74) suggested that the small finds which came from various pits beneath the floor "could have been buried as offerings at the time of construction of the building, or overlooked in a tidying up process not long before the building itself was buried".

[125] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea 1964-66*, London 1968, 14; Moris, *Burial* (1987) 106.

[126] The argument of the excavators "that the building had been little used before its abandonment" since "the earth and clay floors throughout the structure had been so little trodden down and compacted" (M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 98) is indeed a correct observation but one should not forget that the deceased warrior was only 30-45 years old, and his female companion between 25 and 30 (*ibid.*, ix). Since the interpretation of the function of the building must be closely linked with the life and death of the owners and occupants of the building, the short period of its use favours in fact the "anaktoron" versus the "heroön" theory. Moreover, if the warrior himself took the decision to build his sumptuous dwelling, he could not have dwelt inside more than 30 years, at the most. Another less likely possibility could have been that the warrior died during the construction of his house and a decision was then taken to bury him at the centre of the building.

[127] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 16f., 100.

[128] J.P. Crielaard & J. Driessen, *ΤΟΠΟΙ* 4/1 (1994) 260f. suggest that the krater "was originally a domestic, feasting vessel, perhaps reused for a while for funerary purpose".

[129] Hypothesis sustained by Popham [*Lefkandi* II, London 1993, 98] and J.P. Crielaard & J. Driessen, *ΤΟΠΟΙ* 4/1 (1994) 264. See also Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 163] who speaks of the "disastrous failure of the Heroon at Lefkandi", presumably implying that it suffered a severe damage due to technical inefficiencies.

[130] M.R. Popham & I.S. Lemos, "A Euboean Warrior Trader", *OJA* 14 (1995) 151-157; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR*

What is further exciting is that the cremated remains of the warrior of Tomb 79 were placed inside a hemispherical bronze cauldron, presumably in emulation of the earlier royal burial inside the Toumba building. It therefore seems that kraters were indeed placed on exceptional occasions in pyres or tombs at Lefkandi.[131] Whether the "queen" committed suicide, in grief for the loss of her beloved companion, whether she was sacrificed, or whether the couple died at the same moment, perhaps following an enemy attack or by some assassin, one cannot determine any longer.[132]

If we accept that the krater was a cult vessel, and this possibility is not eliminated by the excavators,[133] we could attempt to reconstruct the sequence of events also following a different approach: the warrior could have died first and was offered a "Homeric" burial:[134] he was placed together with his four horses in the centre of his "anaktoron". The building was not dismantled since his spouse would have continued to dwell inside. The excavators themselves did not overall dismiss the possibility that the two human burials within the building did not take place simultaneously;[135] a similar twin burial in the Toumba cemetery proves that tombs could be opened on successive occasions, especially if the earlier grave was provided with a wooden cover, as was the case of the southern burial shaft of the Central Room of the building and of Tomb 49 just to the E of the eastern retaining wall of the fill.[136] If the burials were not contemporary, one could suggest that the warrior (aged 30-45) died first and his female companion (aged 25-30) a few years later. Indeed, on the section pl. 12 in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, here Fig. 91, one observes that the earth over the female burial has subsided deeper that the one above the cremation urn. This could be explained if the shaft over the female grave was opened at a second stage; the building would have been dismantled immediately after the "queen's" death and the upper part of the shaft refilled with the same sandy earth which served for the initial filling of the interior of the building. The positioning of the burial shafts on either side of the central axis of the edifice suggest that the horse killing and at least one of the two human burials were part of the original funeral. Since the horses were most probably associated with the warrior, the original layout of the tombs would have been intended for him. It should be stressed, however, that the southern burial shaft was planned from the beginning in such a way as to receive the skeleton of the woman as well, and therefore this hypothesis cannot be retained. Moreover, if the warrior died first this would imply that his consort continued to live in the "anaktoron" until her death, which is inconceivable.

However, by assuming that the krater was a cult vessel, one could formulate two additional theories. The first would be that the "anaktoron" was transformed into a "heroön" at the death of the couple, but a natural or technical catastrophe damaged the structure and it was then decided to construct the mound which would serve as a memorial monument.[137] However, this hypothesis is severely weakened by the fact that the investment in manpower for the destruction and refilling of

(1994/95) 31.

[131] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 215, 339 and M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, *BSA* 77 (1982) 77, pl. 75 (Pyre 11/12, nos. 12-13). The fill in the shaft of Tomb 79 consisted of the remains of the funerary pyre which had been lit elsewhere. M.R. Popham & I.S. Lemos, *OJA* 14 (1995) 151.

[132] Tombs in which men and women were buried simultaneously are not unknown in EIA Greece, and especially in wealthy burials of the SMyc/SMin period: see H. Catling, in *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter & S.P. Morris, Austin 1995, 123-130 who discusses such cases from Knossos (Tomb 201), Tiryns (Tomb XXVIII) and Episkopi, Kaloriziki (Tomb 40) in Cyprus (see also the case of Eleutherna, n. 88 above). It may be interesting to note that a twin burial (two women aged 43 and 29) of the PG period was also found just N of Building C at Asine (Fig. 223, Tomb 1972-2): B. Wells, *Asine* II:4, Stockholm 1976, 20.

[133] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 100.

[134] P. Blome, *WürzbJbAltWiss* 10 (1984) 9-22; *id.*, in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung*, ed. J. Latacz, Stuttgart & Leipzig 1991, 46-50

[135] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 21: "The uniform nature of the fill in the south shaft could imply that its two burials were made simultaneously but need not do so. The fill might have been entirely dug out for a second burial, which would have been a difficult undertaking if the tomb had a wooden cover as has been suggested. However, the unexpected presence of the knife with the female burial, its placing near the head and the apparently crossed position of hands and feet, which might have been bound, leave open the possibility at least for suttee".

[136] See M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 21 and M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas & L.H. Sackett, *AR* 35 (1988/89) 118, fig. 3.

[137] See for instance J.P. Crielaard & J. Driessen, *TOΠΟΙ* 4/1 (1994) 264f.

the building would have been roughly similar to that required for its repair and preservation. The second theory is that the krater may be an indication that ritual meals were performed inside the main room of the edifice during the period that it was inhabited, and for religious piety the left over of the ritual meals and the cultic vase were left in place when the building was pulled down.

Theoretically, all the above mentioned speculations would appropriately explain the presence of the krater on the walking surface of the central room. However, the most obvious assumption would be that the krater was as ceremonial or cult vessel which was used during the ritual feast performed in the honour of the deceased at the moment of the funerary ceremony. A container for purification of those entering the building for the ceremony would have been placed by the main entrance at the E (p. 50). The residues from the sacred meal were perhaps piously collected and placed in the clay container at the SE corner of the burial chamber. The building was immediately afterwards dismantled and covered by a huge mound and the area was henceforth used as a burial ground which probably belonged to the descendants of the "royal couple". A huge bronze tripod would have been set at the base of the tumulus, by the old entrance of the "anaktoron", in commemoration of the hero. It should be stressed, however, that even if nobody can argue against the similarity with Homeric burial practices at Lefkandi, one cannot claim that cult practices were performed at regular intervals after the destruction of the building and the construction of the tumulus. This fact strongly points against the "Heroön" hypothesis, for if such ceremonies were performed even during the short period which may have elapsed between the burial ceremony and the dismantlement of the building ("Heroön interlude"), one would expect that these would have continued for several generations afterwards. The fate of the warrior and his consort was closely linked with the building in which they dwelt; social and religious restraints commanded that the "anaktoron" should not to be used by any of their descendants and that it should be buried beneath a mound of earth which would have functioned as a memorial for future generations.

On the other hand, even if the "Heroön" hypothesis is one day confirmed, the inevitable conclusion will be that the edifice was meant to be a reflection, though somewhat exaggerated, of a contemporary ruler's house, i.e. it would have been a "funerary palace".[138] Something comparable appears to have been recently recognised in Anatolia, at the centre of the necropolis of the 13th c. B.C. of the harbour at **Besik-Tepe** at the Troad, *c.* 15 km SW of Troy, identified by M. Korfmann as the port of the later. At this site, which has yielded several Mycenaean vases, a "megaron" which appears to have been a funerary building was investigated. Cremation graves were found inside the building and a krater had been placed on the floor. At a later period tombs were opened around the "megaron" (one double inhumation inside a huge pithos was found beneath the entrance), while the porch was blocked at a later stage with stones.[139]

In search of parallels of the PG monumental apsidal edifice of Lefkandi, one is led to **Tarsus** in Cilicia where a monumental apsidal building dated by its excavator between 1100 and 850 B.C. was unearthed (**Building U2**, Fig. 428).[140] It faces SE and its preserved length is considered to have been *c.* 12,00m. The great width of the building (9,30m, i.e. almost as wide as the "Heroön" at Lefkandi) is not compatible with such a short length. It seems that H. Goldman was aware of this fact, for in a passage where the author suggests that the building may have been standing during the Middle Iron Age phase (*c.* 850-700 B.C.) one reads: "The only evidence for the possible continued use of Unit U is the east wall of Unit P, which extended the line of the apse's west wall for some fourteen meters to the south, in sections of stone and crude brick".[141] In my opinion, one should seriously consider the possibility that this wall, which presents a slightly convex curve, may have belonged to the W wall of Unit U2, for it rests immediately upon the Hittite/Mycenaean level like the

[138] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 49 ("a funerary building set up in imitation of a house"). Same suggestion by C. Bérard, *Δεσμός* 11/12 (1986) 10 who adopts an idea verbally formulated by C. Krause in 1981.

[139] M. Korfmann, "Besik-Tepe. Vorberichte über die Ergebnisse der Grabungen von 1984", *AA* (1986) 311-329; *id.*, "Besik-Tepe. Vorberichte über die Ergebnisse der Grabungen von 1985 und 1986", *AA* (1988) 395f.; M.A. Basedow, *AJA* 99 (1995) 343; J.P. Crielaard & J. Driessen, *TOΠΟΙ* 4/1 (1994) 265, n. 82.

[140] H. Goldman, *Tarsus* III, Text: *The Iron Age*, Princeton 1963, 3-5.

[141] *Ibid.*, 6.

apse.[142] So it should not be excluded that the apsidal building measured at least 28,00m in length (Fig. 428).

Inside the apse three floors were recognised. The lowest, at 15,70, appears to be related with the outer curved foundation observed on the plan (Wall 1, Fig. 429) and dates in the Late Mycenaean/Hittite period. This floor yielded masses of loom weights and a hearth. Thus it seems that there was a large apsidal building at the same spot in the LBA as well (Unit U1).[143] The two succeeding floors, at 15,48 and 15,25, are related to the new apsidal edifice, U2 (Fig. 280, in outline), formed by Walls 2, 3 and 4. On the second floor there was a rectangular structure. It is situated near the rear end, in the centre of the building and seems to have been floored with pebbles. This paving (?) brings to one's mind the circular pavement inside Unit IV-1 at Nichoria (Fig. 259). The edifice was presumably in use until *c.* the middle of the 8th c.[144] by which time a few Greeks at least may have established themselves at the site.[145]

Building U2 at Tarsus is important for our study, for there may be a connection of some sort between this edifice and the roughly contemporary similar buildings in Greece, especially since there is evidence for Euboean pottery from this site, though of a later date (LG). In this respect it is regrettable that the exact date of construction was not fixed with accuracy. Moreover, we should recall that the various chronological divisions which were put forward by H. Goldman and her collaborators are sometimes judged too high.[146] Hence, one cannot say whether Unit U2 was erected before the "Heroön" of Lefkandi, or the other way round. In my opinion, the former was probably erected earlier, for it is built upon an edifice, of the end of the LBA, similar in shape and orientation, but this does not necessarily imply that the impulse to erect monumental apsidal buildings came from the East. Indeed, the reasons for the reappearance of the apsidal plan in Greece after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation are more complex than seems at first sight and I have dealt with this question elsewhere.[147]

Building A at **Eretria**, also known as the "Daphnephoreion" or "bay hut" (Fig. 105), in my opinion, contrary to the widespread opinion, may have originally been a dwelling.[148] The building

[142] *Ibid.*

[143] Unfortunately, only the northern extremity and the beginning of the apse of the NE long wall are preserved to a length of *c.* 10,50m. Since however the EIA apsidal edifice (Unit U2) follows the same lines of the LBA building, one assumes that the width of both structures would have been approximately the same (*c.* 9,00m). The presence of late LH IIIB and LH IIIC pottery at Tarsus is sometimes taken as an indication that at that period there was an influx of Mycenaeans at the site. Still, one is unable to decide whether the builders were Mycenaeans or natives. See H. Goldman, *Tarsus* II, Princeton 1956, 205-209, 350f.; G.L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians*, New York 1966, 21; T.J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London 1957, 32f.; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London 1980[3], 35; E.B. French, *AnatSt* 25 (1975) 53-75.

[144] *Cf.* H. Goldman, *Tarsus* III, Princeton 1963, 6f. Unit Pa-d which used as an E wall the W wall of Unit U2 was perhaps built around the middle of the 8th c. This unit it its turn was destroyed in 696 B.C., when the town was sacked by Sennacherib. Above the apse of Unit U there was a building, Unit O, which has been convincingly dated by Boardman after 696: *JHS* 85 (1965) 10 and G. Hanfman, "On Some Eastern Greek Wares found at Tarsus", in *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies presented to H. Goldman*, New York 1965, 122.

[145] It is possible that some Greeks may have settled at Tarsus around 800. See Hanfmann, *op.cit.*, 165ff.; J. Boardman, "Tarsus, Al Mina and Greek Chronology", *JHS* 85 (1965) 10; *id.*, *The Greeks Overseas*, London 1980[3], 43-45; T.J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London 1957, 31-33; N. Kourou, "Εύβοια και Ανατολική Μεσόγειος στις αρχές της πρώτης χιλιετίας", *AEM* 29 (1990/91) 261.

[146] J. Boardman, *JHS* 85 (1965) 10; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 115.

[147] A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Late Bronze Age Apsidal and Oval Buildings in Greece and Adjacent Areas", *BSA* 84 (1989) 269-288.

[148] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1900, 1910 (K. Kourouniotes); Swiss School, 1970-73 (C. Bérard). Bibliography: K. Kourouniotes, *ΠΑΕ* (1900) 53-55 & (1910) 267-269; C. Bérard, "Architecture érétrienne et mythologie delphique", *AntK* 14 (1971) 59-73; K. Schefold, *ΑΔ* 26 (1971) Χρον., 268-270; 27 (1972) Χρον., 357-359; M. Ervin-Caskey, *AJA* 75 (1971) 302; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 95 (1971) 1003f.; 96 (1972) 758; 98 (1974) 687; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 118f.; P. Auberson, "La reconstitution du Daphnéphoréion d'Erétrie", *AntK* 17 (1974) 60-68; Ph. Bruneau, *REG* 89 (1976) pp. xiii-xvi; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 322-324; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *ClQu* 73 (1979) 234-238 re-edited with changes in her book *"Reading" Greek Culture*, Oxford 1991, 211f., n. 20; L. Kahil, "Contribution à l'étude de l'Erétrie géométrique", in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 526; A. Altherr-Charon & C. Bérard, "Erétrie. L'organisation de l'espace et la formation d'une cité grecque", in

faces S and measures 9,75m in length and 6,50/60m in width. The stone foundation is 0,40m high and 0,55m wide (0,70m at the antas). The wall of the facade is interrupted twice by a pair of rectangular clay bases. The space between these bases, 3,40m wide, is considered to represent the entrance. Originally, it seems that the facade was open, for the front wall does not bond with the antas and is founded at a slightly higher level than the horseshoe wall of the edifice (phase A1).[149] If this assumption is correct, one could suggest that there was a row of posts forming the facade of the original structure, a technique also observed at Smyrna during the EA period (Figs. 402, 410b).[150] The stone socle was encased between two pairs of circular clay bases which point the existence of wooden posts set on either side of the walls. Two prostyle posts carried a porch. Three further column bases arranged like a triangle were found inside the building. To the N of these bases traces from a hearth were observed.

The date of construction of the building is not yet firmly established. Tentatively one may accept that it was built around the middle of the 8th c.[151] Whereas it seems that a few MG II sherds were found inside the building, the majority belong to the LG period.[152] One should also bear in mind that the stratigraphy was disturbed. The only certain fact is that the "Daphnephoreion" is of an earlier date than the monumental apsidal *hekatompedon* (Fig. 104). At some moment both buildings may have coexisted. This is suggested by two alcoves which can be seen on the exterior face of the *hekatompedon's* wall, which were necessary in order to preserve two of the clay bases belonging to the "Daphnephoreion"; the floor level inside Building A may have been raised, and perhaps the walking surface outside as well. In the second quarter of the 7th c. B.C., the area was levelled in order to erect the EA monumental rectangular temple of Apollo.[153]

The existence of such a large number of posts, the absence of traces of mud bricks and the width of the stone foundation, which could support on its own the superstructure of the building, led C. Bérard to conceive an intriguing theory;[154] he suggested that the building be considered as a faithful reproduction of the mythical temple which Apollo would have built at Delphi with bay wood he had brought from the valley of the Tempe.[155] The excavator also suggested that the stone foundation did not support the pitched roof: its only function would have been to prevent rain water from flooding inside the building. Indeed, according to Bérard, the roof must have been supported by the wooden columns. As for the wall, it would have been built with laurel branches and leaves. Following Bérard's theory, P. Auberson constructed a small model of the "bay hut" and explained in every detail the method of construction.[156]

L'archéologie aujourd'hui, ed. A. Schnapp, Paris 1980, 234-238; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 53f.; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 607-609; A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, ed. R.A. Tomlinson, Harmondsworth 1983[4], 117; S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 55; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 54f.;. J. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100-480 B.C.*, Ithaca & London 1985, 44, 74; H. Drerup, "Das sogenannte Daphnephoreion in Eretria", in *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie. Festschrift F. Hiller*, ed. K. Braun & A. Furtwängler, Saarbrücken 1986, 3-21; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 547-550; *id.*, *GE* (1987) 10f., 21; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 55f.; J.J. Coulton, "Post Holes and Post Bases in Early Greek Architecture", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 60-62; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 29-31; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 125, n. 143 at p. 132; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 130-132; J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 156f.

[149] C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 63, n. 19. See also Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 11, n. 36.

[150] *Cf.* the Priestess's House and the apsidal house in Trench B at Old Smyrna (Figs. 410b and Fig. 413).

[151] In the first preliminary report it was suggested that it may date around 800: K. Schefold, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 357. The date was soon after slightly lowered to *c.* the middle of the 8th c.: A. Altherr-Charon & C. Bérard, in *L'archéologie aujourd'hui*, ed. A. Schnapp, Paris 1980, 232; C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 62: "La céramique permet de dater la fondation aux environs du milieu du huitième siècle (?)"; P.G. Themelis, *ΠΑΕ* (1981) 141-143. See also Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 88: "erected before the end of MG II".

[152] p.c. by Professor L. Kahil (letter of April 12, 1985).

[153] P. Auberson, *Temple d'Apollon Daphnephoros. Architecture, Eretria* I, Bern 1968, 24; K. Schefold, *AntK* 9 (1966) 115; see also H. Jucker, "Der Apollontempel von Eretria", *Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, 21 Marz, 1969, 25.

[154] *AntK* 14 (1971) 59-73. See also Ph. Bruneau, *REG* 89 (1976) xiii-xvi.

[155] Pausanias, X, 5, 9.

[156] *AntK* 17 (1974) 60-68. Even if one accepts the theory of the "bay hut" (see below), it is difficult to follow Auberson in certain of his reconstructions; for example, the triangular opening through the pitched roof: see criticisms by Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 608.

There exist however obstacles concerning this theory. Preliminary reports mention a layer of destruction above the building which consisted of mud brick and carbonised wood.[157] In their preliminary reports the excavators suggested that the first building was intentionally demolished and was soon after replaced by a second "Daphnephoreion" built entirely of mud brick and wood. In my opinion, one should not rule out the possibility that this layer once belonged to the superstructure of the "bay hut". This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that the surface of the stone socle is "particulierement plane".[158] The unusual number of supports could be explained by the unstable nature of the soil and the excessive height of the walls, intended to create the impression of monumentality. It should be emphasised that even if the roof rested on the pairs of posts, this is not a reason to deny the existence of a mud brick wall (*cf.* Kastanas, Nichoria IV-1). It is true that at the moment of the discovery of the "Daphnephoreion" this technique was unknown at Eretria, but further excavations, especially in the sanctuary, have revealed similar examples.[159]

In two recent articles new ideas were developed by H. Drerup and J. Coulton. Drerup argues that the clay bases should be dissociated from the stone socle and be regarded as the traces left by an earlier building at the same spot.[160] This interesting theory cannot be proven until the stratigraphy is published; indeed, the same technique was observed in connection with Building C (Fig. 105) but it is not possible to prove that this building had a forerunner. Nevertheless, Drerup's suggestion should be considered seriously, since an exactly similar situation was observed in connection with an oval building (Fig. 116: House B) of the LG period excavated by P.G. Themelis *c.* 150m N of the sanctuary of Apollo.[161] There, a base was discovered next to the inner face of the stone socle, but 0,19m deeper than the lower course of stones, beneath the floor level.

More convincingly, J. Coulton argued that the clay bases recovered in connection with various buildings of Eretria (including those of the "Daphnephoreion") should be explained as the backfill of the wooden posts which descended deeper than the stone socle itself.[162] This backfill provided the posts with a kind of "waterproof jacket": the hard clay of the backfill was easily observed in the sandy subsoil of Eretria, while it would have been missed in the upper layers which would have consisted of earth mixed with clay.

The apparent absence of votive offerings from within the building and the existence of several other contemporary but modest edifices in the vicinity, presumably surrounded by courtyard walls, should incite caution before identifying Building A as the first cult building in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros (Fig. 104).[163] The edifice was preserved even after the erection of the *hekatompedon* of Apollo (Temple D). The discovery of a mid-9th c. warrior burial in the immediate vicinity,[164] a cremation (?) pyre *c.* 60m to the E (Fig. 101:26),[165] and of a PG (!) burial *c.* 200m further to the SE (Fig. 101:23),[166] as well as the fine quality of the pottery from the area, which need

[157] M. Ervin-Caskey, *AJA* 75 (1971) 302; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 95 (1971) 1004; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 119.

[158] C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 63.

[159] Apart from Buildings B and C in the sanctuary (Fig. 105) see L. Kahil, *AntK* 24 (1981) 85f., fig. 9 (Fig. 109). Two circular clay bases have been also found by P.G. Themelis in building plot 740: Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 8, n. 25 & 9, n.28, here Fig. 116 (W of the curved stone socle) and Fig. 118 (on the right bank of the torrent). Similar contemporary techniques (though in the form of postholes) can be observed at the neighbouring settlements of Xeropolis/Lefkandi (M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1979/80, 14f., pl. 8a, here Fig. 96), Oropos (Fig. 77) and in the Euboean "colony" at Pithekoussai (Fig. 122).

[160] In *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie. Festschrift F. Hiller*, Saarbrücken 1986, 3-21.

[161] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 9 and n. 28 and *supra* n. 159.

[162] *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 60-62.

[163] N. Marinatos ["What were Greek Sanctuaries? A Synthesis", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 229] regards the curvilinear buildings in the sanctuary of Apollo as "mere huts, seasonal structures that served as temporary shelters for the cult image and other paraphernalia". Yet, this statement is not applicable for Temple D, not even for Building A, which is even more solid than many contemporary ordinary houses.

[164] J. Touchais, *BCH* 104 (1980) 657; C. Krause, "Zur stadtebaulichen Entwicklung Eretrias", *AntK* 25 (1982) 139; L. Kahil, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 167; A. Altherr-Charon, *AntK* 24 (1981) 83.

[165] E. Touloupa, *ΑΔ* 33 (1978) Χρον., 125: the excavator notes "an extensive pyre with Geometric sherds from skyphoi, plates and kraters" in Building Plot 714.

[166] *Id.*, *ΑΔ* 35 (1980) Χρον., 227: remains of a human skeleton associated with PG sherds, in Building Plot 686. However, it is not clear whether the sherds represent genuine PG or SPG, since immediately afterwards the author notes that "the area was continuously occupied from the 8th to the 2nd c. B.C.".

not be exclusively votive in character,[167] could be taken as indications that at least until that time, when Eretria was living in peace, a class of warriors would have lived in the surroundings. Moreover, since no votive offerings seem to have been discovered inside Building A, should not one doubt that it was a cult building? One might argue that the circular altar/bothros (Fig. 104:F) suggests that Building A served for religious purposes. In this period during which there was no clear distinction between sacred and secular space, the proximity of a cult installation to a building does not necessarily imply an exclusively religious function for the latter (see Chapter II, p. 273). Consequently, I prefer to identify Building A as the dwelling of an important individual.[168] This important person may have continued to dwell there when the apsidal *hekatompedon* of Apollo was built next to it, or perhaps his remembrance was kept alive by preserving his house after his death. Following the same reasoning, one could suggest that the members of the privileged and powerful genos which were buried by the later West Gate (Figs. 101:17, 106),[169] once lived in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary,[170] and that only later on did the sanctuary expand.[171] Consequently, some of the comparatively unpretentious apsidal edifices in the area of the sanctuary, such as Building B in its first phase (B1), presumably dated approximately in the middle of the 8th c. B.C. (Fig. 104), were perhaps also dwellings of the Eretrian élite (p. 102).[172]

The graves at the cemetery by the subsequent West Gate (Fig. 106) are grouped near the earliest (*c.* 720/715 B.C.) and richest one, that of a "leader" (Tomb 6), who appears to have possessed a *skeptron*, a spear of the Mycenaean period (Fig. 107). Around 680 B.C. burials ceased to be made in this area; a triangular enclosure was built over the graves and votive offerings accompanied by sacrifices were presented to the dead.[173] Therefore, I am tempted to link the honours presented to the deceased "leader" and his relatives with the earlier instance of the pious preservation of Building A when the monumental temple of Apollo was built, *c.* in the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th c.

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[167] See most recently J.R. Gisler, "Erétrie et le peintre de Cesnola", *Αρχαιογνωσία* 8 (1993/94) 11-94, esp. 94, who does not appear to reject my hypothesis, though does not support it either.

[168] *GE* (1987) 21. This theory has received some support: see for instance C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 132 and A. Schachter, "Polity, Cult, and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries", in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 37.

[169] C. Bérard, *L'Héröon à la porte de l'Ouest, Eretria* III, Bern 1970; *id.*, "Topographie et urbanisme de l'Erétrie Archaïque: L'Héröon", in *Eretria* VI, Bern 1978, 89-95.

[170] For instance, in a deep trial trench opened by R. Moosbrugger (M35) a MG II hearth was found in the area between the apse of the *hekatompedon* and the facade of Building C (see Fig. 104): S. Huber, *Un atelier dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie*, Unpublished "Mémoire de Licence", Université de Lausanne 1990, 9.

[171] See also A. Schachter, in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 37 who also argues that "the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros grew out of a group of dwellings clustered together in the centre of the city, obviously the houses of the head of the community and those closest to him". The location of the cemetery of this important genos of the LG period would have been determined by two factors: (a) as I argued in *GE* (1987) 20, the northern part of the settlement was perhaps inhabited by the higher social classes, in which case the "aristocratic" grave plots would have been located in this part of the city. (b) it was natural to bury the noble warriors who had fought Chalcis, facing the enemy, thus memorialising their bravery (*ibid.*). Antonaccio remarks that a Geometric wall immediately beneath Tomb 15 (Fig. 106, no. E) might indicate that the "cemetery may have encroached upon a habitation area" [*Ancestors* (1995) 234; on this wall see C. Bérard, *Eretria* III, Bern 1970, 45].

[172] I argue in *GE* (1987) 21 that originally the area around the hypaethral sanctuary, centred around the circular altar (F) may have been occupied by houses of the upper social class but that during the course of the last quarter (?) of the 8th c., as the sanctuary expanded and the monumental temple of Apollo was built (Temple D) some of the earlier apsidal and oval edifices ceased to serve as habitations and perhaps fulfilled new functions related to the sanctuary.

[173] C. Bérard, *L'Héröon à la porte de l'Ouest, Eretria* III, Bern 1970; *id.*, "Topographie et urbanisme de l'Erétrie Archaïque: L'Héröon", in *Eretria* VI, Bern 1978, 89-95; *id.*, "Le sceptre du prince", *MusHelv* 29 (1972) 219-227; *id.*, "Récuperer la mort du prince: héroïsation et formation de la cité", in *Mort, morts* (1982) 89-105 and *id.*, "L'heroïsation et la formation de la cité: Un conflit idéologique", in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine. Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et l' École Française de Rome, Rome, 2-4 Dec., 1980*, Paris & Rome 1983, 43-59. See also J.P. Crielaard, *AEM* 30 (1992/93) 45-53, esp. 50 and J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 154-162. For the most recent discussion of the evidence see Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 228-236.

One could even assume that Building A had been the residence of the "leader" who was accorded a Homeric funeral and was later honoured like a hero by the West Gate.[174]

The most impressive building inside the sanctuary of Apollo is a huge apsidal temple (**Building D**, Fig. 105).[175] The ruins were at first attributed by K. Schefold to a "stoa" and a "megaron building" (to the S).[176] In 1969, P.G. Themelis proposed to identify the remains with an apsidal temple.[177] Subsequent excavations confirmed his opinion. The building faces towards the SE and measures *c.* 34,50/35,00m in length[178] and 7,00 to 8,00m in width. The measurements of the width vary, due to a slight convex curve of the long walls. The stone foundations are 0,50 to 0,60m wide and the superstructure was of mud bricks. Along the central axis, three stone bases belonging to a wooden axial colonnade, were preserved. The remains of an anta facade seen on the plan (Walls 6-7), belong to an earlier unfinished (?) building.[179] In front of the temple stood a square altar with a circular sacrificial (?) pit in its centre (Structure F, Fig. 104).

The apsidal *hekatompedon* has been tentatively dated between *c.* 740-720.[180] No pottery from the *hekatompedon* has been published yet, but it would be reasonable to assume that the edifice was not erected before the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th c., for monumental temples are first encountered towards the end of the 8th c. and the early 7th c. As for the date of the altar, it remains for the time being uncertain, though it would seem that the circular bothros was built before the end of the MG II period (presumably contemporary with Building A), while the rectangular element would have been a later addition (Fig. 104), possibly still of the 8th c. (contemporary with the apsidal *hekatompedon*?).[181]

Bronze offerings were found scattered on the floor of the building, including a North Syrian bronze horse blinker, dated in the third quarter of the 8th c. B.C.; an identical blinker with an Aramaic inscription was found by K. Kourouniotes in the same sanctuary, presumably in the area

[174] C. Bérard ["Argoura fut-elle la *capitale* des futurs érétriens?", *MusHelv* 42 (1985) 274; "Apollon porte-laurier", *Δεσμός* 11/12 (1986) 7-10] maintains concerning the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi, that "nous sommes en présence de la représentation du modèle de la dernière demeure d'un chef xéropolitain, c'est-à-dire érétrien". Despite the fact that I am not so sure about the supposition that the edifice of Lefkandi represents a large-scale model of a ruler's residence nor am I in agreement with the theory that Xeropolis/Lefkandi should be identified with Strabo's "Old-Eretria" [Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 21f.], one could argue that this statement, in a way, suits better what one observes at Eretria, though, as at Lefkandi, Building A appears to have been the actual residence of a leader subsequently transformed into a kind of "Heroön".

[175] Excavations: Temple: Swiss School, 1964-65 (K. Schefold); 1970-73 (C. Bérard). Altar: Greek Archaeological Society, 1900 (K. Kourouniotes); 1955 (J. Konstantinou); Swiss School, 1981 (A. Altherr-Charon and S. Amstad). Bibliography: K. Schefold, *AΔ* 20 (1965) Χρον., 275; 26 (1971) Χρον., 268; 27 (1972) Χρον., 357; *id.*, *AntK* 9 (1966) 115f.; 17 (1974) 69f.; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 95 (1971) 1003f.; 96 (1972) 752, 758; 98 (1974) 687; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 116-118; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 27f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 196; Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 59; C. Bérard, "Le premier temple de la cité grecque", *AntK* 25 (1982) 91f.; *id.*, "Apollon porte-laurier", *Δεσμός* 11/12 (1986) 7-17, esp. 7-11; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 554-556; *id.*, *GE* (1987) 13; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 56. Concerning Altar F see K. Kourouniotes, *ΠΑΕ* (1900) 55; J. Konstantinou, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 126f.; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) 758; A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 156f.; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1982/83) 18; G. Touchais, *BCH* 106 (1982) 597; A. Charbonnet, "Le dieu aux lions d'Erétrie", *AnnOrNap* 8 (1986) 117-173; Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 13; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 31.

[176] *AntK* 9 (1966) 115.

[177] *AE* (1969) 164f., fig. 8.

[178] The different orientation of the temple could be due to the lack of space in the area. The facade was not preserved and therefore its form remains uncertain. Yet, the preserved height of Wall 7 could suggest that it was reused as a socle of the front wall, in which case, the building would have been an oikos.

[179] One is not informed why these traces of an earlier edifice are regarded as the traces left by an *unfinished* building and not simply all that has been preserved of this building.

[180] C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 65; 25 (1982) 91; A. Altherr-Charon, *AntK* 24 (1981) 81; *id.* & C. Bérard, in *L'archéologie aujourd'hui*, ed. A. Schnapp, Paris 1980, 234; A. Charbonnet, *AnnOrNap* 8 (1986) 117-173. See also Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 27: "Spätgeometrisch".

[181] It seems that among the LG material found in association with the altar/bothros, there was plenty of MG II: L. Kahil (letter of Apr. 12, 1985). It has been proposed that the circular element be considered contemporary with the "Daphnephoreion", while the rectangular element a later addition, possibly still of the 8th c.: P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 119.

E-SE of the temple.[182] Furthermore, the plan itself leaves no doubt about the sacred use of the edifice. From later inscriptions and ancient writers it is well established that this was the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros. The apsidal LG building was the first of a succession of three monumental temples inside the sanctuary. The second monumental temple belongs to the early 7th c. B.C.[183]

In Euboea the tradition of monumental apsidal buildings reaches back to the start of the first millennium B.C. (*cf.* the "Heroön" of Lefkandi); yet, in our present state of knowledge it is difficult to say whether such buildings existed during the three intervening centuries. My personal feeling is that the monumental apsidal temples are a phenomenon restricted to the close of the Geometric period and represent a fresh start. It should not be excluded, however, that during the 9th and early 8th c. a few wealthy families may have lived in comparable monumental edifices, though this has not been proven yet.

THE PELOPONNESE

Despite its bad state of preservation, the small apsidal temple of **Hera Akraia** at **Perachora** has attracted the attention of numerous scholars dealing with early Greek religious architecture and cults, since it was one of the first EIA cult buildings identified in Greece (Figs. 186-187).[184] The building faces E and its dimensions can be estimated to *c.* 7,50/8,00 by *c.* 3,50m.[185] The thickness of the stone socle, judging by the preserved N wall, is 0,70m; such thickness is exceptional by Geometric standards, especially since the building's proportions are minute. One could suggest that the width of the wall did not exceed *c.* 0,40/0,45m, and to explain the remaining width (*c.* 0,25/0,30m) as an interior bench.[186] There is however no way to prove such an assumption. The superstructure of the wall was evidently composed of mud bricks. H.G.G. Payne, explained certain "large lumps of whitish clay found in the neighbouring geometric deposit" as remains of the floor,[187] but these may have been decayed mud bricks from the wall's superstructure.

Unfortunately, no sherds were found inside the building. Its chronology depends on the date of the votive deposit, which extended outside (Fig. 189). The earliest dedications can be dated around

[182] A. Charbonnet, *AnnOrNap* 8 (1986) 117-173 (on the inscribed blinker, now in the National Museum at Athens, inv. no. 15070, see *ibid.*, 123, no. 2,1). See also N. Kourou, "Εύβοια και Ανατολική Μεσόγειος στις αρχές της πρώτης χιλιετίας", *AEM* 29 (1990/91) 248-250. A bronze horse frontlet from Samos bears an identical inscription and presumably belonged to the same set of horse trappings. See H. Kyrieleis, "The Heraion at Samos", in *Sanctuaries* (1993) 146, 118 with earlier bibliography at p. 153, n. 18. Kyrieleis dates the piece from Samos to the late 9th c. B.C. but concedes that several years elapsed between its manufacture and dedication.

[183] P. Auberson, *Eretria* I, Bern 1968, 11-15; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 633f.

[184] Excavations: British School, 1933 (H. Payne). Bibliography: H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia. Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 1930-1933* I: *Architecture, Bronzes, Terracottas*, Oxford 1940, 27-77; T.J. Dunbabin, "The Oracle of Hera Akraia at Perachora", *BSA* 46 (1951) 63-71; N.G.L. Hammond, "The Heraeum at Perachora and Corinthian Encroachment", *BSA* 49 (1954) 94-102; R. Lisle, *The Cults of Corinth*, Ph.D. diss., Baltimore 1955, 7-13; J. Salmon, "The Heraeum at Perachora and the Early History of Corinth and Megara", *BSA* 67 (1972) 159-204, esp. 161-168; R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1976, 111f.; *id.*, "The Upper Terraces at Perachora", *BSA* 72 (1977) 197-202; *id.*, "Perachora", in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 321-346, esp. 326-332. See also D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1945[2], 61, 322; W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 41; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 28; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 233f.; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 270, 277, 409; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult*, *AHom* III, V, 1974, 135-138; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 56; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 174, 322; A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, ed. R.A. Tomlinson, Harmondsworth 1983[4], 116f.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 787f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 20; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 696-699; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 51; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 39f.; U. Sinn, "Das Heraion von Perachora", *AM* 105 (1990) 53-116, esp. 100f.; C. Morgan, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 129-135. Now see B. Menadier, "The Sanctuary of Hera Akraia and its Religious Connections with Corinth", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, in press.

[185] H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, 28 estimated that the building's dimensions would have been 8,00 X 5,00/6,00m. However, in his plate 139a he drew a building 7,40m long and 3,60m wide, as one would expect. *Contra* see Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 40.

[186] *Cf.* the similar cases of Tourkovounia (Fig. 133) and Hymettos (Fig. 137).

[187] *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, 28.

800, the latest between 725/20.[188] However, as J. Salmon states, "there is no clear evidence that the temple was built at the time of the first dedications from the votive deposit, early in MG II but this is a natural assumption",[189] and R.A. Tomlinson does not dismiss a dating as late as shortly after the middle of the 8th c.[190] Whether the temple continued to receive visitors after *c.* 725/20 one cannot be sure. A solution to the problem can be found only if one compares the area by the shore with that of the so-called temenos of Hera Limenia, on the terraces further up the hill (Fig. 185). Tomlinson suggests that this temenos was founded in order to receive the surplus of offerings, dedicated at the temple by the harbour.[191] The earliest offerings in the upper temenos can be dated around 740.[192] T.J. Dunbabin noted that "in some cases fragments from the harbour area joined others in the Limenia terrace", which means that offerings from the harbour would have been collected periodically and deposited there.[193] For this reason and because votive deposits of 7th-6th c. date were discovered to the W of the Geometric deposit[194] and because the latter was deeply disturbed and its upper level presumably removed in the second half of the 6th c. in order to create the space necessary for the construction of the altar of the new temple of Hera,[195] one could suggest that the apsidal building was still in use in the 7th c. and the first half of the 6th c. B.C. Remains to explain why there was a second cult edifice at Perachora (the "temple" of Hera Limenia), if one accepts that the apsidal shrine lasted until the 6th c., when the Archaic temple of Hera Akraia was built. I will deal with this problem in the discussion of the so-called temenos of Hera Limenia (p. 154).

The presence of the votive deposit next to the modest edifice leaves no doubt that this was a cult building.[196] Judging by later inscriptions, the divinity worshipped was Hera Akraia.[197] As already noted, it seems that this was the only cult practised at Perachora (see discussion concerning the temple and temenos of Hera Limenia, p. 155 below).

The clay **building models** (Fig. 499a-f) discovered in the votive deposit bear painted decoration which proves that they were of Corinthian manufacture and therefore could be regarded as reflections of contemporary buildings in the Corinthia.[198] The models date to the first half or in the third quarter of the 8th c. It should be noted here that despite the fact that usually models were dedicated to sanctuaries, it is not ascertained whether they represent temples or the house of the dedicant. Provided that the clay building models associated with this shrine are considered as replicas of the temple itself (*cf.* Fig. 188), one could restore a porch supported by columns. Indeed, the fact that all the building models recovered in this site are apsidal would perhaps favour the former hypothesis, though, cases such as the Heraion of Samos, where the building models cannot be compared to the actual temple (*cf.* Figs. 388 and 502-508), should incite caution. Fagerström suggested that colonists may have dedicated in this specific sanctuary models of houses, at the beginning of their journey, but this hypothesis is weakened by the early date of the models and the fact that this practice was not continued when the colonisation movement was at its peak.[199]

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[188] See Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 409 and Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 174.
[189] *BSA* 67 (1972) 163.
[190] *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1976, 112; *id.*, in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 331f.
[191] *BSA* 72 (1977) 201f.
[192] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 174.
[193] *Perachora* II, Oxford 1940, 5. J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 164f. is convinced that a temple of Hera Akraia always existed by the harbour, but maintains that it has left no trace.
[194] H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940 31; J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 163-165, 178.
[195] Payne, *op.cit.*, 30. Concerning the date of the Archaic altar see J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 165 and H. Plommer & F. Salviat, "The Altar of Hera Akraia at Perachora", *BSA* 61 (1966) 207-215.
[196] The deposit contained apart from the pottery, the well known fragments of four or five apsidal building models (Fig. 499), bronze pins and spits, bronze and iron fibulae, gold jewels, stone seals, scarabs of faience and other minor objects.
[197] H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, 78; J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 161. See also Strabo VIII, 380.
[198] Payne, *op.cit.*, 34-51; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 72-74; J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 185-187; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 606f.; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 33-39, with full earlier bibliography.
[199] *GIAA* (19878) 157, n. 188. See also C. Morgan, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 132f.

An alleged "apsidal" building was discovered *c.* 300m to the W of the modern village Galataki (ancient **Solygeia**), *c.* 5 km S of Corinth's harbour, Kenchrai (Fig. 197).[200] It faces W and measures *c.* 26,00m in length and 7,00m in width. Only the S wall, half of the apsidal compartment and the front porch were preserved. According to the excavator there were two building periods. The facts are as follows. During the excavations it became apparent that the S wall of the building (Walls 3-7) presented two building phases. Wall 4, which is 0,65m thick, is built with a single course of huge stones, set in two rows. Its height attains 0,70m. Wall 6 is at a lower level than Wall 5, which was ascribed to the second building phase, and may represent the continuation of Wall 4. Wall 7 consists of small rounded stones, placed at the same level as Wall 6. Verdelis, in his diary, suggests that these stones do not represent a wall. He explains their presence by theorising that they tumbled down the hill which lies immediately to the S of the building and abutted on the outer face of the curved wall of the second building phase (i.e. the concave curve of Wall 7 indicates the line of the exterior face of the apse).[201] A small segment of wall (?), 8, represents according to Verdelis, the return of the apse of the first building phase. It is very badly preserved and it is not certain that it was curved, as the excavator maintained. Further evidence for the existence of two building phases is provided by two stone bases for wooden posts discovered in the porch (Bases ζ and ζ'), which are off centre. The distance between Base ζ' and Wall 1 is 1,55m, that of Base ζ and Wall 4, 2,20m. Below the W extremity of Wall 4, certain small stones (η-η') project 0,15m to the N. These, according to Verdelis, represent the base of a parastade, composed of mud bricks. Since Walls 1-3 belong to the second building phase (*cf.* below), Verdelis suggested that Bases ζ and ζ' and the "parastade" represent the line of the facade of the first building phase. The N wall of the building would have been located *c.* 0,65m N of Wall 1 and would have been totally destroyed. At a distance of 4,17m E of the line of the facade, below Wall 4, a few small stones projecting 0,15m to the N were observed. The excavator took this fact as evidence for the beginning of a cross wall, built with mud bricks, which had left no trace. Thus, he restored a porch similar to that of the second building. The dimensions of the first building would have been *c.* 23,00 by 7,65m i.e. it would have been shorter and wider than its successor. The superstructure of the exterior walls would have been composed of mud bricks. A rectangular pit sunk into the floor, lined with stones on three sides, was uncovered next to the apse. The inner faces were well dressed, the outer ones were unworked, indicating that it was not meant to protrude from the walking surface.[202] It contained black earth and sherds[203] and was interpreted as an altar/hearth. Verdelis seems to imply that this structure was placed there during the first building period (see however below).

At some time during its existence, the building underwent certain transformations. Walls 1-3 and 5 are built in a different manner than the walls of the first period; much smaller stones were used for their construction, while Corinthian roof tiles were incorporated inside Walls 3 and 5. Moreover, Wall 2 does not bond with Wall 4, but simply abuts on it. The line of the facade was moved *c.* 3,50m to the W. As in the first phase, there were two wooden columns between parastades. The two column bases of the first period were maintained, now serving as supports for the roof. The length of the new building, following Verdelis, would have been *c.* 24,50m, the width 7,00m. The superstructure would have been composed of mud bricks as well.

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[200] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1957-58 (N. Verdelis). Bibliography: N. Verdelis, *Σολύγεια 1958* (excavation diary); *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1958) 135-145; *Ἔργον* (1958) 112-118; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 16 (1960) Χρον., 81; *id.*, "A Sanctuary at Solygeia", *Archaeology* 15 (1962) 184-192; G. Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958) 702; 83 (1959) 608; A.D. Brockmann, *Die griechische Ante*, Marburg 1968, 153; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 29; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 194, 422; D.W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese c. 750/725 to c. 300/275 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 26-28, 285-287; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 81; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 322, 328; J. Wiseman, *The Land of the Ancient Corinthians*, Göteborg 1978 (*SIMA* 50) 56-58; N.G.L. Hammond, *CAH* III, 1 (1982) 719; M. Théophilopoulou, *Le développement urbain de Corinthe de l'époque géométrique à 146 av. J.C.*, Unpublished Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1983, 28; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 790f.; J. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, Oxford 1984, 27, 49f.; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 52; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 748-754; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 65f.

[201] *Σολύγεια 1958*, 23.

[202] *Ibid.*, 26.

[203] *Ibid.*, 20f.

One is faced with problems in trying to adopt the excavator's views. Certain points deserve further treatment:

1. Verdelis mentions in his note book that while the inner face of the S wall is composed of huge blocks, the outer face is built with much smaller stones and pebbles.[204] Moreover, only the stones of the inner face were dressed, while those of the outer one were not.[205] A retaining wall runs parallel to the S wall of the building (Wall 9, Fig. 198). Its lower course of stones was at the level of the upper surface of the building's S wall. Verdelis suggests in his diary (p. 3) that a terrace, 2,50m wide was formed between Wall 9 and the S wall of the building; he also argues that the exterior face of the latter was not visible, for it would have been covered with earth.

2. If we accept that Walls 6-8 belong to the apse of the first building, we find it is impossible to reconstruct a symmetrical ground plan. On the other hand, Verdelis' reconstruction of the second building seems unlikely: the apse would have been almost triangular and the hearth would have been placed too close to the wall. The Greek scholar was perhaps aware of this problem for he did not publish a reconstructed plan of the edifice.

3. There are no traces of a door opening through the cross wall (Wall 2). Moreover, it is strange that not even a small part of the continuation towards the E of Wall 1 has survived. The corner formed by Walls 1 and 2 is perfect and suggests that such a wall never existed.

4. It is curious that supports for the roof were only encountered in the small porch, while such supports would have been indispensable along the central axis of the main apsidal compartment.

5. The two protuberances of small stones (θ-θ' and η-η' on the plan) do not bond with the S wall; instead, they are set below the lower surface of the wall.[206] Could it be that their presence there is incidental or that they supported upright posts?

On the basis of the points listed above, I suggest that only the W rectangular compartment would have been roofed, while the remaining S foundation would have been a retaining and probably a peribolos wall.[207] In the first phase there was perhaps no roofed building; in the second phase, a square building was built against the old retaining or peribolos wall, measuring 7,40m on a side. It is not certain whether the so-called altar/hearth belongs to the first or the second phase (see discussion below).

Unfortunately, the stratigraphy was disturbed and therefore cannot help in dating the various building phases. The sherds collected in and around the "apsidal building" range from the end of the 8th c. to the beginning of the 5th c. B.C.[208] A few Mycenaean sherds were also found, but they may be intrusive and could simply attest that the area was used in the LBA.[209] The construction of the square roofed building and the repair of the terrace wall may be dated in the 6th c., for roof tiles of that date were incorporated in Walls 3 and 5. The "altar/hearth" contained two or three Mycenaean sherds, LG, PC and later pieces. Since however roof tiles of the 6th c. were incorporated in the rubble wall which enclosed the pit,[210] the earlier sherds may have been perhaps intrusions. I therefore propose that the terrace was built towards the end of the Geometric period, while the square building in the 6th c. The "hearth" may have been in use during the LG period and repaired in the 6th c.

On the slopes of the hill, at a distance of *c.* 50m S of the building, on top of a Mycenaean chamber tomb, the roof of which had collapsed, Verdelis discovered a rich votive deposit. Further up the hill he noted EIA sherds inside another chamber tomb. The votive deposit consisted of *c.* 1000 vases and more than 50 human figurines, most of them female.[211] The earliest pieces date to the beginning of the 7th c., the later ones in the beginning of the 5th c. The nature of the finds suggests

[204] *Ibid.*, 3.
[205] *Ibid.*
[206] *Ἔργον* (1958) 117, fig. 123.
[207] The same idea was expressed by M.O. Knox, *ClQu* N.S. 23 (1973) 39, but it was not developed.
[208] Classical and Hellenistic, sherds were also found, though in smaller quantities.
[209] The sherds of all periods were mixed together. Often, the earliest sherds were found in the upper layers, while the later ones in the deepest.
[210] D.W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 27.
[211] J.N. Coldstream, "Hero Cults in the Age of Homer", *JHS* 96 (1976) 10 and I. Morris, "Tomb Cult and the Greek Renaissance", *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 759 include the deposit of Solygeia in their discussion of hero cults in the EIA. The material from the deposit will be published by Mrs. R. Papantoniou. Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 65, wrongly states that 500 figurines were found.

that the divinity worshipped may have been Hera, though Demeter or Kore are possible candidates as well.[212] Verdelis was convinced that the temple related to the votive deposit was the apsidal building he had found. I argued previously that there was no roofed building in this area until the 6th c. Moreover, the character of the finds there, was presumably domestic; one notes the large number of clay spindle whorls which were scattered all over the excavated area, especially inside the square room. A large amount of the pottery is coarse ware. The only possible cult utensil was a undecorated clay pyxis, found in the same room.[213] As for the finds associated with the "altar/hearth" one may simply remark that nothing corroborates its sacred character: apart from the sherds mentioned previously, the interior yielded fragments of stones with evident traces of burning, shapeless scorias (especially towards the centre of the pit),[214] a few obsidian flakes,[215] while an iron sheet was discovered in the outside by the SW corner.[216] The finds would accord better with an installation associated with metalworking. I therefore tentatively suggest that the excavated complex may have been used for ordinary household activities, or even as a workshop. In case, however, a religious function is assigned to the complex, one would have to admit that the cult was originally carried out in the open air.

Two additional remarks are necessary: firstly, the whole area around the excavated complex was inhabited, for innumerable stones and sherds are visible on the surface of the earth.[217] Secondly, the unit excavated by Verdelis seems to have lasted longer than the cult at the Mycenaean grave, for Classical and Hellenistic sherds were also found. Indeed, the location of the votives would indicate a chthonian cult, perhaps of ancestral or heroic nature in connection with the Mycenaean chamber tombs and there would have been no need for a temple to house them. Thus, I propose that the building investigated at Solygeia should no longer be included in the lists of Geometric temples.

The well-known apsidal building at **Mycenae**, E of the "House of the Oil Merchant" (Fig. 199:2, 203b), was a modest construction, provided in my opinion with three rooms and a porch with columns in the manner of the small clay model from Perachora (Figs. 202, 204). According to the excavator, the apsidal building measures 9,00m in length and 3,50 in width.[218] It faces N-S, and the entrance was presumably located to the N. The thickness of the walls varies from 0,35 to 0,40m.[219] The building, according to Verdelis' reconstruction, was divided into four compartments: an anteroom to the N, two middle chambers, and a small room in the rear apsidal end (Fig. 203a). The latter was separated from the adjacent room with the aid of a thin wall, built with one course of stones. A threshold, formed of small stones, was excavated between the two middle rooms.[220] The floor to the S of the threshold was *c.* 0,90m lower than the level of the two northern compartments. The access to the southern half of the building was facilitated by a flight of steps hewn in the rock.

Verdelis' reconstruction of the building's ground plan (Fig. 203a) seems correct, except in two details: he reconstructs an anteroom to the N, enclosed by walls; the width of this room would have been *c.* 0,75m! It is indicative that Verdelis was aware of this problem since he states in his report that the entrance of the building was preceded by a shallow "stoa" (i.e. a porch supported by

[212] N. Verdelis, *ΠΑΕ* (1958) 136 and n. 1; A. Schachter, "Polity, Cult, and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries", in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 16.
[213] *Σολύγεια 1958*, 7.
[214] *Ibid.*, 21 (M5).
[215] *Ibid.*, 20.
[216] *Ibid.*, 19 (M4).
[217] Personal observation during my visit at the site in Oct. 21, 1984.
[218] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1962 (N. Verdelis). Bibliography: N. Verdelis, *Μυκῆναι 1962*, excavation diary, pp. 29-36; *id.*, *Ἔργον* (1962) 106-108; (1963) 77-79; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 85-87; (1963) 110f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 28; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 109; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 408; Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 66, 68f.; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 56f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 322; S. Dietz, *Asine* II, fasc. 1, Stockholm 1982, 54; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 791; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 26; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 661-663; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 52; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 30; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 144; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 16f.
[219] The height preserved ranges from 0,40 (W wall) to 0,65m (E wall). Neither the preliminary reports nor the excavator's day books mention the material used for the superstructure of the walls. The presence of numerous fallen stones found within and along the walls seems to imply stone construction up to the roof.
[220] Its dimensions: 1,30m (preserved length) by 0,44m.

wooden columns).[221] This, indeed, is the only alternative way to reconstruct the building's facade (Figs. 202, 204). My second point of disagreement is in the way the excavator restored the apse; the scanty remains of the SE part of the building suggest a more gentle curve.[222]

Unfortunately, the space within and around the building was much disturbed; the fill which covered the building contained material ranging from Mycenaean to Hellenistic times.[223] Verdelis also notes that some of the tumbled stones from the walls of the building rested on a Hellenistic stratum, and the idea crossed his mind that the edifice remained in use until that period. He preferred, however, to dissociate these stones from the rest, simply because the idea that the building had such a long life seemed improbable.[224] Numerous sherds, however, belong to the LG period. If we add to this the fact that below the threshold and the E wall, only Mycenaean sherds were encountered and that the plan is apsidal, we are led to dating the edifice in the EIA.[225] The presence among the finds of two LPG sherds is not proof enough favouring a dating in the second half of the 10th c.[226] It is possible that the building was still standing in the Archaic period, and perhaps even later.

Among the material from the fill there were certain miniature vases and a few Archaic clay horse figurines.[227] Verdelis, who identified the building as a temple, suggested that the innermost compartment was an "adyton", where the cult image of the divinity was kept. It is strange, however, that the building was situated among graves of the Geometric period.[228] I therefore suggest that it may have been a chthonian shrine related to those graves (or a house later converted into a chapel). Moreover, in the area outside the Mycenaean "Cyclopean" walls there is ample evidence for cult practice connected with heroes and ancestors.[229] If one accepts this interpretation, one can understand more easily the reason why the floor of the rear half of the building was at a lower level than the one of the front half (Fig. 202).[230] Finally, one should bear in mind that horse figurines are often encountered in chthonian or funerary contexts.[231]

At **Asine**, excavations in the plain N of Kastraki and E of Barbouna hill (**Karmaniola** plot, Fig. 220:8) revealed the remains of two parallel stone socles, ascribed by the excavators to two apsidal buildings (Unit 74L-M etc., here **Building C**, Figs. 222, 227).[232] Both walls were directed

[221] *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 85. The two rectangular stone foundations should be interpreted as bases for wooden columns: in that respect it may be significant to note that the NE foundation was just 0,14m high, thus contrasting with the height of the rest of the walls.

[222] Fagerström's supposition that the ruins do not belong to a roofed structure is not credible since the E wall is preserved to a height of *c.* 0,65m [*GIAA* (1988) 30].

[223] *Μυκῆναι 1962*, 29 and 33: "ἡ ἐπίχωσις τοῦ ἀψιδωτοῦ δωματίου συνίσταται ἀπό κροκάλες καί ἀνάμεικτα ὀστρακα ἀπό τῶν ἑλληνιστικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν μυκηναϊκῶν". The excavator suggested that the edifice was destroyed by an earthquake (p. 33).

[224] *Μυκῆναι 1962*, 35. Initially (Aug. 1, 1962), he dated the ruined walls in the Hellenistic period.

[225] *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 110f.

[226] *Ibid.*, pl. 91β.

[227] *Ibid.*, pl. 91α and *Ἔργον* (1962) 128, fig. 108.

[228] Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 64-71. The same author [*Sanctuaries* (1992) 16] notes that "the small dimensions and isolated location of this building may point to a non-domestic function".

[229] Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 16f. who assembles the evidence: apart for the rather common votive deposits in chamber and tholos graves, two successive pavings above Grave Circle B were interpreted by J. Papadimitriou [*ΠΑΕ* (1953) 207-209] and G. Mylonas (*Ο Ταφικὸς Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών*, Athens 1973, 18) as a hero shrine. I should also mention here that the Agamemnoneion which was founded in the LG period was situated *c.* 1,0 km S-SW of the acropolis (Fig. 199:4): see J.M. Cook, "The Agamemnoneion", *BSA* 48 (1953) 30-68 and *id.*, in *Γέρας Α. Κεραμόπουλλου*, Athens 1953, 112f.; R. Hägg, "Gifts to the Heroes in Geometric and Archaic Greece", in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, Uppsala 1987 (*Boreas* 15) 96-98; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 147-152, with full bibliography.

[230] *Cf.* Room 1 of the chthonian shrine at Anavyssos, p. 145, Fig. 155, but also Nichoria IV-1, p. 77.

[231] L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben", *JdI*, 29 (1914) 179-255. See also C.G. Styrenius, *Submycenaean Studies*, Lund 1967, 113f. For a different opinion see M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, München 1955, 382f.

[232] Excavations: Swedish Institute, 1971-74 (C.G. Styrenius and S. Dietz). Bibliography: S. Dietz, *Asine* II: *Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970-1974*, fasc. 1: *General Stratigraphical Analysis and Architectural Remains*, Stockholm 1982, 43-53; B. Wells, *Asine* II: *Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970-1974*, fasc. 4: *The Protogeometric Period.* Part 2: *An Analysis of the Settlement*, Stockholm 1983, 31, 88-90; *id.*, "Early Greek Building Sacrifices", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 265; Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 51-53; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 609; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 498-502; *id.*, *Temples*

N-S and the entrance was probably to the S. The preserved length of the two foundations is *c.* 11,50m.[233] The exterior foundation is 0,50m wide and consists of a single course of stones. In connection with this foundation, traces from mud bricks were observed. The inner socle is also *c.* 0,50m wide. Yet, only the stones of the W face form a continuous line, while the E part of the socle is formed of small stones which, judging by the plan and photographs,[234] present no apparent face. No mud bricks were found in association with this foundation. Against the inner face of the outer foundation three dark circular patches may indicate posts set along the wall. Smaller clay patches were found in association with the inner foundation, perhaps indicating a similar technique. Two flat stones slightly off centre of the central axis of the two buildings could belong to an interior colonnade. In the SE part of the buildings, a hearth was recognised.

The outer foundation is believed to be earlier than the inner one. Dietz's only argument supporting this view was that only one floor level was recognised, the one related to the inner foundation.[235] He maintained that the floor of the larger building was removed when the inner house was erected, while Wells suggested that the same floor was retained in the second apsidal building.[236] In my opinion, one should seriously doubt that the actual remains belong to two distinct buildings (Fig. 228).[237] The exact alignment and depth of both foundations, the presence of only one floor, plus the fact that mud brick from the superstructure was observed only in association with the outer foundation, could mean that the inner foundation was a bench set along the inner face of the wall.[238] A further indication towards such an interpretation is that while the outer wall presents two faces, the inner one seems to present only one. Today, the idea that the two stone socles belong to one single building has also been adopted by S. Dietz.[239]

Both foundations belong to the 10th c. A one-handled jug (Fig. 225), dated in the second PG Asine phase, built into the eastern foundation, provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the outer foundation, and consequently, in my opinion, of Building C.[240] B. Wells suggested that this jug represents a libation sacrifice during the erection of the first apsidal building;[241] if one accepts this interpretation, one might argue that the outer foundation was built before the end of phase 2. The

(1988) 116, n. 35; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 23-25; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 26, 175; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 77-80; Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Early Sanctuaries", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 7.

[233] Dietz proposes 11,50-12,00 by 7,80-8,00m for the length of the largest building and 11,00-11,50 by 6,20m for the smaller one (interior dimensions). However, the arc of the inner apse suggests a length of at least 15,00m. B. Wells (*Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 89) suggests that the outer foundation did not necessarily follow the curve of the inner one, and therefore could have been narrower.

[234] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 44, figs. 34 and 36.

[235] *Ibid.*, 46.

[236] *Ibid.*, 49 and B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 30, respectively.

[237] Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 498-502; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 116, n. 35; *id.*, in *Ο ομηρικός οίκος, Πρακτικά του Ε' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια, 11-14 Σεπτ. 1987*, Ithaca 1990, 190; *id.*, *OpAth* 19 (1992) 80, 83.

[238] B. Wells remains sceptical of my interpretation for the following reasons (p.c., 1986): (1) Mud brick would leave no trace if the destruction of a building is not caused by a conflagration (*cf.* however the case of the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi). (2) The presence of posts against the inner face of both foundations [yet, the evidence for the presence of such posts at Asine is very uncertain, especially concerning the inner foundation. The existence of posts along the inner face of the outer foundation does not prevent one from reconstructing a bench. Moreover, the presence of the upright posts may have been the reason for which there existed a gap between bench and wall: *cf.* a similar contemporary instance at Nichoria (Unit IV-1b, Fig. 265b) and see also the bench in apsidal House I at Pithekoussai (Fig. 122)]. (3) The bench would have been too wide [indeed, it would have been *c.* 0,70m wide. Yet, benches in Geometric buildings were sometimes even wider: houses at Lathouriza (Figs. 149, 152), Eretria (Fig. 109) and Zagora (Figs. 305-306), and cult buildings at Tourkovounia (Fig. 133), Hymettos (Fig. 137), Delos (Fig. 319), etc.]. (4) There is no evidence of earth packing between the bench and the wall; moreover such a technique is rarely encountered in Geometric times [this technique is encountered at Vitsa Zagoriou, Zagora, House V at Emporio, Kastro (Kavousi) and elsewhere. One also wonders whether an earth packing would leave any clear traces in a disturbed context such as that of Building C at Asine].

[239] Public lecture at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, Febr. 7, 1996. Dr. Dietz mentioned also that the late K. Kilian had expressed a similar view during a public lecture.

[240] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 49, fig. 48; B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 27, fig. 8 & 82f., fig. 60.

[241] *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 265.

pottery from the floor and the fill over it belongs to Asine phase 3.[242] In absolute terms, phase 2 pottery seems to date to the early years of the 10th c. B.C., while phase 3 pottery corresponds to the Athenian LPG phase.[243]

Very few items were recovered inside the building,[244] but one should bear in mind that it was already emptied of its contents in ancient times. In the immediate vicinity (to the E and N) five child and two adult tombs (one of which contained two skeletons), all dated in the PG period, were excavated (Fig. 223).[245] There is also evidence for burial rituals, presumably libations, in connection with these tombs.[246] An hypaethral cult area, centred around a pithos was identified a few metres to the N (Figs. 223-224). The main bulk of the pottery associated with the pithos and its surroundings appears to antedate the erection of Building C, but it cannot be excluded that at some point, the apsidal building and the cult area were simultaneously in use.[247] In the LG period, when the apsidal unit was in ruins, a circular pavement, similar to those which are thought to be usually associated with the veneration of ancestors[248] was built over the building (Fig. 222:74F).[249] This fact could be taken as an indication that the owner(s) of the house, who doubtless would have belonged to an important family, may have been remembered and venerated in the LG period, though a purely domestic function of the circular structure cannot be excluded.[250] The large dimensions of the edifice and the impressive bench could suggest that the building served communal functions, like contemporary Unit IV-1 at Nichoria. Unlike the unit at Nichoria, however, the limited scale of the excavation and consequently our fragmentary knowledge of the EIA settlement, do not allow one to identify the occupant of the building of Asine with a member of the governing élite.[251]

To the W of the rectangular temple of Apollo Pythaeus on the summit of **Barbouna** hill, also at **Asine** (Figs. 220:1, 237, Temple A) two segments of walls were discovered (B-C, Fig. 238).[252] The

[242] Concerning the date of the building see S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 46-49.

[243] B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 124. Phase 3 would have begun in the second quarter of the 10th c. and would have lasted until shortly before the end of the 10th c.

[244] Two pieces of obsidian and a loom weight are the only finds which are thought to represent items lying *in situ* inside the apsidal building: Wells, *op.cit.*, 90. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 24, 127] mentions twelve recorded pottery finds from the floor of the second building (eleven of PG date and one intrusive fragment of the Geometric period) and one intrusive (?) LH IIIB figurine.

[245] B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:1, Stockholm 1976, *passim*, esp. p. 31; *id.*, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 30f., with the revised dating of the graves: Tombs 1970-6, 1970-9 and 1970-10 belong to the PG 1 phase of Asine; a disturbed tomb (i.e. two miniature vases, F70-30 and F70-32), near Tomb 1970-15 may belong to phase 2; Tombs 1940-14 and 1970-15 belong to phase 3 and therefore were contemporary with Building C. Tombs 1972-2, 1972-3 and 1970-13 have been vaguely dated in the PG period.

[246] *Asine* II, 4:1, Stockholm 1976, 24f. A coarse jug pierced with a hole at the bottom (F 70-19) was associated with Tomb 1970-15.

[247] B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 33f., where a dating in the late Asine phase 1 is considered likely. *Contra* see S.H. Langdon, *AJA* 89 (1985) 533, where a dating in the late 10th or 9th c. is regarded equally acceptable. See also the recent analysis of the find by Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 7.

[248] Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-193.

[249] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 34-36. See also *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 193 (intervention by B. Wells and reply by R. Hägg).

[250] Hägg, *op.cit.*, 193.

[251] Mazarakis Ainian, *Temples* (1988) 116, n. 35. According to R. Hägg (*op.cit.*, 193) "the PG building could have had a religious function or be the house of the chieftain". For a similar view see Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 158. Wells [*Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 265] suggests that the libation sacrifice could mean "that we may attribute special functions to the house - perhaps it was a chieftain's dwelling".

[252] Excavations: Swedish Institute, 1924, 1926 (O. Frödin and A.W. Persson). Bibliography: O. Frödin & A.W. Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938, 148-151; B. Wells, "Apollon i Asine", *Medusa* 3 (1986) 13f.; *id.*, "Apollo at Asine", in *Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Καλαμάτα, 8-15 Σεπτ. 1985*, Β', Athens 1987/88 (*Πελοποννησιακά* 13, Παράρτημα) 349-352; *id.*, "The Asine Sima", *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 157-161. See also W.S. Barett, "Bacchylides, Asine and Apollo Pythaeus", *Hermes* 82 (1954) 421-444; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 9f. & 109; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 50; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 52; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 60; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 503-505; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 27f.; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 27, 142f., 175; M.-Fr. Billot, "Apollon Pythéen et l'Argolide archaïque. Histoire et mythes", *Αρχαιογνωσία* 6 (1989/90) 35-98, esp. 41, 43; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 18f. The material from the sanctuary is currently studied for publication by B. Wells, *Asine* III: *Supplementary Material from the 1922-1930 Excavations*, Stockholm, in preparation. Concerning the dating of the circuit wall in the LG period see B. Wells, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 261-266 and *id.*, in *Πρακτικά του Γ'*

curved wall, which is 0,50m wide could belong to an apsidal or, less likely, oval building (**Building B**). The radius of the curve implies that this edifice was *c.* 6,00m wide. This width is compatible with an apsidal, rather than with an oval plan, in which case the entrance would have faced E. The superstructure of the walls would have been of pisé or mud brick.

According to B. Wells, the curved wall should be identified with the first cult building on the spot, which she dates around 750 B.C.[253] A votive deposit discovered in the W part of the terrace is now positively associated with this structure.[254] It therefore seems that the curvilinear wall represents a cult building, perhaps "only to house the people who gathered to take part in ritual meals in the sanctuary".[255] Building B was presumably destroyed around 720 B.C. and replaced shortly afterwards by Temple A (p. 162).[256]

At the foot of Barbouna hill, inside the extensive Geometric necropolis, several buildings have been excavated (**Kapsorachis** property, Fig. 220:3). The preliminary reports indicate that several structures excavated in the Main Trench, including part of an apsidal building, were connected with the funerary rites which took place in this area (Fig. 231).[257] The apsidal structure (**Building S**) is preserved to a length of *c.* 5,85m and is 2,90m wide (ext. dim., measured on the plan). The northern apsidal compartment was separated from the main room by a cross wall. The entrance would have been located in the S-SE short side.[258] To the W and NW the apsidal building is flanked by very small rectangular or almost square structures (or enclosures?), Buildings Q, O, and P. Building O is square (2,00m on a side, int.) and the entrance was located in the E extremity of the S wall. It contained in the centre a cremation burial (B 54). Building Q is Π-shaped, measures 2,90 by 2,00m and was entered through the E side. Only the northern corner of Building P survives (3,85 by 2,50m). Between P, S and O there was a paved area, R with two "rounded constructions", A.77.251 and 253 (a ring of stones *c.* 1,20m in diameter and an earth filling in the centre). In the same area, immediately to the W of Building Q, a LG grave which contained two skeletons (B 51, B 53) was found.[259]

The apsidal building and the rectangular structures are dated by the associated pottery to the LG period. Surprisingly, from this area and especially from the apse of Building S, more than 90 whole pots were found (cups, skyphoi, small jugs, kraters, one amphora and one hydria). Fossey suggests that religious ceremonies, including feasts, were held inside the apsidal building in the honour of the dead, while he identifies the rectangular structures as ossuaries, comparable to those gathered by Themelis.[260] R. Hägg has suggested that the function of the buildings in this sector, like three circular pavings further to the SW in the Gogonas property (Figs. 220:2, 232),[261] may have

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Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, B', Athens 1987/88, 350.

[253] B. Wells, in *Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, B', Athens 1987/88, 350; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 18.

[254] *Ibid.* The deposit contained among others two enormous pyxids, large kraters and loop-legged amphorae, jugs, cups and bowls. Sherds belonging to the same vase were found both inside the apsidal building and the deposit.

[255] B. Wells, in *Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, B', Athens 1987/88, 352. The same author suggested that both buildings may have served for ritual dining [*Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 48].

[256] B. Wells, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 157.

[257] Excavations: Swedish Institute, 1976-77 (J. Fossey). Bibliography: I. and R. Hägg, ed., *Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine.* Fasc. 4, Uppsala 1980 (*Boreas* 4:4) 23-25; J.M. Fossey, Πολιτικοθρησκευτική θέσις της αργολικής Ασίνης κατά την Υστερογεωμετρικήν εποχήν", in *Πρακτικά Β' Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Αργολικών Σπουδών, Άργος 30/5 - 1/6 1986, Πελοποννησιακά* 14 (1989) Παράρτημα, 57-63; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 141; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 27, 175; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 18f.

[258] Fossey states that the entrance was at the NE side, but on the plan an hypothetical entrance is shown at the SE. One presumes that this is a typing error [*Πελοποννησιακά* 14 (1989) Παράρτημα, 59].

[259] See I. and R. Hägg, ed., *Boreas* 4:4 (1980) 23, 27 and fig. 13 at p. 24 and J.M. Fossey, *Πελοποννησιακά*, Παράρτημα 14 (1989) 59.

[260] *Πελοποννησιακά* 14 (1989) Παράρτημα, 61; Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976). The assumption is based also on the fact that fragments from the vases found in the apsidal building joined with pieces found inside Building O.

[261] Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-193. Excavation report: I. and R. Hägg, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 232f. & *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 156-159.

"served some kind of ceremony connected with the dead".[262] Fossey mentions also that near the **Gogonas** property a LG building was found, consisting of a semicircular chamber contained inside a Π-shaped square structure; in the NE corner, between the two foundations, a small cist grave was found.[263] Until the full publication of the excavations in the Kapsorachis and Gogonas properties, however, the question of the function of the buildings must remain open, since one should not rule out the possibility that in LG Asine there was no clear separation between burying plots and habitation quarters, as seems to have been the case in Argos, Athens and elsewhere.[264]

An apsidal peripteral temple was discovered during the recent excavations of a rural sanctuary at **Ano Mazaraki (Rakita)** on Mt. Panachaiko in Achaia, at an altitude of *c.* 1300m (Fig. 252).[265] The ruins belong to an *hekatompedon* of estimated exterior dimensions 27,50 by 7,50m, facing towards the NE. At the open facade there was a prostyle porch supported by five wooden columns set in a semicircle.[266] The stone socle, *c.* 0,85m wide, consists of two faces of roughly hewn stone blocks set at horizontal layers and a rubble fill in between. It stands upon a row of horizontal slabs which protrude 0,30m from the exterior face of the wall and was 0,55-0,61m high. The remaining superstructure was composed of mud bricks, traces of which were detected during the excavations.

The interior of the building was only partially cleared. It is already evident, however, that a stretch of wall with a central opening 0,70m wide, cut-off the apsidal compartment from the remaining space, thus creating an *adyton*. There is no evidence for an axial colonnade yet. In front of the N anta, at a distance of 0,80m, a trapezoidal poros base, larger than those of the peristyle, was found.[267] A second similar base had been removed from its original position.[268] The original assumption of the excavator was that these two bases supported a porch similar to the one seen on the clay building model from the Argive Heraion[269] but subsequently, more bases was found, proving that the form of the porch was semicircular,[270] which is a unique feature. The floor of the building was formed by a layer of small unworked stones.[271] Stone slabs formed the floor of the stoa which surrounded the building.[272]

Several stone bases surrounded the building at a distance of *c.* 1,10-1,20m from the outer face of the wall.[273] The total number of bases is estimated to have been 41, i.e. 20 along the long sides and one column on the central axis of the building, behind the apse. The distance between the axis of the columns is 1,60m. Two kinds of roughly rectangular bases were observed: some of sandstone,[274]

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[262] Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 19.

[263] *Πελοποννησιακά* 14, Παράρτημα (1989) 61. It is not clear whether Fossey refers to Building T in the Samaras plot, Fig. 233, which is located a few metres to the N of the Kapsorachis plot (Fig. 220:5).

[264] Fossey underlines the similarities between Attic and Asinaean pottery styles and burial customs in the LG period and assumes that this was due to the fact that Asine was an ally of Athens, which resulted in a reaction against the contemporary practices of their Argive enemies: *Πελοποννησιακά* 14, Παράρτημα (1989) 62f.

[265] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1988-89, 1992, 1995 (M. Petropoulos). Bibliography: M. Petropoulos, "Περίπτερος αψιδωτός γεωμετρικός ναός στο Άνω Μαζαράκι (Ρακίτα) Πατρών", in *Πρακτικά του Δ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Κόρινθος 9-16 Σεπτεμβρίου 1990*, Β', Athens 1992/93 (*Πελοποννησιακά* 19, Παράρτημα) 140-157; *id.*, in *Η Ελλάδα μέσα από τις πρόσφατες αρχαιολογικές ανασκαφές. Πρακτικά Επιμορφωτικού Σεμιναρίου Ξεναγών*, Athens 1995, 101-103. See also A. Pariente, *BCH* 116 (1992) 874; 118 (1994) 718 and *Καθημερινή*, Aug. 1, 1995.

[266] *Πρακτικά Επιμορφωτικού Σεμιναρίου Ξεναγών*, Athens 1995, 102.

[267] *Πρακτικά του Δ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, Athens 1992/93, pl. 7 and fig. 2:1. Square block 0,72 by 0,68m, resting on a rectangular base 1,05 X 0,95 X 0,20m.

[268] *Ibid.*, 150.

[269] *Ibid.*

[270] *Πρακτικά Επιμορφωτικού Σεμιναρίου Ξεναγών*, Athens 1995, 102.

[271] *Πρακτικά του Δ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, Athens 1992/93, 153. However, in *Πρακτικά Επιμορφωτικού Σεμιναρίου Ξεναγών*, Athens 1995, 101, the excavator mentions that no traces of a floor were detected.

[272] *Πρακτικά του Δ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, Athens 1992/93, 149. The column bases rested on top of these slabs.

[273] 1,40-1,50m from the apse. The free standing stone bases recall the four bases of the Tholos at Lathouriza.

[274] These consist of two elements, a trapezoidal element resting on a square block. Total height: 0,48m. See *ibid.*, pl. 5 and fig. 2:2.

others of poros (Fig. 253).[275] Both types bear a shallow circular cavity on the top, 0,30-0,33m in diameter, evidently indicating the lower diameter of the wooden columns. The excavator assumes that the original bases were those of poros and that they were partly replaced by the more complex sandstone bases, especially at the N extremity of the W long wall.[276]

Traces of the woodwork of the roof which collapsed on the floor following a conflagration were noted in several places.[277] Numerous Corinthian tiles were scattered all over the building. These should presumably be regarded as additions to the original structure, which, initially, would have been roofed with perishable materials.[278]

The earliest pottery associated with the use of the floor of the building belongs to the LG or EA period, suggesting that the construction took place either during the second half of the 8th c. or in the first half of the 7th.[279] The destruction layer contains pottery of the end of the 5th c. and the first third of the 4th. The excavator assumes that the destruction was due to an earthquake followed immediately by a fire.[280] From the preliminary study of the finds it would seem that the sanctuary was in use from the middle of the 8th c. B.C. to the 4th c. A.D.[281] Among the finds, however, there were a few which belong to the Mycenaean period, presumably heirlooms.[282]

The nature of the finds discovered within the temple and mainly in a large votive deposit in the neighbourhood seem to indicate that the sanctuary was dedicated to Artemis, though the excavator suspects that Apollo was worshipped next to his sister.[283] Among the most interesting finds from the deposit is a clay model of three circular granaries, with incised local decoration (p. 120, Fig. 498), which the excavator dates in the last quarter of the 8th c. B.C.[284]

For the sake of completeness, the small apsidal building inside the Altis at **Olympia** known as Dörpfeld's "**House 4**", should be briefly discussed (Figs. 254-255).[285] Since a LH IIIC sherd had been found 0,35m deeper than its foundations,[286] it was generally believed that "House 4" should be dated later, perhaps in the Geometric period.[287] It was also assumed that the building was destroyed in

[275] *Ibid.*, pl. 6 and fig. 2:3. These consist of a single trapezoidal element, 0,30m high.
[276] *Ibid.*, 149.
[277] *Ibid.*, 149, 150, 153.
[278] *Ibid.*, 150, n. 21. It is not clear yet whether the tiles belong to the original construction. Petropoulos suggests that these may have been added when the poros bases were replaced by those of sandstone.
[279] In the latest report, the excavator suggests a date in the second half of the 8th c. B.C. (*Πρακτικά Επιμορφωτικού Σεμιναρίου Ξεναγών*, Athens 1995, 101).
[280] *Πρακτικά του Δ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, Athens 1992/93, 154. Petropoulos suggests that one could make a correlation with the earthquake which destroyed the city of Helike in the year 373/372 B.C.
[281] *Ibid.*, 156. See M. Petropoulos, in *Πρακτικά του Γ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Καλαμάτα, 8-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1985*, Athens 1987-88 (*Πελοποννησιακά* 13, Παράρτημα) 81-96. For the earlier campaigns see M. Petropoulos, *ΑΔ* 29 (1973-74) Χρον., 381 and J. Papapostolou, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 187-188.
[282] *Πρακτικά του Δ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, Athens 1992/93, 156.
[283] *Ibid.*, 156-157 and *Πρακτικά του Γ' Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, Athens 1987/88, 81-96, esp. pp. 91-96.
[284] *Πρακτικά του Γ' Συνεδρίου...* (*op.cit.*) 88-90, pl. 9. The model was associated with Early PC sherds.
[285] Excavations: German Institute, 1908 (W. Dörpfeld), 1987-89 (H. Kyrieleis). Bibliography: W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 33 (1908) 185-192; *id.*, *Alt Olympia* I, Berlin 1935, 90f. Now see *AA* (1990) 574f.; H. Kyrieleis, "Neue Ausgrabungen in Olympia", *AW* 21 (1990) 177-188, esp. 181-187; *id.*, "Neue Ausgrabungen in Olympia", in *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, 1988*, ed. W. Coulson & H. Kyrieleis, Athens 1992, 22-24. See also A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, München 1972, 84f.; H.-V. Herrmann, "Zur ältesten Geschichte von Olympia", *AM* 77 (1962) 19, n. 72; *id.*, *Olympia: Heiligtum und Wettkampfstatte*, München 1972, 71f.; N. Yalouris, in *PECS* (1976) 646f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 182, 330f.; C. Rolley, *Les trépieds à cuve clouée*, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 139; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 11f.; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 691f.; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 118, n. 109; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 170-176. In general on the early history of the sanctuary: C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, chapter 2. Its dimensions are rather modest (5,00m in length and 4,00m in width). The entrance was located to the W and the door which was 0,50m wide was slightly off centre. The stone socle which consisted of a single course of stones is 0,50m wide. A stone bench ran along the interior face of the N wall (0,35m wide).
[286] F. Weege, *AM* 36 (1911) 176f., fig. 20a.
[287] H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia*, München 1972, 71f.

the 7th c., during the cleaning of the ash altar of Zeus.[288] Moreover, since the majority of the EIA offerings at Olympia belong to the 8th c.,[289] one could assign a similar date to the building, though an earlier date was also proposed by some scholars.[290] Clay animal figurines, a piece of iron and animal bones were reported to have been collected from the interior of the building. The presence of a bench and the fact that the edifice is turned towards the Pelopion were regarded as indications that it served for religious purposes, perhaps in connection with the cult of Pelops.

However, in recent years, the German Archaeological School investigated once more the previously excavated area and concluded that the building dates in the EH III period. It was also established that the Geometric finds which had been associated with the use of the building belonged to the fill which covered the building and descended down to the floor level of "House 4".[291] Consequently, "House 4" can no longer be regarded as a cult building of the EIA.

The old excavations at Olympia had failed to yield substantial evidence for cult activities dated in the Mycenaean and PG period.[292] Only two Mycenaean figurines were found, and these from an outlying area,[293] while PG pottery was practically absent.[294] The chronology of the earliest votives in the 10th c., such as male figurines and bronze tripods is based on stylistic grounds, not stratigraphy, and therefore is unreliable.[295] However, recent excavations in the so-called "Black Level" brought to light LH IIIC Late or SMyc pottery, as well as PG sherds, though not stratified.[296] These finds will certainly renew the debate of the presumed continuity of cult argued earlier by H.-V. Herrmann and others.[297] As for the so-called Pelopion I, it has now been established that it was a tumulus of the EH II period which was perhaps pinpointed in the EIA as the tomb of Pelops.[298]

The excavations at the hill of **Nichoria** (Fig. 256) in the SW extremity of the Messenia valley revealed an important settlement which was occupied from MH times until at least the end of LH IIIB, and again from the 11th c. until *c.* the middle of the 8th c. B.C. Two important buildings of the EIA have been found in Area IV of the excavation, Units IV-1 and IV-5 (Fig. 257).[299]

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[288] A. Mallwitz, *Olympia*, München 1972, 84. In *RDT* (1987) 691, I also suggested a date in the 8th c. B.C.

[289] Snodgrass, *Archaeology* (1977) 32; for instance, 80% of the clay and bronze figurines belong to the 8th c.: see W.-D. Heilmeyer, in *Die Funde aus Olympia. Ergebnisse 100-jährige Ausgrabungstätigkeit*, ed. A. Mallwitz & H.-V. Herrmann, Athen 1980, 30; *id.*, *OlF* VII, Berlin 1972, *passim;* E. Kunze, in *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1961, 138-151.

[290] C. Rolley, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 139 suggested a date around 1000 B.C.

[291] H. Kyrieleis, *AW* 21 (1990) 181-187, esp. 186f.; *id.*, *AA* (1990) 574f.; E.B. French, *AR* (1989/90) 30.

[292] For a detailed account see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, esp. 57-105; for a brief summary of the evidence see Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 99f.

[293] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 330f.

[294] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 276; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 222, n. 2, 408 (PG krater foot?).

[295] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 331.

[296] H. Kyrieleis, *AW* 21 (1990) 187; *id.*, in *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, 1988*, ed. W. Coulson & H. Kyrieleis, Athens 1992, 22; *id.*, *AA* (1990) 575; E.B. French, *AR* (1989/90) 30.

[297] "Zur ältesten Geschichte von Olympia", *AM* 77 (1962) 3-34; *id.*, "Pelops in Olympia", in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 59-74.

[298] H. Kyrieleis, in *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, 1988*, ed. W. Coulson & H. Kyrieleis, Athens 1992, 22-24. For a summary of the questions related to the cult of Pelops from the Bronze through the Iron Ages see Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 170-176.

[299] Excavations: American School, 1971-73 (W. Coulson, W. McDonald, and others). Bibliography: McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) *passim*, esp. 18-42, 316-329; G. Rapp Jr. & S.E. Aschenbrenner, ed., *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece* I: *Environs and Techniques*, Minneapolis 1978, 124-128; W.A. McDonald, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 251-255, 260-265; *id. et al.*, *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 88-92, 114-121, 140f.; W.A. McDonald & R.J. Howell, *AΔ* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., 326-336; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 9-11; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 670-679; K. Fagerström, "Finds, Function and Plan: a Contribution to the Interpretation of Iron Age Nichoria in Messenia", *OpAth* 17 (1988) 33-50; *id.*, *GIAA* (1988) 34-37; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 22- 28; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 65-79, 98-100, 132, 196, esp. 73ff.; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 117, n. 108; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 94-97; P. Blome, in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung*, ed. J. Latacz, Stuttgart & Leipzig 1991, 50f.; A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Nichoria in the South-West Peloponnese: Units IV-1 and IV-5 Reconsidered", *OpAth* 19 (1992) 75-84; Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Early Sanctuaries", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 6. For an overall view of Messenia in the PG period see G. Chatzi, "Η Πρωτογεωμετρική εποχή στη Μεσσηνία", in *Πρακτικά του Β΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Πάτρα, 25-31 Μαίου 1980*, Β΄, Athens 1981-82, 321-347.

According to W. Coulson, **Unit IV-1**, which was occupied from the early 10th to the end of the 9th c. B.C., presents two building phases (Fig. 259). During the first the building would have been rectangular (Figs. 260, 262); in the second it would have been transformed to apsidal and enlarged (Fig. 261, 263). In the following pages I will first describe briefly the remains assigned by the excavators to each building period and afterwards will present my personal views. Recently, K. Fagerström published an article also challenging the excavators' point of view.[300] Though I find Fagerström's conclusions not entirely acceptable, it is noteworthy that we both concluded, working independently from one another, that Unit IV-1 was an apsidal building from the moment of its construction.

According to the excavators, initially, the building would have been rectangular and would have measured *c.* 10,50m in length and 7,00m in width (**Unit IV-1a**, Fig. 260).[301] It follows an E-W direction and the main entrance is facing E. The walls are built of irregular stones placed in two rows and preserved in places to a height of four courses. The width of the walls is not the same everywhere,[302] but on an average it does not exceed 0,55m. At various intervals (1,50m in Wall A and more inconsistently in the other walls) horizontal bonding is observed ("i.e., the tying together of two vertical faces of a wall with a single stone which completely or largely spans the width of a wall"[303]). The blocks used are as a rule triangular and the apex of the triangle is turned towards the interior of the building.[304] Walls Ca and D,[305] and to a lesser extent B[306] and C[307] which belong to the second phase are constructed in the same manner. The stone socles are preserved in places to a height of three or four courses.[308] The width of the walls is not the same everywhere;[309] the average width is stated to be 0,55m.[310]

The building comprises a main room (Room 1) and a shallow porch to the E. According to W. Coulson, Wall X should be considered as a foundation for a low fence or balustrade;[311] he bases his conclusion on the presence of three mud bricks (mb), placed at regular intervals, which were embedded in Wall X. These, according to Coulson, supported slender wooden posts.[312] Supposing that between them there had been smaller stakes and branches or reeds, covered with mud, the excavator reconstructed a low fence. Wall F represents the building's facade. There was clear evidence of the entrance, 1,36m wide, which was south of the central axis.[313] A subsidiary narrow entrance was located in the E extremity of the N wall.[314] A block, roughly oblong in shape (0,49 X 0,23m) with a cavity 0,07m square and 0,09m deep, was found removed from its original position just to the north-east of this door. In the west side of the opening there was a depression. Both features were interpreted as supports for posts which bordered the entrance.[315] Wall Ca is regarded as the south wall of the original building.[316] The fact that it is preserved to a length of only 4,70m is explained by assuming that it was partly dismantled in order to build Wall C of Phase 2, while the

[300] *OpAth* 17 (1988) 33-50. See also *GIAA* (1988) 34f.
[301] The arguments adduced to prove that Walls D and X represent the back wall of the original structure were: (a) The fact that Wall D is a solid construction. (b) The continuation of the wall south of the paving. (c) The likelihood that Support Wall X of phase 2 was the reused north end of Wall D, as indicated by their identical alignment. (d) The fact that Support Wall X bonds with Wall A, while Wall B, which belongs to phase 2, simply butts on A.
[302] *Cf. Nichoria* III (1983) Table 2-5 at p. 34.
[303] *Ibid.*, 27.
[304] *Ibid.*
[305] *Ibid.*
[306] *Ibid.*, 36.
[307] *Ibid.*, 35.
[308] *Ibid.*, table 2-5 at p. 34.
[309] *Ibid.*
[310] *Ibid.*, 27. An average width of 0.50m would perhaps be a more accurate estimation.
[311] *Ibid.*, 23 (not a bearing wall).
[312] *Ibid.*, 24.
[313] *Ibid.*, 23, 25. The north segment of Wall F is *c.* 1.10m longer than the south segment.
[314] *Ibid.*, 26.
[315] *Ibid.*
[316] *Ibid.*, 27.

remaining part served as a base for a bench or beds.[317] The bad condition of Wall Ca is also explained by the disturbed condition in this part of the building.[318]

The interior dimensions of the main room are *c.* 8,00 by 6,00m.[319] Approximately in the centre, there was a circular pit, filled with soft black soil and charcoal, evidently a hearth.[320] E of the hearth, a flat circular stone, 0,35m in diameter, was probably the base of a wooden column.[321] Against the middle of the rear wall, a circular stone platform, 1,60m in diameter, was found.[322] The platform is bordered to the west by Wall D, which in places is preserved to a height of four courses.[323] This wall is preserved to a length of 2,70m and represents the west wall of Unit IV-1.[324] The surface of the platform was covered by a thin layer of carbonised material. Along the inner face of the N wall three post holes were detected (C-E).[325] These were spaced at intervals of 1,80m and were bordered by stone buttresses to the west (Support Walls Y, Z), allowing the restoration of seven posts along the interior face of each long wall (B to H along the north wall). No post holes were detected along the inner face of Wall Ca.[326] Coulson maintains that this technique implies a wattle and daub construction,[327] though he states that "a wide and solid foundation would seem to be more essential to carry the weight of a mudbrick wall" and also that "one would expect to find in the stone foundations some evidence of vertical supports".[328] He chooses finally the wattle and daub possibility by assuming that the walls were constructed along the inner edge of the stone foundation.[329] He also restores a pitched roof, covered with thatch, extending over the porch as well (Fig. 262).[330]

Unit IV-1 underwent a radical transformation some time around the middle of the 9th c. (Fig. 261, **phase IV-1b**). According to the excavator, the changes may be summarised as follows: an apsidal room would have been built immediately to the west of Wall D;[331] this is suggested by the fact that Wall B does not bond with Wall A, and there is a rubble packing of 0,15m in between.[332] Both walls, however, are built in the same manner, but the use of horizontal bonding in Wall B is less regular than the one observed in Wall A.[333] As a difference in construction Coulson mentions the fact that smaller stones were used in the interior face of the apsidal wall in order to facilitate the layout of the curve, and the use of fairly flat stones as opposed to the more rounded ones of Wall A.[334] A courtyard would have been added in front of the porch.[335] Thus, the overall dimensions of the new building attain 15,90m in length and 8,00m in width.[336] The east end of the earlier building was otherwise retained without changes.[337]

The E portion of the first building's S wall (Wall Ca) may have been reused as a bench.[338] A new south wall (Wall C) replaced Wall Ca.[339] It is not clear why the new wall did not make use of the pre-existing foundations of Ca, but was built instead immediately to the south.[340] It seems that the

[317] *Ibid.*, 27, 35.
[318] *Ibid.*, 28.
[319] *Ibid.*, 25.
[320] *Ibid.*, 27.
[321] *Ibid.*, 28, 31, 38.
[322] *Ibid.*, 29f., 38.
[323] *Ibid.*, 28.
[324] *Ibid.*
[325] *Ibid.*, 30.
[326] *Ibid.*
[327] *Ibid.*, 31.
[328] *Ibid.*
[329] *Ibid.*
[330] *Ibid.*, 31f.
[331] *Ibid.*, 35f.
[332] *Ibid.*, 29, 35.
[333] *Ibid.*, 35f.: "the stone foundation of Wall B" (i.e. the curved wall) "was constructed in the same manner as Wall A, with two rows of stones and the use of horizontal bonding.".
[334] *Ibid.*, 36.
[335] *Ibid.*, 34.
[336] *Ibid.*, 33, 40.
[337] *Ibid.*, 34.
[338] *Ibid.*, 27, 35.
[339] *Ibid.*, 34.
[340] *Ibid.*, 35.

central hearth fell out of use,[341] though no arguments supporting this view are provided by W. Coulson. The paved circle was maintained[342] and was bordered by a retaining wall on its N side (Wall E).[343] The N extremity of the old rear wall (Wall D) would have been demolished in order to create an entrance leading to the apsidal extension.[344] The floor of this room (Room 3) is at a lower level than that of the main room (Room 1);[345] the transition from Room 1 to Room 3 was achieved by means of a ramp, contained by Wall E and the W extremity of Wall A.[346] In the centre of the apsidal compartment, a flat circular stone was found.[347] Since it is aligned with the stone base in Room 1, it was assumed that it also supported a wooden column. Two stone-lined pits in the S part of the apsidal room may have served storage purposes.[348] An important new feature of the second building was according to the excavator the addition of exterior posts corresponding to those of the interior: two (a, b) or probably three posts (a-c) were detected along the outer face of the apse and one or possibly two more, (e, f) were found against the outer face of the N wall (Wall A).[349] A row of exterior posts should be restored all around the walls of Unit IV-1.[350] W. Coulson believes that this timber frame favours the hypothesis that the superstructure of the walls of phase 2 was composed of mud bricks (Fig. 263).[351] Certain traces of burning observed in various parts of the building, suggest that it was damaged by fire and subsequently abandoned.[352]

I have presented elsewhere my ideas concerning the restoration of Building IV-1.[353] Here I will try to summarise my views (Figs. 264-265). Coulson claimed that the first building (**Unit IV-1a**) was rectangular since the apsidal wall does not bond with Wall A, but merely abuts on it. Alternatively, I suggested that the apsidal wall belongs to the initial building phase and that the interruption of the regular curve may be due to the repair of the N extremity of the apse in order to create a side door. Moreover, it is practically impossible to identify Wall D and Support-Wall X as the rear wall of the original building since Support-Wall X is not aligned with Wall D.[354] More likely, Wall D would have marked the transition between the central room and the apsidal compartment which was at a slightly lower level.[355] The excavators' claim that while two floors have been detected in Room 1, only one was found in the apse, which was regarded as contemporary with the second phase[356] was criticised by Fagerström who noted that in the relevant section[357] the lower floor extends *c.* 1,00m W of Wall D, into the apse.[358] In addition to these facts one could adduce further details in order to prove that the building was apsidal from the very beginning: the non axial position of the main entrance and of the interior column base of phase 1, and the strange gap between the front wall (F) and the S wall (C).

By accepting that the apse belongs to the first building phase, the S walls (C and H) should be attributed to the initial phase. The slight convex curve of the N long wall (A) could perhaps serve

[341] *Ibid.*, 36. However, no arguments supporting this view are provided by W. Coulson.
[342] *Ibid.*, 38.
[343] *Ibid.*, 29, 37f.
[344] *Ibid.*, 33.
[345] *Ibid.*, 36: 0,22m lower than the floor of Room 1.
[346] *Ibid.*, 36.
[347] *Ibid.*, 37. Its diameter is 0,30m.
[348] *Ibid.*, 36f. Nothing but earth was found in them.
[349] *Ibid.*, 37f.
[350] *Ibid.*, 38.
[351] *Ibid.*, 38f.
[352] *Ibid.*, 40.
[353] *OpAth* 19 (1992) 75-84, where the reader may find my detailed arguments. For the sake of completeness, however, several sections from my earlier study have been included here unchanged.
[354] W. Coulson [*Nichoria* III (1983) 28] states that Walls D and X are oriented in the same direction, a fact which cannot be confirmed on observing the plan.
[355] W. Coulson, *ibid.*, 38, while discussing the second building phase mentions that Walls D and E supported a podium on which the paved circle rested.
[356] *Ibid.*, 36.
[357] *Ibid.*, 24, fig. 2-13.
[358] *OpAth* 17 (1988) 36f. He explains however the lower stratum as a levelling of the earth in order to construct the edifice (*ibid.*, 38); bearing in mind the poor stratigraphy of the site and of that associated with Unit IV-1 in particular, I would simply suggest that we witness two floor levels, the earliest partly destroyed but enough preserved to indicate that the apse belongs to the original structure.

as an additional indication that the building was apsidal.[359] Wall Ca of Coulson's first phase presumably represents a bench of the second building period. In the first phase, the front wall of the building (Wall F) would have extended to the S up to the side wall (C). According to this interpretation, the entrance and the two interior column bases would have been situated on the longitudinal axis of the edifice. The extreme width of the E wall (Wall F, 0,83-0,86m wide) cannot be understood, unless we interpret its W part as a bench, *c.* 0,35m wide. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that the threshold occupies only the E part of the entrance. I also suggest that originally there may have been no side entrance in the N wall, but one in the beginning of the apse, instead. If the side entrance restored by the excavators is correct, one should perhaps ascribe it to the second building phase. By accepting that Wall C belongs to the second building phase, one is led to ascribe Walls H and G, which according to Coulson marked the limits of the courtyard of phase 2, to the original structure, which in that case would have been provided with a porch *c.* 4,00m deep. Wall X, on the other hand, should be assigned to the second building phase, for not only it is related to Wall Ca but it is also founded at a slightly higher level than Wall F.[360] The building, in my opinion, was provided from the beginning with interior and exterior posts set against the exterior walls and the superstructure would have been composed of mud bricks (Fig. 265a).

During the second building phase (**Unit IV-1b**) the side entrance in the N part of the apse would have been blocked, a new door was presumably pierced in the N wall of the main room, a wall (X), which in my opinion was sufficiently wide in order to carry a mud brick superstructure, was built E of the old front wall and a bench was presumably set along the E part of the S wall (Wall Ca). Wall X is badly preserved. Therefore, the main room would have been enlarged by moving the cross wall to the E. The porch would have been now only *c.* 2,50m deep. The bench, which in phase 1 was located on either side of the main entrance was moved along the S wall. Since the area to the W of the bench (Ca) was disturbed, one could assume that only 1/3 of its total length has been preserved (Fig. 265b).

The earliest floor yielded pottery which belongs to the years between *c.* 975 and 850 B.C.[361] The finds associated with phase 1 were not numerous (*cf.* Fig. 266). Most of the material was concentrated close to the N wall and consisted mainly of coarse ware, though *c.* 40% was fine ware. Among the sherds two clay spindle whorls, two bronze rings, a bronze needle and an iron knife were found. A large number of animal bones was scattered over the floor, some of which bore traces of bite and knife marks.

The material connected with the second building phase is more abundant and belongs to the second half of the 9th c. B.C. As in the earlier building period a considerable amount of coarse ware was scattered in the apsidal compartment, including fragments of pithoi. From the same compartment came an iron knife, a stone celt, a lead netsinker (?), a lead button or wheel, a bronze shield boss or phalaron (Fig. 271), an axe head of iron and a clay whorl.[362] In the main room, ten clay whorls, a bronze fingering, a small iron tool and a bronze bar were found. Large quantities of animal bones were found on the floor of Rooms 1 and 3; a concentration of animal bones mixed with charcoal deserves special mention, for it was located immediately to the W of the paved circle and looked as if it had been swept from this structure. Lastly, a deposit of charred seeds was discovered in the apsidal compartment.

The character of the finds from both floors suggests that the building was a dwelling. However, its size and prominent location suggest that this was the residence of a wealthy individual and of his family, presumably the ruler's dwelling. The paved circle could not possibly have been a hearth for this, as we have seen, was located further E. A comparison with similar structures of the

[359] For some examples see Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) figs. 22 & 23 (Antissa, Fig. 360 and Mycenae, Fig. 203); concerning Eretria D, Lathouriza II and Ano Mazaraki see Figs. 105, 149, 252, respectively. Megaron B at Thermon, which is a rectangular building, was thought to have been a exception to the rule, but today it has been proven the the long sides were not convex (see Fig. 44).

[360] *Nichoria* III (1988) 26, fig. 2-16.

[361] For the absolute dating of the successive phases encountered at Nichoria, McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 318-322. On the pottery from the excavation in general, see *ibid.*, 61-259, on the small finds H. Catling *et al.*, in *ibid.*, 273-315. For the distribution of the finds see K. Fagerström, *OpAth* 17 (1988) 33-50.

[362] Some of this material may belong to the first building phase as well.

Geometric period would suggest that the paved circle served religious needs;[363] in fact it may have been an altar for burnt sacrifices. Yet, one should not rule out the possibility that this structure served also domestic functions, for if it were just an altar, one would expect it to be located outside the living quarters, in the open air. The excavators suggest, with conviction in my opinion, that "Unit IV-1 served important communal needs, certainly religious-and probably economic (i.e. collection and distribution) as well".[364] On the other hand, Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood suggests that even if one identifies the house with a ruler's dwelling, the cult would have been of purely domestic character.[365]

Unit IV-1 was destroyed towards the end of the 9th c.; it was presumably replaced by **Unit IV-5**, which lies immediately to the W (Figs. 257, 267).[366] This is an apsidal building of considerable dimensions (*c.* 20,20 by 5,50m), oriented to the N. Only the E half and a small portion of the W wall are preserved. The average width of the exterior foundation is 0,70m. The walls are composed of two rows of stones, filled with earth in between, and they are preserved to a height of two courses. Fallen stones along the E wall suggest that there was a third course of stones. A partition wall, 0,58m thick, separates the apsidal compartment from the rest of the building (Room 1).[367] The interior length of this room is *c.* 6,00m. Five small stones set at regular intervals and following an oblique direction lay in the E part of the room. One is only 0,08m in diameter, the rest *c.* 0,12m. They have been interpreted as bases for wooden posts which would have formed an interior canopy or a frame for a raised bed or shelf. One however should not totally exclude the possibility that the presence of these small stones is mere chance.[368]

W. Coulson suggested that only the S part of the edifice would have been roofed, while the other half would have been hypaethral (Fig. 260). The excavator based this assumption on two facts: first that no traces of mud bricks have been identified and second, that the N half of Wall A appears less carefully constructed than the S part of the same wall. In my opinion, the absence of mud bricks is no argument for denying its presence over the N section of the wall. Coulson himself notes that mud brick was rarely identified at Nichoria, though it is practically certain that most houses were built of this material.[369] Furthermore, one may argue that a simple courtyard wall would not have needed to be 0,70m thick. The presence of charcoal fragments in the N part of the building suggests in my opinion that this section was roofed as well. One could perhaps explain the more careless construction of the N part of the wall by theorising that the joints of the stones were disrupted. The possibility that the N portion of the E wall represents a later addition to the original structure was considered by Coulson but was not retained:[370] this hypothesis however cannot be totally ruled out on the present evidence. In that case the edifice would have measured *c.* 10,00m in length and would have consisted of an anta porch *c.* 2,50m deep and a main room (Fig. 270). The cobble paving visible on the plan is puzzling. Perhaps the floor level in the N part of the edifice was at a slightly lower level than in the S and the paving assured the transition. W. Coulson restores two central columns which would have supported the ridge pole; if one accepts the existence of columns, one should restore one further column in the central part of the edifice, for in my opinion the roof would have extended over this section of the edifice as well.

[363] Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-194.
[364] *Nichoria* III (1983) 40.
[365] *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 6.
[366] Excavations: American School, 1971-73 (W. Coulson, W. McDonald and others). Bibliography: McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 47-54; G. Rapp Jr. & S.E. Aschenbrenner, ed., *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece* I: *Environs and Techniques*, Minneapolis 1978, 127; H. Blitzer, *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 95f.; W.A. McDonald & R.J. Howell, *AΔ* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., 326-336; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 679-682; K. Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 36f.; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 26-28; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 75f.; A. Mazarakis Ainian, *OpAth* 19 (1992) 82-84.
[367] Excavations showed that the cross wall (Y) was preserved in its entire length (2,27m long). By reconstructing its counterpart to the W, there results an entrance 0,96m wide.
[368] *Cf.* W. Coulson, in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 58, n. 4 where it is mentioned that the floors of many modern houses of Karpofora are "pocked with holes and scattered with stones".
[369] *Ibid.* 31: Coulson, while discussing Unit IV-1, states: "The fact that disintegrated mud brick was not positively identified in the debris is by no means proof that this material was not used here. We are usually unable to prove that the upper walls of most LH houses were of mud brick, but the balance of probability strongly suggests that this was so".
[370] See *ibid.*, 51f.

Against the inner face of the E wall, three roughly circular paved structures were discovered. The presence of large pithos fragments over and around the middle one, may indicate that all three were stands for pithoi.

If one accepts that the N extremity of Wall A represents the end of the building, one may reconstruct an open facade with a central column between the antas. A typological comparison however with similar edifices of Geometric date leads one to restore a porch *c.* 2,50m deep (Fig. 269). Unfortunately, the area was greatly disturbed (in this section, even the E wall of the edifice is missing). The red colour of the mud bricks, observed in the southern half of the building, and the numerous charcoal fragments, strewn all over the floor of the entire building, imply that Unit IV-5 perished in a conflagration.

The sherds associated with the use of the building belong to the first half of the 8th c. This date is also upheld by the fact that the E wall of the building rests upon the ruined apse of Unit IV-1. The pottery recovered from the floor of the building is in its majority coarse ware. The three pithos stands and a collapsed pithos found partly on the cobble paving are usual household utensils. The unique small find (Fig. 272), a small bronze animal figurine found in the apsidal compartment, could be considered either as a votive offering or, more probably, as a seal with zoomorphic handle.[371] On the other hand, the extraordinary length of the building and the fact that it replaced the earlier Unit IV-1, indicate that it was a chieftain's dwelling as well. It has been suggested that Unit IV-5 served political, religious and possibly economic functions like its predecessor.[372] Unfortunately, its bad state of preservation does not permit further speculations.

Two superimposed apsidal buildings, of which only traces of the post holes have survived, were discovered beneath the cella of the temple of Athena Alea at **Tegea** (Figs. 278-279).[373] The buildings are oriented E-W. The walls of both buildings were probably of wattle and daub or of "pisé" and posts were set on either faces, at a distance of 0,70-1,00m from one another.[374] The width of the later (western) apsidal building (**Building II**) was *c.* 4,00m (*c.* 3,00m int.) and the antas at the E were formed by post holes (the facade was presumably open).[375] The preserved length is *c.* 11,50m (measured on the plan). Traces of a clay bench (?) were noticed in the NE corner, near the entrance.[376] The earlier (eastern) building (**Building I**) was smaller. The width would not have exceeded *c.* 2,00m, while the uncovered length is *c.* 6,00m.[377]

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[371] H.W. Catling, in *Nichoria* III (1983) 281f.

[372] *Ibid.*, 52f. Coulson theorises that there might have been an upper storey, where the domestic quarters would have been, while the communal functions would have occupied the ground floor. Indeed, the thickness of the outer walls (0,70m) makes this assumption of a storey beneath the roof possible (*cf.* Lefkandi, Fig. 89).

[373] Excavations: Norwegian Institute, 1991-94 (G. Nordquist, E. Østby & M. Voyatzis). Bibliography: E. Østby *et al.*, "The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: First Preliminary Report (1990-1992)", *OpAth* 20 (1994) 89-141, esp. 98-107; *id.*, "Recent Excavations in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (1990-93)", in *Archaeology in the Peloponnese. New Excavations and Research*, ed. K. Sheedy, Oxford 1994, 39-63, esp. 54-63; M.E. Voyatzis & E. Østby, "The 1990 Excavations at the Athena Alea Sanctuary at Tegea", *AJA* 95 (1991) 303; *id.*, "The 1991 Season at the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea", *AJA* 96 (1992) 346; *id.*, "Current Fieldwork at the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea", *AJA* 97 (1993) 346-347; *id.*, "The 1993 Season at the Sanctuary of Athena at Tegea", *AJA* 98 (1994) 313; *id.*, "The 1994 Excavations at the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea", *AJA* 99 (1995) 340; E. French, *AR* (1990/91) 26; (1991/92) 17f.; (1992/93) 20f.; (1993/94) 18; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 14; A. Pariente, *BCH* 115 (1991) 863; 116 (1992) 860; 117 (1993) 797; 118 (1994) 717f.; G. Nordquist, "Evidence for Iron Age Cult Activity below Athena Alea's Temple at Tegea", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, forthcoming; E. Østby, "Recent Excavations in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: Results and Problems", in *ibid.* In general about the early history of the sanctuary see M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990 (*SIMA* Pocket-Book 97) and *id.*, "Geometric Arcadia", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 273-277.

[374] Between the larger posts, smaller holes indicate vertical reeds and branches on either side of the wall. Two post bases were of clay [E. French, *AR* (1991/92) 18], reminding us of the similar technique often used at Eretria in the 8th c.

[375] G. Nordquist, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 101.

[376] *Ibid.*

[377] *Ibid.*

Several cavities in the floor of the two buildings have not received satisfactory explanation yet. They were scattered in disorder and contained earth and a few sherds; while some may have been post holes (for instance three larger holes, 3,50m apart, presumably belonging to an axial colonnade in the later building[378]), others were perhaps meant for furniture or, less likely, as originally suggested by E. Østby, they could be explained as aniconic offerings.[379] Some holes, such as twelve which were closely placed and were bordered by several impressions of vertical reeds, in the apse of the earlier building, may have formed for some kind of light structure or partitions (*cf.* the East Room at the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi and the apse of Unit IV-5 at Nichoria).[380]

Below the pronaos of the later temple (*cf.* Fig. 278) traces of a metal workshop for bronze and iron of the LG period came to light (i.e. a pit lined with burnt clay and carbon, Fig. 280).[381] It seems that the workshop served "perhaps for the production of small votive objects for use in the sanctuary".[382] Below this metalworking area a bothros (votive pit) which contained dark sooty earth was partly investigated: it included burnt and unburnt animal bones, a lot of sherds and small finds of bronze, terracotta and gold, dated in the 9th and perhaps in the 10th c. B.C.[383]

Both structures appear to belong to the 8th c. B.C.[384] The eastern one (Building I) was tentatively dated in the beginning of the 8th c.[385] G. Nordquist states that "the number of MG II/LG I sherds found on this level may perhaps provide an indication of its date" and adds that "it should be dated not earlier than in MG II and not later than the LG period". Currently, as Dr. Østby informed me, the continuation of the research has led the excavators to fix the date of construction of the earlier building to the second half of the 8th c.[386] Beneath the two apsidal buildings the finds included LH, PG and EG sherds.[387] The earth that covered the floor of the two structures yielded fine decorated sherds of the local LG style (mostly open shapes). There were also a few EO sherds. A Middle PC aryballos indicates that the second apsidal building (II) was destroyed around 680/670 B.C.[388] SMyc, PG and MG II sherds have been found in small numbers in the sanctuary,[389] but the majority of the pottery and other finds is LG. A few Mycenaean finds (including a Φ-type figurine)[390] from the temple area indicate perhaps that the sanctuary was established then, in which case one should consider the possibility of continuity of the cult through the Dark Ages.

The two apsidal "huts" were doubtless cult buildings. This seems justified, not only because they are situated beneath the cella of the later temple, but basically owing to the discovery of exclusively fine wares and numerous metal votives from the successive floor levels.[391] It should be noted that animal bones were associated with the layers of the two buildings and indicate the practice of sacrifices (many showed signs of burning) and ritual dining.[392] The puzzling feature is the metal

[378] *Ibid.*

[379] *Archaeology in the Peloponnese*, ed. K. Sheedy, Oxford 1994, 61 (*cf.* Pausanias VIII, 48, 6).

[380] G. Nordquist, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 101.

[381] *AJA* 97 (1993) 347; 98 (1994) 313; E. Østby, in *Archaeology in the Peloponnese*, ed. K. Sheedy, Oxford 1994, 60; G. Nordquist, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 103f. The associated finds included slag, scrap material and bronzes. The pottery connected with the pit was MG II-LG [*OpAth* 20 (1994) 104; *AR* (1992/93) 21].

[382] G. Nordquist, in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, forthcoming. Inside the pit four Geometric bronze pins were found.

[383] M.E. Voyatzis & E. Østby, *AJA* 99 (1995) 340; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 14.

[384] The more complete account of the chronology and the finds is by G. Nordquist, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 101-103.

[385] E. Østby, in *Archaeology in the Peloponnese*, ed. K. Sheedy, Oxford 1994, 59; E. French, *AR* (1992/93) 21. See also A. Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 797.

[386] p.c., April 8, 1996.

[387] G. Nordquist, in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults*, forthcoming.

[388] *AJA* 98 (1994) 313.

[389] M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 64-71. Mycenaean, SMyc, PG, EG and MG I pottery is also present among the finds: E. Østby, in *Archaeology in the Peloponnese*, ed. K. Sheedy, Oxford 1994, 61; G. Nordquist, in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults*, forthcoming.

[390] *AR* (1991/92) 18; *AJA* 96 (1992) 346. The Mycenaean figurine was found during the excavation of the earlier apsidal building: see G. Nordquist, in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults*, forthcoming.

[391] *BCH* 116 (1992) 860. Among the finds there were some terracotta figurines, bronze pins, rings and a gold earring. G. Nordquist, in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults* (forthcoming) mentions that among the finds associated with the later (?) building were metal pins and fibulae, rings, discs and pendants, female terracottas, a terracotta bird, a little double axe of bone and a gold earring.

[392] E. French, *AR* (1992/93) 21; A. Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 797. It might be relevant that among the metal

workshop since it is situated just in front of the entrance of the two buildings, where one would expect the altar to be located.[393]

The first monumental temple was built around the end of the 7th c.[394] However, between the destruction of the second apsidal building and the erection of the new temple, a stone structure (platform?) was built on top of the apse of the LG buildings and was partly incorporated in the W part of the cella of the EA temple (Fig. 279, extreme left).[395] Roof tiles of a very early type (7th c. B.C.?) were also found above the LG temples, indicating some building activity in the 7th c. as well.[396]

THE CYCLADES

Apsidal buildings do not seem to have been popular in the Cyclades and the E Greek World during the EIA. The excavations on the hill of **Koukounaries** (Fig. 320), in the SW of the bay of Naousa, in the NE part of the island of Paros, lasted from 1976 to 1991. The Geometric remains lie over a prosperous fortified Mycenaean settlement of the LH IIIC period;[397] the Mycenaean "mansion" was violently destroyed by human action, presumably early in LH IIIC, but the site was reoccupied down to the end of LH IIIC, perhaps even into SMyc times. Some EPG sherds attest that there may have been no break in the occupation of the Upper Plateau during the transitional period from the LBA to the EIA.[398] The period of prosperity of the new settlement on the summit falls within the limits of the MG and especially the LG periods.[399] Around 700 B.C. the inhabitants moved to terraces further down the hill, though some areas of the Lower Town appear to have been occupied already in the LG period.[400] The peaceful abandonment of the settlement occurred towards the middle of the century.

From **Building A**, situated in the SW part of the acropolis, only a curved section of wall, *c.* 0,60m thick, is preserved (Figs. 321-322).[401] the orientation of the building was evidently E-W and its

votives there were numerous iron spits: see M. Voyatzis, "An Analysis of Votive Types Recently Found at Tegea", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults*, forthcoming.

[393] G. Nordquist, in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults*, forthcoming. See also *id.*, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 104 where she suggests "a small, temporary workplace, perhaps used in connection with festivals in the sanctuary".

[394] E. Østby, "The Archaic Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea", *OpAth* 16 (1986) 75-102.

[395] See *OpAth* 16 (1986) fig. 2.

[396] G. Nordquist, in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults*, forthcoming.

[397] D. Schilardi, "The Destruction of the Mycenaean Citadel at Koukounaries on Paros", in *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, ed. J. Davis & J. Cherry, Los Angeles 1979, 158-179; *id.*, "The LH IIIC Period at the Koukounaries Acropolis, Paros", in *The Prehistoric Cyclades: Contributions to a Workshop on Cycladic Chronology*, ed. J.A. MacGillivray & R.L.N. Barber, Edinburgh 1984, 184-206; R.B. Koehl, in *ibid.*, 207-221; D. Schilardi, "Παρατηρήσεις για την ακρόπολη των Κουκουναριών και την Μυκηναϊκή Πάρο κατά τον 12ο αι. π.Χ.", in *EEKM* 12 (1995) 481-500. See also *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) onwards.

[398] p.c., Dec. 28, 1995. There is evidence of scanty occupation during the SMyc period: see *ΠΑΕ* (1980) 278; (1981) 289f.; (1986) 195, n. 14 and in *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, ed. J.A. MacGillivray & R.N.L. Barber, Edinburgh 1984, fig. 10c. Schilardi maintains that the site was continuously occupied from prehistoric times to the EIA [for instance *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 109; (1986) 195; (1987) 219; (1988) 185]. However, the SMyc material is too scarce and does not allow one to maintain that the site was populated during that period, but it could suggest the presence either of squaters or simply visitors at the site (one single SMyc lekythos: D. Schilardi, in *Seminari anno 1990, Consilio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, Roma 1991, 41, fig. 6). As at Nichoria, the inhabitants of the PG period repaired and reused certain LH rooms [see *ΠΑΕ* (1980) 284f.: Trenches C4 and C6]. A PG cist child burial was also found on the plateau of the acropolis [*ΠΑΕ* (1978) 203]; a second cist burial of uncertain date, though presumably dated after the destruction of the Mycenaean mansion and before the LG period was found between Trenches C2-D2, near the southern edge of the plateau [*ΠΑΕ* (1991) 225f.].

[399] There seems, however, to exist a gap in the ceramic sequence between the PG and MG periods. though SPG pottery (skyphoi with pendant semi-circles) is occasionally mentioned [*ΠΑΕ* (1981) 290; (1983) 284; (1988) 201f.]. EG pottery is nowhere explicitly mentioned, not even in connection with the sanctuary of Athena [see *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 234 and (1989) 258].

[400] *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 281, 283, 285, 288-290; (1984) 284; (1985) 117; (1987) 224; (1988) 193f., 199-201; (1989) 263f., 266.

[401] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1979 (D. Schilardi). Bibliography: D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1979) 247f.; (1980) 284; (1981) 288, 290-292; *id.*, "The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 173-183; *id.*, "L'insediamento di Koukounaries nell'isola Egea di Paro", in *Seminari anno 1990, CNR-IME*, Roma 1991, 39-44, esp. 41. See also Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 805; Mazarakis

entrance, if we accept that the plan was apsidal (an oval plan cannot be altogether excluded), would have probably been situated to the E. Judging by the substantial dimensions of the apsidal section preserved, it seems that the building was of important dimensions: its length would have certainly attained 12,00m and may have even exceeded 15,00m and the width would have attained *c.* 6,50-7,00m.[402] The walls, like all the walls of the buildings at Koukounaries, would have been composed of stones.

By stratigraphical observations and associated LPG pottery, the construction of Building A can be dated around 900.[403] Originally it had been suggested that it may have been a temple or a chief's house[404] though later on the former hypothesis was withdrawn.[405] Its considerable dimensions indicate that this was the most outstanding building on the high plateau in the DA, possibly the ruler's house. It is not yet clear for how long Building A was in use. One could perhaps assume that it was occupied until around the middle of the 8th c., at which moment it may have been replaced by Building B.[406]

The fortified settlement on the small island of **Oikonomos** is located in the SE part of the bay of Naousa, in the NE of the island of Paros.[407] The buildings inside the circular fortification wall are arranged on successive terraces which follow an E-W direction (Fig. 326). Approximately in the centre an apsidal construction was recognised (Room I, Fig. 327). The orientation is E-W, and the dimensions *c.* 15,00 by 6,70m. Its entrance was probably located to the W. The interior was divided by a cross wall, preserved to a height of 0,46m, into a prodomos and a sekos. The exterior walls are preserved in places to a height of 0,90m and are *c.* 0,80m thick; they are built with huge blocks of stone. At some time during its existence the building was perhaps enlarged by constructing against its long S wall a rectangular appendage, Room II, measuring 13,25m by 3,27m, divided in two parts as well (the two cross walls do not seem to bond with the S wall of the apsidal edifice).

It is difficult -if not impossible- for the time being to establish the date of construction of the edifice, since no excavation has taken place. The surface sherds, collected in various parts of the settlement, suggest a foundation date to the late 8th or early 7th c.[408]

Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 11; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 20; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 609-613; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 75-79, esp. 76f.; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 152; J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 144.

[402] 6,00m is not such a modest width, as K. Fagerström claims: *GIAA* (1988) 76, n. 204.

[403] *ΠΑΕ* (1979) 247.

[404] D. Schilardi, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 175, 178; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 210; (1979) 247.See also D. Schilardi, in *Seminari anno 1990, CNR-IME*, Roma 1991, 41 ("residenza del basileus locale"). See also S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 87, who, presumably not well acquainted with the archaeological evidence, identifies this building as the temple of the poliad divinity.

[405] The only evidence for cult practice during the PG period was noted in connection with a cave at the NE slope of the hill which also contained a LH IIIB burial. See D. Schilardi, *JFA* 2 (1975) 91f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 289; (1986) 197, 203 who suggests a tomb cult. I. Morris ["Tomb Cult and the Greek Renaissance", *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 753] remarks that "the worshippers may not even have known that the burial was there".

[406] Dr. Schilardi (p.c. Sept. 21, 1984) informed me that the pottery associated with Building A dates the construction of the edifice, not its period of occupation. As for the function of Building B, very little can be said, due to its bad state of preservation. A Mycenaean wall (16) just to the S of the apse was reused in the "Geometric" period by adding a stretch of wall, 17 [*ΠΑΕ* (1984) 268]. The position of the reused building indicates that the apsidal building had been destroyed by that time. A puzzling fact, however, is that since the Mycenaean wall was reused in the Geometric period, it would have been visible during the earlier period as well, and therefore may have been incorporated in the PG building, which in that case cannot be restored as a canonical apsidal structure.

[407] Excavations: Survey directed by D. Schilardi in 1970 & 1974-75 on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society. Unexcavated. Bibliography: K. Photiou, *AE* (1973) Χρον., 1-14; D. Schilardi, *AAA* 6 (1973) 260-265; *id.*, *JFA* 2 (1975) 93f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1975) 205-209; *Ἔργον* (1974) 90; (1975) 142; *id.*, "The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 181f.; P. Aupert, *BCH* 99 (1975) 678; 100 (1976) 706; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 25; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 684-686; W. Ekschmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen* II, Mainz 1986, 34-36; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 79f.; S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 87; D. Berranger, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Paros a l'époque archaïque*, Clermont-Ferrand 1992, 122.

[408] D. Schilardi, *AAA* 6 (1973) 263: "One tends to date the settlement in the Early Greek Archaic period, on the basis of the simplified plan, the style of masonry and the potsherds. One might even be willing to accept an earlier date in the Geometric period, but we lack evidence"; *id.*, *JFA* 2 (1975) 93: "Surface finds are dated in the

The location of the building approximately in the centre of the fortified hamlet, its dimensions (it appears to be one of the largest buildings of the settlement), and the fact that this is the unique construction of apsidal form observed, suggest that it would have been either a temple, or a building which would have served communal functions.[409] Further details will become available only if excavations begin.

THE EAST GREEK ISLANDS

Apsidal edifices are extremely rare in the East Greek World and several cases are ambiguous. The building at **Pyrrha** should perhaps be restored oval (p. 92, Fig. 367), while the building at **Mytilene** (Fig. 355) may have initially been apsidal, oriented to the S, but there is not enough evidence yet to pursue this assumption (see *infra* p. 89). The only certain apsidal edifice is **Building III** at **Antissa** (Figs. 356:1, 358) which seems to have been contemporary with Unit IV-5 at Nichoria.[410] Here, two building phases were identified, though the transformations did not affect the overall dimensions of the edifice. The edifice was originally an apsidal structure (Fig. 360). It faces W and measures 17,25 X 6,50m. At the W extremity of the N wall, a flat stone may have served as a base for a wooden parastade.[411] The W extremity of the S wall no longer survives. According to Drerup, the interior was divided into four compartments. However, all the cross walls were not contemporary: Wall IIId is later than IIIc, while IIIa and IIIb seem to belong to the first period (phase III-1), as well as the side entrance in the middle of the N wall.[412] In the second period (III-2) the side entrance was blocked with a curved wall (g) and was transformed into an alcove of uncertain purpose.[413]

Lamb dated the construction of Building III in the 9th and possibly in the 10th c., while she placed its destruction in the beginning of the 8th c.[414] However, since the earliest pottery, dated in the first half of the 9th c.,[415] was found "inside and below" the building,[416] a date for the construction of the edifice in the late 9th or early 8th c. cannot be excluded.[417] Moreover, since the polygonal

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Archaic period, but judging by the general layout and the architectural features of the temple, the settlement itself is likely to have been founded in the Geometric period"; *id.*, *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 182: "On account of the available evidence it can be assumed that the Oikonomos settlement should perhaps be dated in the early Orientalizing period"; see also *ΠΑΕ* (1975) 209. H. Lauter suggests that the settlement should be tentatively dated by its surface finds in the 6th and 5th c. B.C. [*Lathuresa* (1985) 23, n. 42]. D. Berranger (*Recherches sur l'histoire de Paros a l'époque archaïque*, Clermont-Ferrand 1992, 122.) wrongly dates the settlement in the SMyc or PG period.

[409] K. Photiou, *AE* (1973) Χρον., 7f. suggested that the site may have been the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros mentioned by Herodotus (VI, 134). This is unlikely, judging from the general layout of the buildings and the existence of a fortification wall. K. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 80] suggests to identify the site with an aristocrats farm, which is also unlikely: see A. Mazarakis Ainian, *OpAth* 19 (1992) 185.

[410] Excavations: British School, 1931-32 (W. Lamb). Bibliography: W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 41-67 [see also *id.*, *BSA* 31 (1931) 171f.]; G. Karo, *AA* (1933) 250f.; E. Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 37 (1933) 628; H. Payne, *JHS* 55 (1933) 284f.; V.R.d'A Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 217f.; H. Drerup, "Griechische Architektur zur Zeit Homers", *AA* (1964) 184-187; W. Müller-Wiener, in G. Kleiner, P. Hommel & W. Müller-Wiener, *Panionion und Melie*, *JdI* 23. Ergänzungsheft (1967) 118f. & n. 314; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 25-27; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 408f., 422; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 109; J.D. Kontis, *Λεσβιακό πολύπτυχο*, Athens 1973, 56-61; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 13f., 57; A. Nickels, *Gallia* 34 (1976) 122f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 263 & n. 70; J.D. Kontis, *Λέσβος και η Μικρασιατική της περιοχή*, Athens 1978, 306-311; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 53; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 606; S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 56; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 797f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 5f.; *id. RDT* (1987) 488-491; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 88-90; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 19-21; N. Spencer, "Early Lesbos between East and West", *BSA* 90 (1995) 285.

[411] A.D. Brockmann, *Die griechische Ante*, Marburg 1968, 21.

[412] W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 44; H. Drerup, "Das geometrische Haus", *MarbWPr* (1962) 2.

[413] G. Karo, *AA* (1933) 250 suggested that the alcove may have served as an oven.

[414] *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 44f. & 47. Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 606 accepts this date.

[415] W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 56; V.R.d'A Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 217, 323; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 408; R. Kearsley, *The Pendent Semi-circle Skyphos*, London 1989 (*BICS* Suppl. 44) 15; N. Spencer, *BSA* 90 (1995) 285.

[416] W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 45.

[417] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 263 and n. 70; A. Nickels, *Gallia* 34 (1976) 123. N. Spencer suggests a date "from the early/middle Geometric period": *BSA* 90 (1995) 285.

masonry of Building IV-1 can hardly date before 700,[418] and certain finds which were discovered at the level of the first floor (+1,75-2,00m above sea level) cannot date before the 8th c., such as the two fibulae of Blinkenberg's type IV (Fig. 363g-h),[419] or even belong to the end of the 8th c., such as a few PC sherds,[420] it would be more plausible to assume that the earlier building lasted until the end of the 8th c.

Among the large amounts of fine local bucchero ware (fragmentary dinoi, kraters, bowls, amphorae, jugs, cups, kantharoi) there were some phialai mesomphaloi and circular platters or discs, as well as three bronze fibulae and a decorated bone object (Fig. 363).[421] The function of Building III will be discussed in conjunction with that of its successor on the same spot, Building IV. Here it will suffice to note that the evidence points towards a secular use; however, the character of the finds and the important dimensions suggest a house of a wealthy family (see *infra* p. 91).

The successor of Building III, IV-1, was an oval building (p. 91, Fig. 361a), constructed in the transition from the 8th to the 7th c. At some point it was once again transformed into apsidal (**Building IV-2**, Fig. 361b), but this alteration definitely took place in post-Geometric times (7th c.?).

At **Emporio** on Chios there were apparently no apsidal buildings (Fig. 368). However, in my opinion, it is possible that originally, the so-called **Lower Megaron** was apsidal (Fig. 374).[422] Since the square room at the back, House A (Fig. 375), was an addition to the original plan[423] one could assume that it was erected over a previous extension of the Lower Megaron. Indeed, beneath the floor of House A there was evidence for an earlier floor deposit. Moreover, one observes a row of stones which form a curve starting from the N extremity of the W wall. J. Boardman states that "it may even be that the east wall of the megaron had once continued to the north behind the building" and that the NW corner had been rebuilt when the square unit was added to the building.[424] These details might indicate that originally the house was provided with an apsidal end, though I concede that a restoration of a room of rectangular shape is equally possible.[425] If the first suggestion is correct the Lower Megaron would have originally measured *c.* 17,00-17,50m in length and 7,00m in width. The building in its second building phase comprises a porch with two columns between the antas (only the eastern base was preserved *in situ*, the second was displaced to the SW) and a main room with two axial roof supports on either side of a central hearth, lined with vertical slabs (northern side preserved).

The only finds associated with this building were a fragmentary pitcher and the neck of an hydria. Nearby was found an almost complete clay "chimney". Fragments from a second "chimney" and fine cups were found beneath the floor of House A[426] and should perhaps be ascribed to the first building period. A 6th c. B.C. amphora foot could perhaps be associated with the use or abandonment of House A, and consequently of the entire complex. The Lower Megaron, especially if we accept that it was a tripartite building, is the most impressive house of the settlement on the slopes of the hill

[418] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 263.
[419] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 278.
[420] Such as *BSA* 32 (1931/32) pl. 23 (mentioned on p. 58 but not stated that it was found at a depth of 1,75-1,50, inside the earlier apsidal building) and an unpublished rim from a kotyle.
[421] *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 45, 51ff., esp. 54 & 62f., pl. 21, nos. 6 and 11.
[422] Excavations: British School, 1952-55 (J. Boardman). Bibliography: J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios, 1952-1955: Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 40-43; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1967) 13; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 138.
[423] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 41, 42.
[424] *Ibid.*, 41, 42, respectively.
[425] In his letter of January 22, 1986, Professor Boardman informed me that the curving line beyond the short continuation of the W wall of the Lower Megaron represents a more or less level paving of the curved "bastion". He further argues that section BB [*Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 41 fig. 19] "shows a sharp falling away of the rock at about where the apse would go, though I suppose the ground could have been built up for it (a practice not noted elsewhere; nor would it have been cut away deliberately for such a hovel as House A)". He also states that "the sherds under House A need not imply a room there, merely that it was a later building phase to the Megaron". One could object to these arguments that the back room is sometimes at a lower level than the main room in apsidal buildings (compare with Nichoria IV-1 and Mycenae) and that the "paving" could also be explained as the substructure of a wall (there seems to be an outer face). Lastly, the curved line of the "bastion" may suggest that the original room built on top was similar in plan.
[426] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 43.

of Prophetes Elias and doubtless belonged to an important member of the community. Moreover, if the suggested restoration is accepted, this would be the only building which would have been marked out from the remaining houses due to its plan. Likewise, the fact that the Classical temple by the harbour was apsidal, and its 6th c. predecessor apsidal or circular, suggests that there was an old local tradition in architectural planning of this kind.[427]

Lastly, we should mention the clay **model** of an apsidal building found at the Heraion of **Samos** (Fig. 507) and dated around 725 B.C.[428] The fact that there existed at no time an apsidal temple in the Heraion strongly suggests that the model in question represents a house, presumably that of the dedicant. The presence of a multitude of Geometric and EA building models of various types and plans in the Heraion (apsidal, oval and rectangular) lends additional support to this interpretation.[429]

ASIA MINOR

According to R.V. Nicholls, the first temple of Athena at **Old Smyrna** (*c.* 690 B.C.) may have been provided with rounded corners at the back (Fig. 402). If this assumption is confirmed, the temple of Old Smyrna should be ranked in between the apsidal and rectangular plan (*infra* p. 203).[430]

PART 2

OVAL BUILDINGS

There are two regions of the Greek World where one observes a concentration of Geometric oval buildings: Attica and Euboea on one side, the E Greek islands and the W coast of Asia Minor on the other. The date of the horseshoe shaped temple of Athena Polias at **Gonnoi** in Thessaly (Figs. 55-56, dim. 10,75 X 7,50m) will remain an unsolved mystery, due to the lack of a proper publication, and the subsequent destruction of the edifice, though it is practically certain that it belongs to the 7th c. B.C.[431]

ATTICA

The building of the **Areopagus** at Athens (Fig. 127) is the only oval construction of the 9th c. to which one may ascribe with relative confidence a religious function.[432] It is situated on the N slope of

[427] *Ibid.*, 64-85. On p. 83 Boardman argues that "the Greeks who re-settled Emporio came from the west at a time in which the rectangular plan was currently used for domestic construction, but apsidal temples were still visible and being built". Previously he stated that "it might be argued that the Emporio temples' plans go back to that of earlier buildings on the site, of which there is no longer trace" though he dismisses the hypothesis on the ground that all the preserved buildings of the settlement are rectangular in plan.

[428] H. Walter & K. Vierneisel, *AM* 74 (1955) 18, Beilage 29:2 and 30; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 74; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 409f.; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) no. 37, pp. 76-78. No. 36 (*ibid.*, 74f.) belongs to the end of the 7th c. B.C. The remaining curvilinear models are oval (*ibid.*, nos. 38-43) and all date in the 7th and 6th c. B.C.

[429] Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 40-86, nos. 10-43.

[430] Letter of March 23, 1986 and *infra* p. 203.

[431] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1910-11 (A.S. Aravantinopoulos). Bibliography: A.S. Aravantinopoulos, *ΠΑΕ* (1910) 252-259; (1911) 315-317; B. Helly, *Gonnoi* I: *La cité et son histoire*, Amsterdam 1973, 72-74; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 81f. B. Helly dates the construction of the temple in the middle of the 7th c. B.C. (p. 147f.) while P. Marzolff, "Antike Städtebau und Architektur in Thessalien", in *Θεσσαλία. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας, 1975-1990. Αποτελέσματα και προοπτικές. Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου, Λυών, 17-22 Απριλίου 1990*, Β', Athens 1994, 261 suggests the second half of the 7th c.

[432] Excavations: American School, 1932 (D. Burr). Bibliography: D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Deposit", *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 542-640; E.T.H. Brann, *Agora* VII, Princeton 1962, 109f.; J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών*, Athens 1960, 30; W. Müller-Wiener, in G. Kleiner, P. Hommel & W. Müller-Wiener, *Panionion und Melie*, *JdI* 23. Ergänzungsheft (1967) 120; H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 58-60; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 29, 124 & 126; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 232f.; J. Bouzek, *Homerisches Griechenland*, Praha 1969, 120; C. Bérard, *Eretria* III, Bern 1970, 59f.; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 110;

the Areopagus (Fig. 123:A), and measures *c.* 11,00m in length and *c.* 5,50/6,00m in width. The width of the stone socle varies from 0,35 to 0,40m. It is constructed with very small stones, except at the N, where more sizeable stones were used. There is no indication concerning the location of the entrance. It is possible, judging by the preserved remains and the comparison with the later oval building at Tourkovounia (Fig. 134), that it was situated on one of the long sides of the building.[433] Patches of the clay floor have survived in places inside the building. In some places, a platform of pebbles, 0,15m thick, was laid over the floor. This has been taken as evidence for the existence of wooden benches along the inner face of the socle.[434] Traces of a hearth to the SE of the centre of the building were recognised.

The building was erected before the end of the 9th c. and was abandoned in the third quarter of the 8th. c. B.C.[435] In the 7th c. its ruins were partly covered by a votive deposit of chthonian character.[436]

At first, the oval building of the Areopagus was identified as a house.[437] Nowadays, scholars prefer to consider it either a funerary enclosure or a cult building, inside which funerary meals would have been celebrated in honour of the deceased.[438] Indeed, under the floor of the building a child burial of the EG I period (*c.* 900-875) was excavated.[439] Burr mentions also that she found evidence for at least two more disturbed tombs inside the limits of the building.[440] Moreover, the neighbouring area is rich in tombs, mostly of the EG I-MG I periods (Fig. 126).[441] The chthonian character of the votive deposit of the 7th c.[442] and the triangular heroön of the second half of the 5th c. nearby (Fig. 126), may in these circumstances serve as additional arguments in favour of the religious function of the earlier oval building. The presence of a hearth and probably of benches, seems to favour the theory that sacred banquets in honour of deceased ancestors may have been celebrated in the interior of the construction. Strictly speaking, however, the hypothesis that the building was a normal dwelling cannot be ruled out.

The remains of an oval building were excavated on the northern summit of **Mount Tourkovounia** (+302,10m).[443] The building (Fig. 133) lies in the E extremity of the summit. The

Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 409; H.A. Thompson & R.E. Wycherley, *Agora* XIV, Princeton 1972, 17, n. 50; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica (1975/76)* 57; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 30; H. Abramson, *Greek Hero Shrines*, Ph.D. diss., Berkeley 1978, 159-161; G.V. Lalonde, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 97f.; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 604; A. Snodgrass, in *CAH* III, 1 (1982) 678; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 20; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 23; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 107, 110; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 495-497; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 44-46; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 21f.; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 120, n. 114; J. Whitley, "The monuments that Stood before Marathon: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Archaic Attica", *AJA* 98 (1994) 225; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 121-126.

[433] Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 232 proposed that the entrance may have been situated on the N side. However, one cannot exclude that it was situated to the S, or even to the E.

[434] *Cf.* for example Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 126.

[435] D. Burr, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 566; E. Brann, *Agora* VIII, Princeton 1962, 109f., nn. 2-3 concerning the date of abandonment of the building; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 30. Morris and Whitley, however, regard the oval building of the Agora as LG [*Burial* (1987) 229 and *AJA* 98 (1994) 225, respectively].

[436] D. Burr, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 542-640; J. Whitley, *AJA* 98 (1994) 225.

[437] Burr, *op.cit.*, 636-640. Vitruvius (II, 1, 5) mentions a primitive hut on the Areopagus which was still visible in his days. See also Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 46 who identifies the edifice with a house.

[438] H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 60; H.A. Thompson & R.E. Wycherley, *Agora* XIV, Princeton 1972, 17, n. 50; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 30; J. Whitley, *AJA* 98 (1994) 225.

[439] D. Burr, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 552-554, 553 fig. 11; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 11, 399 and *id.*, *GG* (1977) 30.

[440] D. Burr, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 554 & 561.

[441] See E. Smithson, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 325-390; J.N. Coldstream, "The Rich Lady of the Areiopagos and her Contemporaries", *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 393f., 399; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 124. However, this is not a conclusive argument in favour of the cult building theory since, as pointed out by I. Morris [*Burial* (1987) 65] in Athens, during the PG and Geometric periods "burials were being made in areas simultaneously inhabited".

[442] The material of the deposit greatly resembles the votive deposit discovered in the dromos of the Mycenaean tholos-tomb at Menidi in Attica: J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 96 (1976) 11 & n. 31.

[443] Excavations: German Institute, 1978 (H. Lauter). Bibliography: Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985); Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 792-795; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 47; R. Osborne, "A Crisis in Archaeological History? The Seventh Century B.C. in Attica", *BSA* 84 (1989) 307; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 191-195. For earlier references: E. Pentazos, *Αττική: Οικιστικά στοιχεία*, Athens 1973 (*Ancient Greek Cities* XXI) 185.

width of the building was 7,60m (E-W). Its length (N-S) would have been *c.* 11,50m. Its foundations are taller in the N, E and S sides, where the downward slope is abrupt, while at the W, where the level is higher, only one course of stones was required to form the outer face of the wall (Fig. 134). Thus, at the E and S sides (the N part of the edifice has not survived), the lower course of stones is *c.* 1,10m deeper than the floor level in the interior. The foundations formed a sort of podium on which rested the building's superstructure. The upper part of the walls was doubtless composed of mud bricks. The exaggerated thickness of the stone socle (*c.* 1,50m) is very unusual for a building of such an early date and of so modest proportions. H. Lauter suggested that the foundations represent a wall *c.* 0,60-0,70m wide, and a bench running along its inner face *c.* 0,80-0,90m wide. On the other hand, Fagerström suggested that the foundations represent an open air enclosure,[444] but the clay bit of floor recovered speaks against this assumption.[445] Unlike the oval edifices of Eretria (Figs. 110, 118-119), Xeropolis/Lefkandi (Fig. 97) and Pithekoussai (Fig. 122:IV), the doorway was here located in the middle of the long W side. This is implied by the nature of the terrain (the level of the soil outside is only 0,24m lower than the upper surface of the stone socle) and the widening of the wall at this place. The choice of the position of the door could have been mere chance due to the nature of the terrain. However, it is perhaps not entirely coincidental that the earlier oval edifice of the Areopagus, appear to have been provided with a similar entrance.

Judging by the sherds collected in the interior of the building, it was erected during the last years of the 8th c. and was used throughout the 7th c.[446] Around 600 the building fell in disuse.[447] It seems that the site was only occasionally visited during the 6th c. and that the oval building gradually deteriorated until it finally fell into ruins. The cult was resumed once again in the 5th c., this time in the open air. Towards the third quarter of the 4th c. B.C. an ovoid peribolos wall enclosed a rectangular altar.[448] The cult lasted until the 3rd c. A.D.

The sherds associated with the period of use of the oval building belong to drinking vessels (mainly cups, skyphoi and kotylai), miniature vases and normal household pots (oinochoai, choai, bowls, pitchers etc.).[449] Very few figurines were found: they belong to the third quarter of the 7th c. and represent horses and men.[450] One fragment, however, represents a centaur.[451] The base of a miniature kotyle is pierced with a hole.[452] These last two pieces suggest a cult of chthonian nature.[453] Lauter tried to explain the admixture of sacred and household wares by the presence in the immediate vicinity of the oval building of an ovoid "tumulus" delimited by a stone kerb (Fig. 135).[454] The "tumulus" has a diameter of *c.* 14,00m, but most of it was destroyed recently. A limited probe in the interior of the mound revealed EH sherds and obsidian blades. A deposit of ash and bone was found below the lowest course of stones of the circular foundation. Lauter suggested that it was a foundation deposit, related to the construction of the enclosure. Since the sherds of the third millennium B.C. were collected from the deepest layer inside the raised mound, the German scholar prefers not to ascribe them to it. Instead, he suggests that they indicate the presence of EH occupation and that the "tumulus" would have been contemporary with the oval building and could represent a cenotaph of a hero. The oval building further N was probably a "Sacred House" which belonged to a group of a few families which honoured the "founder hero". The chthonian character of certain finds such as the centaur, the horses, and the pierced miniature kotyle, is undeniable, but the association of

[444] *GIAA* (1987) 47, 161, followed by F. de Polignac, in *Culture et cité. L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 25-27 Avril 1991*, ed. A. Verbanck-Piérard & D. Viviers, Bruxelles 1995, 81, n. 13.
[445] Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 27.
[446] *Ibid.*, 122f. Concerning two LG sherds from the foundation see *ibid.*, 24.
[447] *Ibid.*, 138f.
[448] *Ibid.*, 139-148.
[449] *Ibid.*, 50-119.
[450] *Ibid.*, 116f.
[451] *Ibid.*, 117, no. 455 & p. 130.
[452] *Ibid.*, 78, no. 117 & p. 130.
[453] *Ibid.*, 130, n. 162. Concerning the chthonian significance of the centaur see Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 101f. Horses also, in certain cases, are connected with chthonian practices: see L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben", *JdI* 29 (1914) 179-255.
[454] Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 41-45.

the stone kerb with the oval structure is a pure hypothesis. Lauter suggests that the cult was performed by *c.* a dozen of families living in the surroundings and that their cult-association came to an end during the political troubles in Attica in the 6th c. The cult was later reinstalled, and from private was transformed to public. It seems that the reused site should be identified with the sanctuary of Zeus Anchesmos mentioned by Pausanias, but this is not certain, for no inscriptions were found.[455] The ritual connected with the chthonian cult was presumably that known as "panspermia", i.e. a vegetation cult which consisted in boiling seeds in "chytrai", that is to say, normal cooking pots.[456] The large number of drinking vases indicates liquid offerings and ritual drinking during banquets. The absence of animal bones excludes the practice of animal sacrifice. It is also worth mentioning that the act of cooking the seeds (i.e. the "aparchai") did not necessarily mean that they were eaten afterwards.[457]

C. Antonaccio has convincingly argued, that there is absolutely no evidence that the oval building was related with the stone enclosure and thus concludes that "any heroic aspect to cult at Tourkovouni remains undemonstrated" since the so-called cenotaph "was not important enough to be maintained, renewed, or remembered at any time after its construction";[458] she further suggests a kind of *thalysia* cult, during which first fruits offered after harvest.

THE CYCLADES

One or possibly two oval structures assigned to the PG (?) period, were unearthed at **Grotta** on Naxos (Fig. 331).[459] Yet neither the exact date nor the precise function of these structures have been established. According to a recent opinion, which appears to be well founded, these may have been funerary enclosures in which honours would have been presented to the dead.[460]

THE EAST GREEK ISLANDS

On the island of Lesbos, three sites, Mytilene, Antissa and Pyrrha, have revealed buildings, presumably oval in plan and of uncertain function. They all seem to belong to the transition from the 8th to the 7th c. B.C.

The curvilinear building investigated in the quarter of Epano Skala of the town of **Mytilene** was built around 700 B.C.[461] In the preliminary report published the edifice is referred to as "apsidal". Mrs. D. Chatzi kindly informed me that the S curved wall seen on the plan (Fig. 354)[462] belongs to the same edifice, which may therefore be restored as oval (Fig. 355).[463] It is roughly oriented in a N-S direction and measures *c.* 5,50m in width. The estimated length is *c.* 14,00m.

Two building phases were observed. From the original building only the N extremity of the W wall and part of the apse have been preserved.[464] The wall is 0,43-0,46m wide and is built with unworked stones. The apse was separated from the rest of the building by a cross wall. Judging by the difference in the width of the two sections of the cross wall one should consider the possibility that one of the two belongs to the second building phase. The existence of a cross wall in this area

[455] Pausanias, I, 32, 2. This question is discussed by H. Lauter [*Turkovuni* (1985) 15, 149-154] but no firm conclusions were drawn. In a report by Kosmopoulos to the Prime Minister Charilaos Trikoupis, p. 5, the sanctuary is identified with the hill of Strefi near the centre of Athens, for an iscription mentioning the god was found there.

[456] J. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, London 1963 (Cambridge 1927²), 291f. and Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 133f.

[457] Harrison, *op.cit.*, 291: this is specified in the ancient texts. For a different opinion see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, 240.

[458] Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 194f.

[459] N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 186f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 69.

[460] V. Lambrinoudakis, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 238-244.

[461] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1973 (D. Chatzi-Valianou). Bibliography: D. Chatzi-Valianou, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 517-519; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 28f.; *id. RDT* (1987) 664-667; N. Spencer, "Early Lesbos between East and West", *BSA* 90 (1995) 296-299.

[462] *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., fig. 10, between pp. 516 and 517.

[463] p.c., May 4, 1984.

[464] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 515f.

would perhaps favour the assumption that the edifice was initially apsidal and that only subsequently was transformed into oval.[465] However, if the difference in construction of this cross wall turns out to represent a repair, contemporary with the second phase during which the edifice was certainly oval, it would be preferable to consider that the initial structure was oval too.

To the second building phase belong the E part of the N apse, the long E wall[466] and perhaps the uncovered portion of the S apse (p.c. by Mrs. Chatzi, May 4, 1984). As argued above, one section of the N cross wall presumably also belongs to the same building phase. The exterior wall is constructed in the "lesbian" style (e.g. in polygonal masonry) and in places is preserved to a height of 1,50-1,60m. Yet, a substantial layer of decomposed mud bricks was observed inside the edifice, suggesting that the upper part of the wall was composed of mud bricks. The entrance was located in the S part of the E wall,[467] recalling the position of the door in at least two of the six Archaic elliptical **building models** from **Samos** (*cf.* Fig. 508).[468] A hearth was identified in the NW corner of the main chamber.[469]

Close to the NW side of the building a curved wall belonging to an earlier curvilinear structure came to light (Wall Σ).[470] N. Spencer, in his effort to explain the awkward kink of the S extremity of the E side of the oval building, arrived to the conclusion that the latter and Wall Σ represent an even earlier building phase (Fig. 355b).[471] The assumption is intriguing, but since the stratigraphy has not been published yet, the question has to remain open.[472] Just E of the oval building a portion of a massive wall was revealed (Fig. 354, preserved height: 2,10m; estimated width: more than 3,00m).[473] The excavator suggested that it was either a peribolos or a retaining wall. Traces of further Archaic structures came to light in the western part of the excavated area.[474]

Judging by the pottery (a substantial portion consisted of local bucchero ware) the building's construction may be placed in the years around 700. It was apparently repaired towards the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th c. B.C.[475] The latest material dates in the late 6th/early 5th c. B.C., a fact which favours the excavator's assumption that the edifice was violently destroyed by the Persians in 494 B.C.[476]

Mrs. D. Chatzi favours the identification of the edifice as a cult building on account of the unusual curvilinear plan, the care of construction, the fact that it was used for *c.* two consecutive centuries, and also due to the discovery of a stone edicule containing in relief a seated representation of Cybele, dated in the Archaic period.[477] This object was incorporated into a neighbouring wall of Roman date and therefore may not have belonged to the oval edifice.[478] One Archaic sherd with a

[465] Indeed, unlike apsidal edifices, oval buildings rarely present a division of this kind. Compare also with Buildings III and IV-1 at Antissa, Figs. 360, 361a.
[466] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *AΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 515f.
[467] *Ibid.* 516.
[468] E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930) 16f.; H. Drerup, "Das geometrische Haus", *MarbWPr* (1962) 1-9; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 74f.; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 605; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 78-80, no. 38, pp. 82f., no. 41.
[469] p.c. by Mrs. D. Chatzi, May 4, 1984.
[470] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *AΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 516.
[471] *BSA* 90 (1995) 297f., fig. 11.
[472] Indeed, if Wall Σ is the oldest EIA wall in the area, one is led to accept that there existed an earlier curvilinear building beneath the later structure. Moreover, by accepting Spencer's restoration, the hearth would have assumed an axial position within this building and this would explain its off-centre position in the subsequent phases. Nevertheless, I hesitate to follow Spencer, since the excavator herself, presumably relying on observations made during the excavation, suggested to me in earlier years that the southern apse is contemporary with the second building phase of the building. Therefore, before reaching any final decision, one needs to establish first whether the masonry style of the southern apse is similar to that of Wall Σ, and also whether the stratigraphy allows the development of such an hypothesis. In addition to this, it seems to me that the kink in the E wall has been exaggerated on Spencer's plan.
[473] *AΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 517. This structure, however, appears more like a fortification wall.
[474] *Ibid.*, 516 and fig. 10 between pp. 516 and 517.
[475] p.c. by Mrs. D. Chatzi. Spencer's remark that the excavator "dated the building from the 'early archaic' period on account of the votive statuettes of Kybele" [*BSA* 90 (1995) 298] is incorrect.
[476] p.c. by Mrs. D. Chatzi. Concerning the latter event, Herod., VI, 31.
[477] p.c. by Mrs. D. Chatzi. See also *AΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 517. Spencer mentions also a second headless statuette of Cybele: *BSA* 90 (1995) 298, n. 183.
[478] There is also a perirranterion fragment illustrated in *AΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., pl. 485.

graffito from the excavated plot which appears to spell ΑΠΟΛΛ[--- led Spencer to the tentative assumption that Apollo may have been worshipped here next to Cybele.[479] However, positive evidence for the religious destination of the building is lacking: it seems that characteristic votives that one normally expects to find in a sanctuary of the late 8th through the 6th c. B.C., such as figurines or metal items, were not encountered,[480] while the so-called peribolos or terrace wall to the E of the building appears more like a fortification wall. On the other hand, the study of the pottery associated with the period of use of the edifice will undoubtedly contribute towards a better understanding of its function. Thus, the question of the precise function of the edifice cannot be answered until the results of the excavation are fully published.

The new building at **Antissa** (**IV-1**, Fig. 361a) was erected over the ruins of its predecessor (Fig. 358).[481] It was less wide (6,10m) and shorter (*c.* 14,00m) than Building III. The presence of a door in the centre of the new apse to the W, implies that the new building was oval (Fig. 361a). Indeed, the apse of the first building is preserved to a height of 1,85m and from the longitudinal section (Fig. 359) one notes that its surface was *c.* 0,30m higher than the hypothetical floor level of the new building. Therefore, the old apse must have been reused in the construction of the new building, which now became oval. The interior was divided into two equal compartments by a cross wall. There is also evidence of a hearth inside the W room.

Sometime during its existence, Building IV-1 was transformed to apsidal (phase IV-2, Fig. 361b). The old E apse was destroyed and a new rectilinear wall was built over it (Wall IVii). To the W, the door was blocked and two buttresses (IViii and IViv) as well as a paved area (IVv) were added to the outer face of the apse. These facts indicate that the oval building was severely damaged, possibly following an earthquake and that subsequently it was transformed to apsidal, with a new entrance to the E.

The excavator suggested that Building IV-1 was built in the 8th c.[482] However, as noted earlier, the polygonal masonry of Building IV-1, and certain finds inside the earlier building, suggest a date no earlier than *c.* 700 B.C.[483] Phase IV-2 can be vaguely dated some time during the 7th c. The destruction appears to have occurred within the same century, since Walls V-VI, which were built over the ruins of Building IV, date still in the 7th c.[484]

Buildings III and IV at Antissa are often considered as temples by scholars.[485] This is due to their important dimensions, the hearth of phase IV and the continuous reconstructions. Moreover, quantities of the imported pottery of fine quality and certain unusual finds (Figs. 363-364) such as decorated bone objects (Fig. 363:i-j), bronze fibulae and pins (Figs. 363:f-h and 364:a-c), a spearhead of iron (Fig. 364:d.),[486] were collected from their interior. Certain ceramic finds such as omphalic phialai (Fig. 363:a), flat circular discs (Fig. 363:b-d) and one miniature pot may have had a religious function. Loom weights were also found (Fig. 363:e). One double nozzled lamp of the 6th c. (Fig. 364:f), is also of a type often found in sanctuaries, though not exclusively.[487]

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[479] *BSA* 90 (1995) 298; *cf. AΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., pl. 484γ.

[480] Compare for instance with the votive deposit found during another rescue excavation nearby: A. Archondidou-Argyri, *AΔ* 41 (1986) Χρον., 198-200.

[481] Excavations: British School, 1931-32 (W. Lamb). Bibliography: W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 41-6; H. Drerup, *AA* (1964) 184-187; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 25-27; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 408f., 422; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 109; J.D. Kontis, *Λεσβιακό πολύπτυχο*, Athens 1973, 56-61; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 263; J.D. Kontis, *Λέσβος και η Μικρασιατική της περιοχή*, Athens 1978, 306-311; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 606; S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 56; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 28; *id. RDT* (1987) 488-491; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 88-90; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 120, n. 113; N. Spencer, *BSA* 90 (1995) 285.

[482] W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 47.

[483] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 263. The bronze fibulae are of Blinkenberg's type XII, which "are not found before the 8th century": Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 278.

[484] W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 48.

[485] Certain scholars, such as A. Nickels [*Gallia* 34 (1976) 122], S. Sinos [*Hausformen* 34 (1976) 122] and R. Hampe [Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 53] maintain that the two buildings of Antissa were ordinary houses.

[486] One further spearhead and two arrowheads were not found in a stratified context.

[487] K. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I, Berlin 1931, no. 2557, p. 615, pl. 122; R.H. Howland, *Agora* IV, Princeton 1958, type 19A, p. 39, nos. 131-135; D.M. Robinson, *Olynthus* XIII, Baltimore 1950, 131f., no. 6.

If the objects enumerated above represent votive offerings, one would be tempted to identify the divinity worshipped with Athena, for as in the sanctuary of Athena at Emporio, the feminine side of the goddess would be illustrated by the loom weights and the fibulae, and the warlike side by the weapons. Since however the quantity of the presumed votive offerings is small, it would be preferable to consider these objects as the personal belongings of the owners of these houses. If then the buildings of Antissa were not temples,[488] then they could have belonged to an important family of Antissa.[489] The fact that Buildings III and IV do not occupy a prominent position inside the settlement does not allow one to identify them with houses of members of a governing élite.[490]

The curvilinear building found on the acropolis of **Pyrrha** (Figs. 365-366), one of the five *poleis* of the island of Lesbos, was oriented towards the NE.[491] Three building phases have been identified; here we are concerned only with the earliest phase which seems to belong to the Geometric period. Of the early building only the apse has been preserved (Room I). The total surviving length is *c.* 7,00m. The maximum width is *c.* 6,60m. The walls are 0,45-0,50m thick and are preserved to a height of 0,85-0,90m (a total of four courses). The exterior face of the wall is built with well dressed rectangular stone blocks, measuring between 0,24-0,43m in length and 0,18-0,20m in height. On the other hand the inner face of the same wall consists of smaller unworked stones. It seems that the remaining superstructure was composed of mud bricks. A cylindrical stone base near the apse, axially placed, should probably be assigned to this structure and was doubtless a support for a wooden column. It is not certain whether the edifice was apsidal or oval, though W. Schiering seems to favour the latter hypothesis, in which case one should restore two more axial columns (Fig. 367). This assumption is further strengthened by the awkward junction of the extremity of the E long wall, which appears to have been also less wide than the rest. This section, in my opinion, could perhaps represent a threshold of a door, which would have been situated roughly in the middle of the E long side.[492]

The exact relationship between the pottery recovered during the excavation and the architectural remains is not known.[493] The earliest pottery is Mycenaean. J. Boehlau noted "mykenische Scherben im Estrich des Apsidenbaues". These, according to W. Schiering provide a *terminus post quem* for the apsidal building.[494] The date of the early building rests in fact on rather uncertain grounds: the masonry, which has parallels of Geometric date but nevertheless is rather unusual for such an early date, and the plan (popularity of curvilinear plans in the Geometric period). Strictly speaking, however, a later date should not be totally overruled. The second building period (addition of "Quermauer A & of Room II) belongs perhaps to the late 7th c. A third phase (addition of Room III) dates into the 2nd half of the 6th c. To the 5th c. belong Room IV and Courts V and VI.

The site appears to have been a sanctuary, perhaps dedicated to Artemis, or more likely to Apollo.[495] The religious character of the excavated complex is supported by the discovery of an

[488] The constant changes in the orientation of the entrance of the buildings at Antissa could perhaps be taken as a further indication against the temple theory.

[489] Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 89] retains the "hall of gatherings" or the "chieftain's house" possibilities. Pesando (*La casa dei greci*, Milano 1989, 21), referring to Fagerström, identifies the buildings as the house of an "àristos e/o un luogo di riunione". N. Spencer does not seem to favour the "temple" theory either [*BSA* 90 (1995) 285].

[490] It is an established fact that Buildings III and IV were not isolated but were inserted inside the settlement. A test excavation carried out in 1972 by D. Chatzi-Valianou further to the W (Fig. 356, no. 2), revealed a curved foundation in Lesbian masonry (p. 108 and Fig. 357) and plenty of bucchero pottery. See *AΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 517-519, fig. 13 and also G. Touchais, *BCH* 102 (1978) 729; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1978/79) 36.

[491] Excavations: German Institute, 1906/07 (J. Boehlau). Bibliography: W. Schiering, "Pyrrha auf Lesbos", AA (1989) 339-377, esp. pp. 348-353, 361; N. Spencer, *BSA* 90 (1995) 283. Further details were kindly given to me by Professor Schiering (letters of May 19, 1988 and June 1, 1989).

[492] The hypothesis that the plan was oval is strengthened by the remark that it would have been rather unusual to place the entrance of the building towards the N. Oval buildings often have an entrance on the long side (*cf.* Figs. 134, 355a and 508), while apsidal ones have usually the entrance at the short side, opposite the apse.

[493] The finds from the excavations, now in Göttingen, include PG, Geometric, PC, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic sherds: *AA* (1989) 344.

[494] *AA* (1989) 348. PG sherds of the late 10th c. were also found on the acropolis: N. Spencer, *BSA* 90 (1995) 281, 305f., pl. 33.

[495] *AA* (1989) 365, n. 47, 377.

"Opferplatte" for burnt sacrifices in Courtyard (?) VI,[496] and an altar, presumably contemporary with Room IV, which was situated to the SW of the curvilinear building. This altar lies in front of a second cult building, the so-called "Altartempel".[497]

PART 3

CURVILINEAR BUILDINGS OF UNCERTAIN PLAN

NORTHWEST GREECE

The ancient settlement at Genitsari, near the modern village of **Vitsa Zagoriou**, in Epirus (Fig. 30) is situated at an altitude of 1,030m. The site was presumably occupied by Molossian nomadic stockbreeders.[498] The settlement was not fortified but to the SW, at the foot of the W rocky area of Kladera hill a strong wall was partly investigated. It is possible that this was a refuge in case of enemy attack.[499] **Wall 43** was perhaps the Geometric predecessor of the large Classical (?) oval House Z, which may have been the leader's dwelling (Fig. 31).[500] The question whether Wall 43 represents a wall of an earlier chieftain's house must remain for the time being open. The wall, preserved up to three courses, is curved and follows an E-W direction, beneath the southern part of House Z.[501] A built "ditch", 0,30m deep and containing Geometric sherds was found by the E wall of House Z.[502] Similar sherds were found beneath the floor of the same house.[503] Approximately 9,00m to the S of Wall 43, in the NW corner of a paving in the open air, a bronze horse figurine was found.[504] In the SW part of the settlement, within its limits, four graves of the late 10th or early 9th c. B.C. were found (Figs. 30, 33).[505] These were the oldest tombs of the settlement and the two curved retaining walls which contained this small grave plot (Wall 27 which was replaced by Wall ε), as well as the numerous sherds found here suggest that these were venerable ancestors, perhaps the founders of the small settlement, which received offerings.[506] Judging by the presence of two distinct cemeteries at the N and S confines of the settlement (Fig. 30), the excavator assumed that there were two *phratries* at Vitsa.[507]

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[496] *Ibid.*, 363, fig. 24.
[497] *Ibid.*, 363-365.
[498] J. Vocotopoulou, *Βίτσα. Τα νεκροταφεία μιας μολοσσικής κώμης*, Athens 1986, 340-348.
[499] *Id.*, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 404; (1973/74) Χρον., 596f.; *id.*, *Βίτσα. Τα νεκροταφεία μιας μολοσσικής κώμης*, Athens 1986, 5, 345.
[500] Excavations of House Z and of Wall 43: Greek Archaeological Service, 1966-75 (J. Vocotopoulou). Bibliography: J. Vocotopoulou, "Η Ήπειρος στον 8ο και 7ο αιώνα π.Χ.", *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 86-89; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 444-446; 28 (1973) Χρον., 402; 30 (1975) Χρον., 214; *id.*, *AAA* 6 (1973) 218, fig. 9; *id.*, "Vitsa. Un villagio molosso nell' Epiro centrale", *Magna Graecia* 14:1-2 (1979) 16f.; *id.*, *Βίτσα. Τα νεκροταφεία μιας μολοσσικής κώμης*, Athens 1986. See also S. Dakaris, "Von einer kleinen ländlichen Ansiedlung des 8.-4. Jhs. v. Chr. zu einer spätklassischen Stadt in Nordwest Griechenland", in *Palast und Hütte. Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen vor- und frühgeschichtlern. Symposium Berlin 25.-30. Nov. 1979*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 357; A. Blachopoulou-Oikonomou, *Καθημερινή*, March 27, 1994.
[501] *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 402; (1975) Χρον., 214. The wall lay 0,05m beneath the floor of House Z.
[502] *ΑΔ* 30 (1975) Χρον., 214.
[503] *Ibid.*
[504] J. Vocotopoulou, *ΑΔ* 23 (1968) Χρον., 291, pl. 234γ; *id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 87; *id.*, *Οδηγός Μουσείου Ιωαννίνων*, Athens 1973, 34, pl. 5.
[505] *Id.*, *Βίτσα*, Athens 1986, 208-210, 327. See also *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 446 (T 167-170).
[506] *Id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 89.
[507] *Id.*, *Βίτσα*, Athens 1986, 327. The 26 tombs of the N cemetery formed two clusters, each grouped around a MG grave. The S cemetery was larger and contained 154 graves dated from the middle of the 9th c. to the end of the 4th c. B.C. The majority of the graves (81) dates in the 8th c., but a considerable number (25) belonged to the 9th c. The graves of the following periods were fewer: 7 belong to the 7th c., 10 to the 6th, 26 to the 5th and 15 to the 4th [*ibid.*, *passim*; *id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 89-91].

House Z, measuring 13,50 by 6,60m (ext. dim.) was furnished with a central hearth (1,50 X 1,48m).[508] It was originally oval (*c.* 12,50 by 6,60m) but later on was transformed to apsidal (length 13,50m). Very few finds were discovered inside the building, but these included whetstones and an iron tool;[509] these objects indicate that the edifice served as a house. The house, together with the rest of the settlement, was destroyed in a conflagration during the second half of the 4th c. B.C., but its date of construction remains obscure, though it seems that the excavator had finally reached the conclusion that it was built in the Classical period.[510] A date in the LG or Archaic period cannot be easily postulated since the excavator clearly states that only one curvilinear Archaic house has been excavated, and this is not House Z (it is in fact House α), and that Wall 43 underneath it dates in the Geometric period (Fig. 30).[511] Strictly speaking, however, House Z, may have been constructed in the Archaic period.[512] Since it was the most important house of the settlement, it therefore may have been the residence of the leader of one of the two clans of the small community.

The excavations of the British Archaeological School at **Aetos** on Ithaca (Classical Alalkomenai[513]), near the chapel of St George, revealed a cult (?) assemblage (Figs. 35-36) consisting of several "pyres" which contained animal and bird bones and pottery of PG character,[514] which however need not be earlier than the 9th c. B.C.[515] More recently, S. Symeonoglou has claimed that the origins of the cult reach back at least to the 10th c. B.C., while the earliest ceramic evidence from this spot is LH IIIA.[516] These burnt deposits were covered with heaps of stones. A curved wall and a hearth presumably connected with it were discovered in the same area and were assigned to the same period as the "cairns" (Fig. 36, in black).[517]

The only objects from the "cairns" which may be qualified as votives are one or perhaps two figurines and a bronze pin.[518] A clay copy of a tripod-cauldron, similar to the late 11th c. B.C. example from Kerameikos Grave 4, was also found in the cairns, but it need not be as early.[519] The "cairns" were at first identified as *semata* of cremation graves,[520] later on as remains of houses[521] and more recently as residues from sacrifices.[522] It is not clear, however, whether the curved wall

[508] For a description of House Z see J. Vocotopoulou, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 446; 28 (1973) Χρον., 402f.

[509] *Id.*, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 402.

[510] *Id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 89.

[511] *Ibid.*, 87. The only hint that the edifice could have been erected in the EA or Archaic period is provided by the observation that the foundations rest directly upon a Geometric layer. In fact, the preserved surface of an underlying Geometric curved wall served as a paving of the floor of House Z. If the area had been free of constructions, one would have expected to encounter at least a thin stratum of earth between the two edifices. The Classical houses at Vitsa (9 in all) are as a rule rectangular, though curvilinear plans are also encountered; three houses of the Geometric and one of the Archaic periods are curvilinear [J. Vocotopoulou, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 86-88 & *id.*, *Βίτσα. Τα νεκροταφεία μιας μολοσσικής κώμης*, Athens 1986, 340].

[512] Vocotopoulou notes that it was in use for a long period, since Geometric pottery lay not only immediately beneath the 4th c. floor, but also at the same level as the floor: *ΑΔ* 30 (1975) Χρον., 214. S. Dakaris, in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 357 dates House Z in the Geometric period.

[513] Concerning the name of the Classical polis see S. Symeonoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 213f.

[514] Excavations: British School, 1931-32, 1937-38 (W.A. Heurtley and S. Benton). Bibliography: W.A. Heurtley, *BSA* 33 (1932/33) 22-27; H.L. Lorimer, *ibid.*, 27-36; W.A. Heurtley, *BSA* 43 (1948) 1-7; S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 255-260; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 63; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 182-184; F. Schachermeyr, *Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der mykenischen Ära bis auf die dorier* (*Die Ägäische Frühzeit* 4) Wien 1980, 244-248; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 797.

[515] W.A. Heurtley & H.L. Lorimer, *BSA* 33 (1932/33) 22-36; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 276 & 278. J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 221-223, 409; S. Symeonoglou, "Η ομηρική γεωγραφία της Ιθάκης", *Ιλιάδα και Οδύσσεια. Μύθος και Ιστορία. Πρακτικά Δ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια, 9-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984*, Ithaca 1986, 106.

[516] *ΠΑΕ* (1990) 278; *Έργον* (1990) 127.

[517] G. Young, *JHS* 58 (1938) 225; S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 255 & 257. This humble structure may perhaps be identified with the PG-EG traces immediately to the S-SE of Wall 27 (see Fig. 36).

[518] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 182f.

[519] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 283.

[520] H.L. Lorimer, *BSA* 33 (1932/33) 35f.

[521] S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 255, 257, 259, who suggests that the houses would have been occupied by wealthy individuals.

[522] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 170, 275f., 278 & esp. 243; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 578; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 182f.; S. Symeonoglou, *Έργον* (1990) 127.

represents a sacred or secular structure. If the former hypothesis is retained, this would be one of the earliest "urban" cult buildings of the EIA, though of extremely modest dimensions.

A curved foundation near the temple Apollo Laphrios at **Kalydon** (Fig. 38:α), associated with a hearth, originally dated to the Geometric period,[523] was subsequently dated to the Byzantine period.[524] However, in the original report, Rhomaios clearly stated that Geometric sherds were collected "on the floor and nearby", while a bronze horse figurine was found in the vicinity.[525] Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to clarify the date of the structure.

CENTRAL GREECE

The function of the curved LG wall beneath the pronaos of the temple of Artemis at **Aulis**, is uncertain (*cf.* Fig. 73).[526] No description was given in the preliminary reports. In association with the curved wall several sherds of large vessels were collected. These, according to the excavator, date in the end of the Geometric period. In the absence of a detailed report and a plan[527] it cannot be determined whether the foundation belongs to a curvilinear temple[528] or to a temenos wall.[529]

EUBOEA

At **Eretria**, close to the subsequent West Gate and underneath a sacred "oikos" of the 4th c. B.C., a deposit which contained Geometric pottery and decomposed mud bricks was excavated (Fig. 101:15).[530] The date of the pottery, according to L. Kahil, ranges from *c.* 800 to *c.* 710/700 B.C. and appears to have been of a sacred character. The excavator has suggested that the finds belong to a Geometric structure which was replaced by an apsidal building in the Archaic period (e.g. the traces of curved walls of this period underneath the 4th c. B.C. "oikos"). Since curvilinear plans prevailed at Eretria in the 8th c., and since the new building was apsidal, one could suggest that the original structure was curvilinear as well. The divinity worshipped in the 4th c. has been identified as Aphrodite, but due to the oriental character of the Geometric material, Kahil assumes that initially the divinity may have been worshipped under a different form (e.g. Astarte/Aphrodite). Despite the extensive Swiss excavations in the NW area of the ancient town, practically no traces of habitation of the 8th c. B.C. have been found.[531] Moreover, at a short distance from it, the rich cemetery by the

[523] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1926 (K. Rhomaios). Bibliography: K. Rhomaios, *ΑΔ* 10 (1926) Παράρτημα, 26, 24, fig. 1; F. Poulsen & K. Rhomaios, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die dänischgriechischen Ausgrabungen von Kalydon*, København 1927, 36, pl. 42; K. Rhomaios, "Οι κέραμοι του Λαφριαίου της Καλυδώνος", *AE* (1937) 301.

[524] E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion des Tempelbezirk von Kalydon*, København 1948, 267-269. The "hearth" appears to have been a misinterpreted Byzantine child grave. In that respect, it may be interesting to note that in earlier years, Byzantine sherds were sometimes wrongly dated to the EIA, as at Gortyna: A. Di Vita, in *Transizione* (1991) 309f., figs. 2-3.

[525] *ΑΔ* 10 (1926) Παράρτημα, 26. See also J.-L. Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique Grec*, Mainz, 1989, 215, n. 112. Moreover, Geometric sherds have been reported from the acropolis of Kalydon: *ΠΑΕ* (1908) 99f.; Syriopoulos *ΠΚ* (1995) 1359, no. 136.

[526] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1959 (J. Threpsiades). Bibliography: J. Threpsiades, *Έργον* (1959) 26; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 28f., pl. 23α; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 141. Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 64; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 783; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 506; J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 72-74. In general on Aulis see A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1, *BICS* Suppl. 38.1 (1981) 94-98.

[527] The day book which may have contained some additional information on this wall is missing from the archives of the Archaeological Society in Athens.

[528] J. Threpsiades, *Έργον* (1959) 26; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 141.

[529] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 64.

[530] Excavations: Swiss School, 1972-74 (L. Kahil). Bibliography: J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) 764; 97 (1973) 365 & 368; 98 (1974) 687; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 97; K. Schefold, *AntK* 17 (1974) 70; L. Kahil, in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 526, 530f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 14.

[531] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 19: the only architectural remains of the Geometric period in this sector are a curved wall near Tower T [K. Schefold, *AntK* 17 (1974) 69; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 27; Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 10 (here Fig. 101, no. 13)] and a wall in the area of the cemetery by the West Gate (Fig. 106:E).

later West Gate was excavated.[532] It is thus possible, indeed probable, that before the erection of the fortification wall (*c.* 700 B.C.),[533] this area was free of constructions or perhaps very loosely inhabited, i.e. the sanctuary would have been located on the outskirts of the inhabited area.

ATTICA

At **Eleusis**, a curved wall was found to the E of the temple of Artemis Propylaia and of Poseidon Pater, and just to the W of the *eschara* of the Roman period (Fig. 164).[534] The structure, turned towards the W-SW, presumably extended partly below the N part of the temple of Artemis (Fig. 183). The long walls, founded on virgin soil, diverge (they form a curved angle of almost 90°).[535] The total length of the structure remains unknown.[536] The foundation preserved to height of 1,40m, and is equally wide. However, it seems that the supporting wall was 0,75m wide, while the remaining width, which judging by the plan and photographs,[537] is preserved at a lower level, must represent a bench 0,65m wide.[538] Inside the building, "pyres" were observed. In the immediate surroundings (presumably beneath the later *eschara*), remains of further Geometric and/or EA walls were excavated, but they remain unpublished.[539] One of these buts against the exterior face of the curved foundation. The other, further N, is exactly parallel to the first, and appears to have extended over the northern section of the curved wall;[540] it was identified with a temenos wall.[541]

A dating of the wall around 700 B.C. has been usually suggested; this is supported by the PC sherds which were found in connection with it.[542] However, more recently, Travlos suggested a date around the middle of the 8th c.[543] It seems that it remained in use throughout the 7th c. Mylonas, who dated the wall to the end of the Geometric period, claimed that the large apsidal building formed part of a habitation quarter.[544] Its monumental proportions, the pyres detected in the interior and to a lesser degree its location beneath a subsequent cult area, in my opinion, imply a sacred rather than a secular function of the construction.[545] The fact that the walls do not converge could hint that we are in the presence of a massive peribolos or temenos wall, but one could equally restore a monumental apsidal temple, which would have been *c.* 13,00m wide.[546] Unfortunately, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions before the publication of the associated finds.[547]

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[532] C. Bérard, *L'Hérôon a la porte de l'Ouest, Eretria* III, Bern 1970; *id.*, "Topographie et urbanisme de l'Erétrie archaïque: L'Hérôon", in *Eretria* VI, Bern 1978, 89-95; Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 14, 16.

[533] C. Krause, *Das Westtor, Eretria* IV, Bern 1972, 11-20, plan 2; P.G. Themelis, *ΠΑΕ* (1979) 46-48; Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 9, 14, 16.

[534] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1940 (K. Kourouniotes). Bibliography: K. Kourouniotes, "Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της ελευσινιακής λατρείας", *ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 277f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1940) 15; Ch. Picard, "Sur les premiers cultes d'Eleusis", *RA* 19 (1943) 42f.; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 60; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 27; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 39; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 538f.; J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 92.

[535] p.c. by the late J. Travlos (Sept. 20, 1984).

[536] Uncovered length of the wall: *c.* 13m.

[537] J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 114, figs. 123f.

[538] Kourouniotes [*ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 277] considered the widening of the wall at the base as foundations.

[539] See G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 60.

[540] K. Kourouniotes, *ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 277.

[541] *Ibid.*

[542] *Ibid.*, 278.

[543] *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 92.

[544] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 60.

[545] As indeed Travlos (*Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 92) and before him Kourouniotes [*ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 277f.] had argued.

[546] p.c. by the late J. Travlos (Sept. 20, 1984). It is strange however that the Greek scholar had never expressed this point of view in his studies. In his most recent contribution in *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 337, n. 26 he maintained that the wall belongs to an apsidal building, inside which Poseidon and Artemis were probably worshipped. The explanation of the structure as a wall of defensive character, though unlikely, cannot be ruled out in the present state of research.

[547] The study has been planned by the author, following the permit issued by the Greek Archaeological Society.

THE PELOPONNESE

At **Isthmia** the cult dates back to the early PG period (late 11th and 10th c. B.C.).[548] There is evidence for the practice of burnt sacrifices, followed by ritual dining. The focus of the cult, presumably an ash altar, was at the eastern edge of the plateau, in the area subsequently occupied by the stone altar of Poseidon (Fig. 195).

In the second half of the 8th c. B.C. a sloping terrace was built in the same area. Along its south edge there was an area paved with small stones, where ritual dining took place. In this locality (Trench 88-66 of East Terrace I) the remains of a curious installation came to light (Fig. 196). These consist of "a curved groove and a number of post holes that were covered by three pieces of charred wood. The wood may have belonged to a table or container for offerings; the holes could have held supports for a small shelter or tent".[549] Initially it was remarked that the associated pottery (mostly fine wares) was "consistently early in date with only a few extending to the 8th century",[550] but subsequently it was established that the pottery which could be positively linked with this structure belonged to the late 8th c.[551] The first temple of Poseidon was the well-known *hekatompedon* with peristyle (Fig. 194) which was built sometime between 690 and 650 B.C.[552]

THE EAST GREEK ISLANDS

At **Mytilene**, in the property of Limnaios, in the Epano Skala quarter, a bothros containing votives (pottery, figurines, animal bones, sea shells), dated from the 10th c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D., was found. In the same plot, 2,80m to the N of the *krepis* of an altar or temple, traces of an apsidal or oval building came to light. The remains consist of a curved wall and part of a straight wall. Associated with these remains, in a hollow in the bedrock, three bucchero vases and a SPG amphora were found. This building, however, does not seem to have been associated with cult activities.[553] It has been tentatively suggested that the divinity worshipped in this area was Apollo Maloeis.[554]

PART 4

OTHER DOMESTIC APSIDAL AND OVAL BUILDINGS AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Due to the fragmentary condition of several curvilinear buildings it is sometimes extremely difficult to distinguish between an apsidal or oval plan. In order to avoid annoying repetitions or subjective classifications, the apsidal and oval buildings are analysed together in this section.

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[548] C. Morgan, in E.R. Gebhard & F.P. Hemans, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 18-22. The Mycenaean pottery (LH I-IIIC) seems to indicate a small-scale settlement, rather than a sanctuary: C. Morgan, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 8.

[549] Excavations: American School, 1989 (E.R. Gebhard & F.P. Hemans). Bibliography: E.R. Gebhard & F.P. Hemans, "The University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia, 1989: I", *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 1-77, esp. 9-22 (on the hut or tent see pp. 13f.); E.R. Gebhard, "The Early Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia", *AJA* 91 (1987) 475f.; *id.*, "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary: From Archaeology towards History at Isthmia", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 156-159 (on the "tent" see p. 158). See also C. Morgan, "The Corinthian Aristocracy and Corinthian Cult during the Eighth Century B.C.", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, in press. For a possible parallel of tents serving for dining in the Heraion at Samos see U. Kron, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 144, n. 58-59.

[550] E.R. Gebhard & F.P. Hemans, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 14.

[551] p.c. by C. Morgan, Oct. 20, 1995.

[552] O. Broneer, *Isthmia* I: *The Temple of Poseidon*, Princeton 1971, 3-56; E.R. Gebhard, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 159f.

[553] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1987 (A. Archondidou). Bibliography: A. Archondidou-Argyri, *ΑΔ* 41 (1986) Χρον., 198-200; 42 (1987) Χρον., 477; *id.*, *Λεσβιακά* 12 (1989) 57, 68; E.B. French, *AR* (1992/93) 65; (1993/94) 67; S. Balaska, *Ελευθεροτυπία*, July 18, 1992; N. Spencer, *BSA* 90 (1995) 279.

[554] S. Balaska, *Ελευθεροτυπία*, July 18, 1992; *cf.* N. Spencer, *BSA* 90 (1995) 279, 296.

A. THE PROTOGEOMETRIC PERIOD (*c.* 1100-900 B.C.)

During the LBA the apsidal and oval plans were confined to the periphery of the Mycenaean World;[555] with the advent of the EIA and the collapse of the centralised Mycenaean kingdoms, such plans reappear all over the Greek territory. The contrast between the two periods is more striking in those sites where EIA apsidal buildings succeeded rectangular LBA structures. For instance, a humble apsidal hut dated around 1000 B.C. was discovered at **Assiros** (**House 5** of Phase 3, Figs. 7 and 10), while during the previous centuries all structures had been rectangular (*cf.* Fig. 6).[556] The presence of this type of plan at such an early date in northern Greece could serve as an argument that the introduction of the apsidal plan was due to influence from the North (*cf.* also the LBA apsidal buildings at Toumba in Thessalonike -Fig. 4- and Kastanas). The monumental apsidal building of **Lefkandi** (Figs. 82, 89), dated in the first half of the 10th *c.* reflects a radically new tradition compared to the rectangular rooms of the neighbouring LH IIIC settlement of Xeropolis.[557] The same stands for other important LBA sites, such as Tiryns, Asine and Koukounaries. At **Tiryns** the evidence from the PG settlement is rather meagre but in one instance we are informed of the existence of a very late SMyc or, more probably, EPG apsidal or oval house, with thick walls of mud bricks, situated outside the Lower Citadel (Figs. 216:B, 217).[558] Further apsidal and oval structures have been detected by aerial photographs to the E of the S side of the acropolis, but they have not been excavated yet.[559] The sequence observed at **Asine** (Fig. 222) led B. Wells to conclude that curvilinear buildings at this site were reintroduced some time after the coming of the DA.[560] It appears that Unit 70Q-T (Building A, Fig. 222), a rectangular house erected in LH IIIC, was continuously inhabited into the first PG phase (11th and early 10th c.).[561] In phase 2 (early 10th c.) it was succeeded by a small edifice which is regarded by the Swedish excavators as a "rectangular oikos", **Unit 71L-IJ** (**Building B**, Fig. 226). Yet, this house has rounded corners and slightly convex short sides and so should be ranked among other contemporary oval buildings.[562] Still during the 10th c. (Asine phase 3) the oval house was replaced by the monumental apsidal building, **Unit 74L-N** (**Building C**, Fig. 228). Hence, it would seem that when the DA inhabitants of Asine resolved to erect a new house they chose the curvilinear type. Indeed, we witness a similar situation at **Nichoria** in Messenia, where practically all DA buildings were apsidal, the inhabitants of the old settlement

[555] A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Late Bronze Age Apsidal and Oval Buildings in Greece and Adjacent Areas", *BSA* 84 (1989) 269-288. Add now M. Séfériadès, "Le batiment absidal en briques crues de Dikili Tash (Bronze Récent)", in *De l'Indus aux Balkans. Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes*, ed. J.-L. Huot, M. Yon & Y. Calvet, Paris 1985, 107-117; B. Hänsel, *Kastanas. Die Grabung und der Baubefund (Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa* Band 7, Teil 1) Berlin 1989, 77-170, figs. 22-24, 30-32, 36, 38, 41, 43, 44-45, 49, 61; S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 259-270 (Toumba of Thessalonike, Phases 5-4) and G. Hiesel, *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 200-202. On this topic see also W.D.E. Coulson, *The Greek Dark Ages. A Review of the Evidence and Suggestions for further Research*, Athens 1990, 17-19.

[556] K.A. Wardle, *BSA* 83 (1988) 380, fig. 2 at p. 379; *id.*, *BSA* 82 (1987) 317. The edifice is only 4,00m long. It was constructed of mud brick. See also H.W. Catling, *AR* (1980/81) 31.

[557] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, ed., *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-66*, London 1968, 11-23, fig. 12, 14 & 21; *id.*, "Lefkandi. A Euboean Town of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (2100-700 B.C.)", *Archaeology* 25 (1972) 8-19. According to the excavators, surface sherds suggest that the PG settlement on Xeropolis expanded further than the inhabited area of the LH IIIC period, but erosion and building activities in the Geometric period, have erased almost every trace of construction in this period.

[558] K. Kilian, *AA* (1988) 107, fig. 5; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1983/84) 24; G. Touchais, *BCH* 108 (1984) 760; A. Mazarakis Ainian, *BSA* 84 (1989) 270. According to the late K. Kilian (p.c.) the fill which covered the edifice was EPG and the pottery which was contained inside the building was late SMyc. However, A. Papadimitriou noted that the house was built in EPG and was abandoned towards the end of the PG period: see her paper in *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et Urbanisme", Table Ronde École Française d'Athènes, 28/4-1/5/1990*, in press. Since only the apse was revealed, the plan may have been elliptical.

[559] A. Papadimitriou, "Η οικιστική εξέλιξη της Τίρυνθας μετά τη μυκηναϊκή εποχή", in *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et Urbanisme, Table Ronde École Française d'Athènes, 28/4-1/5/1990*, in press.

[560] B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 117f.

[561] *Ibid.*, 25, 32 and fig. 7 at p. 26. *Cf.* also S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 60-62, plan V.

[562] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 45-47; B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 30, 82. Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 22, n. 18 states that C.-G. Styrenius dates this structure in the SMyc period.

found shelter inside repaired Mycenaean houses (Fig. 257).[563] However, whenever they built new houses (**Unit III-1**, and **Walls H**, **O** and **Unit IV-1** in areas III and IV, respectively, Figs. 257-258) they chose the apsidal form, even though the foundations of several rectangular LBA houses, were still easily detected above ground level.[564] Moreover, in several cases they incorporated Mycenaean walls in their new houses, as perhaps in **Unit H-I-D** in area IV, dated between 975 and 800 B.C. (Nichoria DA II or transitional DA II/III period).[565] The same pattern is observed at **Koukounaries** on the island of Paros (Fig. 321), where several LH IIIC walls were reused in PG times and with the addition of some new walls formed humble irregular rooms.[566] Is it a coincidence that the only entirely new building of this phase, **Building A** (end of 10th c.), was an apsidal structure of considerable size?

From this elementary survey of the evidence, the conclusion to be drawn is that during the period which immediately followed the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation some families repaired and reused already existing houses.[567] Gradually, with the increase of wealth and security, completely new buildings were constructed, several of which were apsidal. However, the evidence of apsidal buildings of the 11th and 10th c. is scanty. Nevertheless, we have seen that several among these early apsidal structures were of monumental proportions. These buildings were discovered quite recently,[568] and led to a reconsideration of our opinions about the material culture of the DA. Indeed, until that moment one could not suspect that such imposing structures had existed in the beginning of the DA.

In the beginning of the Iron Age oval buildings seem to have been rare in Greece; as yet none have been encountered in sacred contexts (the case of **Grotta**, Fig. 331, is ambiguous) and as dwellings they occur in only a few sites. A PG or SPG apsidal or oval structure was recently discovered in **Mytilene** (see *supra* p. 97).[569] The best preserved example is the oval house at **Old Smyrna** (Figs. 403-404), dated around 900 B.C.[570] There may have been a few apsidal houses at the same site during the same period (**Houses LV-LVI** and **LIII-LIV**, Figs. 405-406).[571]

Oval buildings of the beginning of the EIA show a tendency to become rectangular, for their longitudinal walls are roughly rectilinear and the curve of the two narrow sides is imperceptible. In

[563] McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 17f. (reused Mycenaean building in the local DA II phase, e.g. between *c.* 975 and 850 and five reused Mycenaean units during the DA II phase, e.g. between *c.* 1075 and 975); 42f. (reused Mycenaean wall in a DA II or II/III structure, e.g. between *c.* 975 and 800); 44-46 (reused Mycenaean building in DA II); 54f. (two reused Mycenaean units in DA III, e.g. between *c.* 800 and 750). *Cf.* also *ibid.*, 322.

[564] *Ibid.*, 14-16; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 33f. These apsidal houses are dated in the DA II period (*c.* 975-850). The width of the huts varies from *c.* 4,00-4,50m.

[565] McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 42f. The excavators regard these walls as a low terrace designed to protect the NW end of Unit IV-1 from the effects of erosion. In my opinion, a more probable explanation is that they represent an apsidal house at least *c.* 9,50m long.

[566] *Cf.* D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 202f.; (1979) 246f.; (1980) 284f., pl. I between pp. 272 and 273. The two reused units are located in Trenches C6 and C4, in the NW part of the plateau.

[567] *Cf.* Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 79. This seems to have been also the case at the site of the Mycenaean palace at Ano Englianos (Pylos), partly reused in the Geometric period: see C. Griebel & M.C. Nelson, *AJA* 97 (1993) 331; A. Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 796; M. Popham, "Pylos: Reflections on the Date of its Destruction and on its Iron Age Reoccupation", *OJA* 10 (1991) 315-324 (according to Popham, the palace was destroyed in LH IIIB1, but was reocupied in LH IIIC and in the EIA).

[568] 1971: Nichoria and Asine buildings; 1978: Koukounaries; 1980: Assiros; 1981: Lefkandi; 1991: Thessalonike (Toumba).

[569] A. Archondidou-Argyri, *ΑΔ* 41 (1986) Χρον., 198-200; *id.*, *Λεσβιακά* 12 (1989) 57, 68; N. Spencer, *BSA* 90 (1995) 279.

[570] E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, Berlin 1961, 9f., 301, fig. 1; *id.*, *Alt-Smyrna* I: *Wohnschichten und Athenatempel*, Ankara, 1983 17f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 44-46; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 369f.; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 182f.; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 56; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 91f.

[571] These houses have been dated by Akurgal to *c.* 1050/1000 - 1000/950 and *c.* 925-875, respectively. On the plans published they appear as apsidal structures (E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, figs. 3 and 5, respectively). The Turkish scholar, however, maintains that these present a rectangular plan (*ibid.*, 22). In my opinion, House LV-LVI could be restored as a tripartite apsidal edifice *c.* 10,50m long, consisting of a porch, a main chamber (LVI) and a rear apsidal compartment (LV). The width of this house would not have exceeded *c.* 5,50m. House LIII-LIV is more badly preserved: there too the apsidal compartment (LIII) is separated from the main room (LIV) by a cross wall. The preserved length of the building is *c.* 8,50m.

fact, it is the four rounded corners which urge one in designating them as oval buildings. One also observes that the dimensions are modest: 4,50 by 3,00m at Old Smyrna and 6,00 by 4,00m at Asine (*cf.* also the oval ?enclosure at Grotta which measures 6,50 by ?4,00m). Naturally, one does not necessarily expect to encounter internal divisions in such modest spaces. The unpretentious appearance of these edifices is better understood if one imagines that they derive from even more humble huts built entirely of perishable materials; indeed, immediately after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation while several families would have found temporary shelter inside the ruins of the previous era, others would have presumably built humble huts of ephemeral materials.[572]

B. THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD (*c.* 900-700 B.C.)

At **Koukos** in Chalkidike, several walls belonging to at least six building phases were partly revealed (Fig. 29).[573] In one area two walls (the uppermost, Wall 1 and perhaps Wall 3 at an intermediate level) probably belong to apsidal or oval buildings, dated between the late 10th and the late 8th c. B.C. Wall 6 in the same area appears to have been a retaining wall. Further W more curved walls came to light (Walls 22, 23), but their date is less certain (EIA or Late Roman?).

At **Vitsa Zagoriou** in Epirus, apart from **Wall 43** discussed previously (p. 93), two more fragmentary apsidal and/or oval huts, dated in the second half of the 9th c. and/or in the 8th c. were excavated (Fig. 30).[574] No intelligible ground plan is preserved: **House I** formed part of a curvilinear building and was provided with a pit hearth and a bothros.[575] To the N of I, two **Walls, 32** and **33**, represent another Geometric building.[576] Further Geometric houses would have existed but these were either no longer preserved or not found, since the excavation in depth was confined to certain areas only.[577] A section of a wall, belonging to an apsidal building of the Geometric period, facing E, was uncovered to a length of 7,40m at the site of ancient **Pleuron** near Mesolongi.[578] As for the two apsidal (?) buildings in the sanctuary of Apollo at **Delphi**, these were presumably normal dwellings (Fig. 64, nos. 1-2, *supra* p. 45).

In central and southern Greece, most of the LG settlements which possess apsidal temples or rulers' dwellings have revealed ordinary houses of the same shape. At **Oropos**, recent excavations revealed an extensive EIA settlement (Figs. 74-75).[579] Approximately 40 metres to the SE of the large apsidal structure (Fig. 57:I and Fig. 76, Wall 34), an extensive industrial quarter of the LG and EA periods was excavated (Fig. 57:II and Fig. 77). Buildings of all types were identified (apsidal, oval, circular and rectangular). There were two apsidal buildings, A and Θ, both oriented towards the S and provided with a stone socle and a mud brick superstructure. **Building A** (Fig. 77) was originally a horseshoe-shaped structure measuring 6,30 by 4,60m (Phase A1). The flimsy wall of the facade (T18) belongs to the first building phase.[580] The thickness of the side walls (T12-T13) and of the apse was 0,40m. The inferior building technique of the southern half of the E wall (T13 S), and the fact that the extremity of this wall is founded upon the rectilinear wall of the facade (T18), indicate that

[572] This is the opinion of Drerup [*Baukunst* (1969) 79f., 85-87] and J.A. Bundgaard (*Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights*, Copenhagen 1976, 149-153, esp. 151).

[573] J. Carington-Smith & J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 2 (1988) 357-370, esp. 358f.; 3 (1989) 425-438, esp. 425-427; 4 (1990) 439-454, esp. 443-447.

[574] J. Vocotopoulou, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 87; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 444-446; 28 (1973) Χρον., 402; 30 (1975) Χρον., 214; *id.*, *Magna Graecia* 14:1-2 (1979) 16f.; S. Dakaris, in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 357.

[575] J. Vocotopoulou, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 444, 446; *id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 87. House I is considered contemporary with the earlier tombs of Vitsa.

[576] *Id.*, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 446; (1973) Χρον., 402.

[577] *Id.*, *Βίτσα. Τα νεκροταφεία μιας μολοσσικής κώμης*, Athens 1986, 340.

[578] I. Dekoulakou, *ΑΔ* 26 (1971) Χρον.,326f., pl. 303. Dr. Dekoulakou informed me that the plan may have been apsidal: p.c., Dec. 28, 1995. See also *id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 221-224 for the PG tombs which were found in the same area. The N wall was uncovered to a length of 7,40m.

[579] The excavations were conducted by the late A. Dragona, between 1985 and 1986. The publication is in preparation under the direction of the author. The following information derives from the excavator's diary, *Ωρωπός* XXIII. A supplementary excavation has been scheduled for 1996, under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Society, in collaboration with the Archaeological Service (see *Έργον* and *ΠΑΕ*, forthcoming).

[580] A. Dragona, *Oropos Diary* XXIII, p. 253.

the building was transformed into an oval structure during a second building period. The length was now 7,00m. The small thickness of the new E wall (0,30m) indicates perhaps that the edifice served as an open-air enclosure to contain the metalworking activities, represented by several round pits which may have been small kilns for the melting and shaping of metal objects. Around the building, at a distance of *c.* 0,80m, there were post holes at intervals of *c.* 3,00m apart, surrounded by a stone packing. These belong to a "peristyle", such as the one which had been suspected to have surrounded Building A in Building Plot 740 at Eretria (Fig. 119). However, it is not clear yet whether these post holes were contemporary with the first or second building period, though it seems that they should be associated with the former, in which case the building way be restored with two projecting antas, forming a porch *c.* 1,00m deep.[581] In the interior, several pits associated with metalworking activities were noted, but it is not clear yet with which building phase these were associated. According to A. Dragona, the building was still in use during the Archaic period.

Building Θ was initially also an apsidal building (Θ1), subsequently transformed into oval. Initially it measured 12,00 by 4,60m and the walls (T33, T36-37) were 0,45m wide. During the second building period the edifice measured 9,80 by 4,70m. A stone bench 1,00m wide ran along the interior face of the foundation, leaving a corridor-like walking space, just 1,50m wide, which corresponded to the width of the entrance. The date of construction and the function of the building are uncertain since the excavations was suspended when work reached the surface of the first floor. From two deep trenches which were dug between the exterior face of the E wall and the periibolos wall *c.* 1,00m to the E, it would seem that the building was also constructed during the LG period.[582]

To the E of Building A lay an oval structure 8,50 by 5,10m, also oriented towards the S and provided with an entrance *c.* 1,50m wide (**Building B-Γ**, T15 and T17). Here too at least two building phases were observed. A post hole similar to those associated with Building A was identified at a distance of 0,60m of the S part of the E wall. Another post hole lay to the N of the apse. During the second phase it seems that the building served as an enclosure in the open air in which metalworking activities were taking place: this is suggested by a stone bench (T16) which partly overlaps at its N extremity the W wall of the original building (T15). A kiln was found in the S half of the building, while two roughly circular hearths were also identified, one approximately in the middle of the N part, the other against the apse. A stone paving seems to have been associated with the second building period.

Another oval **Building, Δ**, lay immediately to the E of Building B-Γ. Only the southern and northern extremities of the W wall survived (T24 and T 19, respectively). Since Wall T19 passes beneath the apse of Building B-Γ, there is no doubt that Building Δ was earlier and no longer standing when B-Γ was built.

Building E partly overlies the area which would have been occupied by Building Δ and therefore should be regarded contemporary with Building B-Γ. This is the only oval building which follows an E-W orientation. Its estimated length is 6,00m, the width attains *c.* 4,00m. The thickness of the walls varies from 0,40 to 0,50m. The relationship between this building and "Tholos" ΣT (p. 115) indicates that "E" is earlier than ΣT. Moreover, the peribolos wall (T23) which surrounded Buildings ΣT, H and Θ was built on top of the eastern extremity of Building E.

Two curved walls (**I** and **IA**) just to the W of Building Θ probably belong to two spacious superimposed oval buildings which have not been excavated yet. The southern building has an entrance 1,60m wide and the width may be estimated to have been *c.* 4,50-5,00m. A post hole surrounded by a stone packing lay at a distance of 0,50m from the SW extremity of the W wall and should perhaps be identified with a peristyle similar to the one surrounding Building A. A straight foundation associated with the S extremity of the E wall of the northern building may belong to a threshold or stepped entrance.

[581] The SW post (VI) extends 1,00m S of Wall 18 and seems to follow the line of an anta suppressed during the second building phase. Likewise, the corresponding SE post (VII) is located too far away from the returning E wall of the second building phase (1,30m). These two details may indicate that originally the building extended further S, post holes VI and VII marking the position of the line of the antas of the initial apsidal structure.

[582] Sherds from an Early Protoattic krater, very similar to a fragment from the Athenian Agora, were found on the walking surface of the building (*cf.* E. Brann, *Agora* VIII, Princeton 1962, no. 301, pls. 17 & 43).

In Euboea, during the second half of the 8th c. oval buildings become predominant. Segments of curved walls belonging to apsidal and/or oval houses have been unearthed in recent years at **Eretria**. Dr. Andreiomenou assigns many of these walls to the MG II period (Figs. 108, 110, 111), more precisely to the second quarter of the 8th c.[583] In fact, some of the MG II curved foundations may represent oval buildings, though only one case can be demonstrated: it is an oval house located by the harbour, oriented E-W and entered through the E short side (Fig. 110).[584] The door has a peculiar form; the curved wall becomes thinner near the entrance and then the anta abruptly becomes massive.[585] Assuming that the entrance was *c.* 2,00m wide, as in the later oval Building B2 in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros (Fig. 104), one may estimate that the width of the edifice was *c.* 5,00m, that of the doorway *c.* 1,00m. The length may have attained *c.* 7,50-8,00m.

At the same site there were at least three or four oval buildings in the immediate vicinity of Buildings A and D, in the area of the sanctuary of **Apollo Daphnephoros** (Fig. 105): Building B in its second phase (B2, *cf.* Fig. 104), the workshop (C), perhaps Building E, W of the so-called Daphnephoreion and several fragmentary curved walls of the Geometric period, including one or two oval structures and several hearths.[586] The function and the exact date of construction of these edifices is still uncertain: as stated earlier (p. 60f.), they presumably did not form an integral part of the sanctuary from the very beginning and could be regarded as buildings of domestic function, located in the confines of the sacred precinct and gradually absorbed by the expanding sanctuary.[587]

Building B lies to the N of the so-called "Daphnephoreion" (Figs. 104-105).[588] It is an oval structure, oriented N-S; the entrance was located to the S. It was not possible to uncover its rear part, for it continues underneath the foundations of the later temple. The estimated length is *c.* 10,00m, and the width of the building 6,60m. The stone socle is *c.* 0,50m thick, and *c.* 1,00m high. The superstructure was of mud bricks. Against the inner face of the wall stone bases were found, recalling the fashion of Building A. P.G. Themelis has suggested that there were two building phases; in the beginning the edifice would have been apsidal (phase B1); later, it would have been transformed and would have become oval in shape by adding to the S, two curved sections of wall (phase B2).[589] Building B is considered slightly later than Building A, though no proof concerning this claim has been presented. As in the case of Building A, at first it was dated around 800[590] and soon afterwards the date was lowered to *c.* the middle of the 8th c.[591]

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[583] A. Andreiomenou, "Αψιδωτά οικοδομήματα και κεραμεική του 8ου και 7ου αι. εν Ερετρία" *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 203-216, 222-225; *id.*, "Ευρήματα της γεωμετρικής και αρχαϊκής Ερέτριας", in *Διεθνές επιστημονικό συνέδριο "Η πόλη της Χαλκίδας", Χαλκίδα, 24-27 Σεπτ. 1987*, Athens 1990, 85-88. For a concise "corpus" of all known architectural remains from Eretria see Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 3-10. Add the curved walls reported by A. Liangouras, *AΔ* 23 (1968) Χρον., 227 (Tamvakas' plot, Figs. 101, no. 20 & 112) and E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 33 (1978) Χρον., 125 (Pantazis' plot, Fig. 101, no. 21). Since my publication *GE* (1987), streches of walls belonging to houses of the Geometric period have also been reported from building plots 695, 716, 686 and 98: see E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 33 (1978) Χρον., 125, fig. 2 on p. 126; 34 (1979) Χρον., 177, 179, fig. 1 on p. 178; 35 (1980) 227, fig. 3 on p. 228, where a PG cremation grave was also found; P.G. Calligas, *AΔ* 36 (1981) Χρον., 200.

[584] Concerning the MG II curved walls at Eretria see A. Andreiomenou, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 187-236 and Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 4-6. On the oval building in particular see Andreiomenou, *op.cit.*, 214-216, fig. 60 (Wall Γ) and Mazarakis Ainian, *op.cit.*, 4 & fig. 2 (Wall 2).

[585] Massive antas, wider than the rest of the wall are also encountered in several LG houses at Lathouriza (Rooms IV, XIII, XVII and XVIII. *Cf.* Fig. 141) and in Building III/XXVI at Thorikos (Fig. 162).

[586] E. French, *AR* (1992/93) 39; A. Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 876.

[587] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 18-21. In the NE area of the sanctuary of Apollo an oval stone platform, *c.* 3,00m in diameter was unearthed. Further structures and domestic (?) deposits were uncovered in the same area. See S. Huber, *AntK* 35 (1992) 120; 36 (1993) 122-125; 37 (1994) 92.

[588] Excavations: Swiss School, 1971-73 (C. Bérard). Bibliography: K. Schefold, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 357, 359; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) 758, 761; 97 (1973) 363, 365; 98 (1974) 687; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 120; K. Schefold, *AntK* 17 (1974) 69f.; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *ClQ* 73 (1979) 244; L. Kahil, "Contribution à l'étude de l'Erétrie géométrique", in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 526; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 551-552; *id.*, *GE* (1987) 11.

[589] *ΠΑΕ* (1981) 144. I should stress that the shape of the facade of the apsidal building (B1) is unknown (anta or oikos building?).

[590] K. Schefold, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 357.

[591] A. Altherr-Charon & C. Bérard, in *L'archéologie aujourd'hui*, ed. A. Schnapp, Paris 1980, 232.

Originally, the excavators influenced by the previous discovery of the "bay hut", thought that the plan was polygonal and thus suggested that what stood before them was the replica of the second mythical temple of Apollo at Delphi, which the god would have built with beeswax and bird-feathers.[592] The continuation of the investigations led the excavators to abandon this idea. More recently, the identification of the building with a temple of Artemis has been suggested.[593] This, however, is not supported by the character of the finds. Thus, the use of the building remains unknown for the time being.

In the same area an oval building was discovered further to the NE of the apsidal *hekatompedon* (**Building C**, Fig. 105).[594] Its dimensions are *c.* 7,30 (pr. length) by 5,40m. It is oriented in the same direction as Buildings A and B and the entrance faces again S. The stone socle is *c.* 0,45-0,50m wide and is preserved to a height of 0,24-0,37m. Mud bricks in an excellent state of preservation in certain places, rested on the foundations. Against the inner face of the wall, three roughly circular clay bases, analogous to those from Building A were found.[595] This is additional proof that the building technique first encountered at the "bay hut", was widespread in the sanctuary area and certain other parts of the Geometric settlement.[596]

The NE part of the apse is interrupted by a well which S. Huber considers contemporary with the use of the building.[597] This is feasible, but it should be noted that on the plan one observes a gap 0,20m wide between the well and the N extremity of the E wall, while the extremity of the N apse terminates in small stones, as if it was not intended to form part of the interior face of the well. One should therefore examine the possibility that the well belongs to a second building period, which however could have coincided with the last period of use of the oval structure.

The exterior sides of the building were packed with a rough "paving" of stones, *c.* 0,75m wide, presumably to provide protection to the walls of the structure due to the unstable and marshy nature of the soil.[598] In the interior there were three stone platforms, identified as working installations,[599] and roughly in the middle of the room a round pit, identified with a kiln for the melting of bronze.[600]

The material recovered from the floor consists mainly of handmade ware, vaguely dated in the LG period, and some stone tools. The pottery associated with the destruction layer indicates that the building fell in ruins around 700 B.C., perhaps at the aftermath of an inundation. Its construction seems to belong to the LG period, perhaps just after 725 B.C.[601]

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[592] See J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) 761; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 120; Pausanias, X, 5, 9.

[593] A. Altherr-Charon & C. Bérard, in *L'archéologie aujourd'hui*, ed. A. Schnapp, Paris 1980, 241.

[594] Excavations: Swiss School, 1980-81 (A. Altherr-Charon). Bibliography: A. Altherr-Charon, *AntK* 24 (1981) 81f.; A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 154-156; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1980/81) 8; (1982/83) 17f.; G. Touchais, *BCH* 105 (1981) 850; 106 (1982) 597; N.A. Winter, *AJA* 88 (1984) 54; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 5f.; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 552f.; *id.*, *GE* (1987) 11f.; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 54f.; S. Huber, *Un atelier dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie*, Unpublished "Mémoire de Licence", Université de Lausanne 1990; *id.*, "Un atelier de bronzier dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie?", *AntK* 34 (1991) 137-154.

[595] S. Huber, *AntK* 34 (1991) 138.

[596] Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 55] has confused the position of these posts since he places them on the central axis of the building.

[597] *AntK* 34 (1991) 138, 144, 146-148. *Contra* see *AntK* 25 (1982) 154.

[598] For parallels see Oropos (along the exterior face of peribolos wall 32, Fig. 77), Iria I (Fig. 335), Samos (Fig. 388) and Ephesos (Fig. 424). However, in *AntK* 25 (1982) 154, it is stated that the "paving" appears to be later stratigraphically.

[599] *AntK* 34 (1991) 152.

[600] *Ibid.*, 138, 148-150. Diam. 0,35, depth 0,25m. The interior was coated with clay which had been blackened by the action of fire. Ashes, a lump of metal and masses of burnt clay were found inside the pit.

[601] *Ibid.*, 142-145. The pottery from the layer immediately beneath the floor dates from the second quarter to the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th c. B.C. See S. Huber, *Un atelier dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie, Unpublished "Mémoire de Licence"*, Université de Lausanne 1990, 11f. However, the levels beneath the floor are not homogeneous, and in the central part of the building a layer of earth and clay (4a) indicates some sort of renovation of the original levelling of the area. Theoretically, the latest pottery could have been related with layer 4a, the earliest with level 4b, signifying that the construction of the edifice could be dated around the middle of the 8th c. Unfortunately, there is no way to test this assumption since during the excavation the pottery was not collected in accordance with the stratigraphical layers [*AntK* 34 (1991) 152].

The building served as a bronzesmith's workshop, perhaps in relation to the construction of the *hekatompedon*, and later on for the maintenance of the metal items of the sanctuary.[602] This discovery brings to one's mind the metalworking quarters at Oropos (Fig. 77) and in the Euboean colony of Pithekoussai (Fig. 122), both dated in the second half of the 8th c.

The remains of an apsidal or oval **Building (E)** have been found W of Building A (Fig. 105).[603] The width of the stone socle is *c.* 0,50m. The dimensions of the edifice would have been similar to those of Buildings B or C. Further stretches of wall, mostly rectilinear, appear on the published plans but there is no information as to their function or date. It is possible that these walls delimited courtyards. The course of Wall 1 is interrupted by a narrow opening (drain?). Since Building E is oriented N-S, as Buildings A-C and since it is founded roughly at the same depth as Building A, we may tentatively date it in the second half of the 8th c. Walls 1-4 may be also dated in the same half of the century. As noted previously, Foundation 6-7 was laid shortly before the construction of the apsidal *hekatompedon*, while Wall 5 seems to be contemporary with the latter and could represent the first temenos wall. The dating and function of Wall 8, to the E of Building C, are not specified in the preliminary reports, but it seems that it rests upon sandy layers which contained MG II sherds.[604] This wall may have served to contain the right bank of the river which passed through the NE part of the sanctuary.

The fragmentary condition of the remaining curvilinear houses at Eretria (Figs. 108-112, 114-117) often hinders any attempt to decide whether we are in the presence of apsidal or oval buildings.[605] Many of them would have been oval: two such houses, Buildings B (γ-γ' of the preliminary reports) and presumably A (δ-δ' of the preliminary reports), Figs. 101:10, 115-116, dated in the last quarter of the 8th c., were excavated by P.G. Themelis, *c.* 150m N of the sanctuary of Apollo.[606] The southern one (Figs. 115, 118, **House A**) is better preserved and measures *c.* 10,00m in length and 5,50m in width. Of the northern building only a small portion of the northern apse has been preserved (Figs. 116, 119, **House B**). Some post holes which were noted along the exterior face of the stone socle may belong to a "peristyle". A goldsmith's hoard was found, hidden by its owner beneath the floor due to a impending danger which some scholars would be willing to identify with an episode of the Lelantine war.[607] The orientation and the spacing of these houses is similar to that of the apsidal and oval buildings in the sanctuary of Apollo area. Further to the NE two buildings were excavated by the Swiss, outside the fortification wall (Fig. 101:12, 117):[608] **Building B** is

[602] *AntK* 34 (1991) 152f.

[603] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1952 (J. Konstantinou); Swiss School, from 1966 onwards. Bibliography: J. Konstantinou, *ΠΑΕ* (1952) 154-157; K. Schefold, *AntK* 9 (1966) 115, fig. 4; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 64; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) 759, fig. 398; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 120; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 98 (1974) 688, fig. 254; Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 13; updating of the plan: *AntK* 25 (1982) 155, fig. 3.

[604] S. Huber, *Un atelier dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie*, Unpublished "Mémoire de Licence", Université de Lausanne 1990, pl. 8 and p. 9f.

[605] A. Andreiomenou, *AΔ* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., 468-473 and 478; *id.*, *AE* (1975) 206, n. 4; (1977) 129, pl. 32α-β; *id.*, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) esp. 203-214, 216, 220, 225, 233f. who however regards all the curved foundations which she excavated as portions of apsidal buildings, but a large part certainly belongs to oval structures. Concerning the apsidal houses excavated by the Swiss team see: L. Kahil, *AntK* 25 (1982) 85f.; *id.*, *DossAParis* 94 (1985) 33f.; *id.*, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 167-169; K. Schefold, *AntK* 17 (1964) 69; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 27 and lastly Building B, excavated by J.-P. Descoeudres in the NE part of the settlement (Fig. 117). For a enumeration and brief description of all these buildings see Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 4-10, fig. 1, 3, 4 & 9.

[606] P.G. Themelis, "An 8th Century Goldsmith's Workshop at Eretria", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 157-165; *id.*, *AAA* 14 (1982) 185-208; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 38f.; (1976) 74-76; (1978) 19-21; (1979) 45-53; (1980) 86-97; (1981) 141-153; (1982) 163-169; (1983) 131-141; (1984) 217f., 221f.; *id.*, *Αρχαιολογία* 42 (1992) 29-38. For further details concerning these dwellings see Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 6-10, fig. 7 and 8 at p. 13.

[607] For instance P.G. Themelis, *Αρχαιολογία* 42 (1992) 29-30 and M. Popham, "Reflections on *An Archaeology of Greece*", *OJA* 9 (1990) 31. In general on the Lelantine war see L.H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, London 1976, 64-67.

[608] Excavations: Swiss School, 1967-68 (J.-P. Descoeudres). Bibliography: J.-P. Descoeudres, *AΔ* 23 (1968) Χρον., 239-242; K. Schefold, *AΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 209; *id.*, *AntK* 12 (1969) 72f.; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 108-110; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 66, 81; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 25; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 561; *id.*, *GE* (1987) 10.

apsidal and the length preserved is *c.* 11m. The width is 5,50m. A partition wall divides the apse from the main room. Building C has an almost square plan and the main room is preceded by a shallow porch. A peribolos or retaining wall runs in a E-W direction behind the two buildings. All three constructions are dated by pottery around 700. A so-called votive deposit of the first half of the 7th c. was found in front of the apsidal building. It contained many kylikes and remains from sacrifices. This deposit, in my opinion, does not prove that the apsidal edifice was a cult building, though one could suggest that some domestic cult would have taken place inside the house. Lastly, in a **property by the shore** excavated by L. Kahil, one of the earliest buildings was apsidal and measured *c.* 13,00m by 3,40m (Figs. 101:3, 109). In this area there was intense building activity down to the beginning of the 7th c. It appears that the curvilinear plans gradually gave way to rectangular ones.[609]

Houses of a similar type were also built at the neighbouring settlement of **Xeropolis/ Lefkandi**. The best preserved house from this site (Fig. 96:6), dated in the LG period, is usually regarded as an apsidal building.[610] Yet, since only the southern part of the edifice has been cleared, an oval plan should not be excluded (Fig. 97); indeed, the extremity of the W curved wall appears as if it were the W anta of the entrance.[611] This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that in the same cultural milieu (Eretria and Oropos) several of the oval houses in which it has been possible to locate the entrance are oriented to the S, presumably in order to avoid the prevailing N winds. Thus the restored oval building of Xeropolis/Lefkandi (dimensions *c.* 10,00 by 6,00m) presents a striking resemblance to the oval buildings of Eretria and Oropos. The settlement was destroyed by fire shortly before 700 B.C., the cause perhaps being the Lelantine war.[612]

Unfortunately, we know practically nothing about the architectural layout of the other important Euboean city, **Chalcis**. A few segments of walls of the Geometric period have been unearthed (Fig. 100, areas Θ16, Θ17 and B2). In one plot (B2), an apsidal wall belonging to a building of the Geometric period came to light,[613] but it is impossible to tell whether the remaining flimsy walls belong to rectangular or curvilinear buildings, though I suspect that the latter plan was also favoured here.[614] In that respect, Calligas' hypothetical restoration of apsidal edifices at PG Chalcis (Fig. 99) may some day prove to be correct,[615] though I doubt that there would have been apsidal monumental "oikoi" scattered in the summits of the hills. The emerging pattern, which could be applied to the whole of Euboea, including other important sites, such as **Kyme**, the location of which is a matter of debate,[616] is that of the preponderance of apsidal and oval buildings throughout the EIA in the Euboean *koine* (*cf.* also Poseidi and Oropos). Indeed, the Euboean colony[617] of **Pithekoussai** reflects the architectural tradition of the homeland (Fig. 122).[618] Originally, i.e. around the middle of the 8th c., three buildings were erected, each different in shape; one is apsidal (I), another is oval (IV) and the last is rectangular (III). The apsidal house (**Building I**) was destroyed by a devastating earthquake around 720 B.C. and it was never repaired. Shortly later, a square room (II) was built over the ruins. Adjacent to the LG I apsidal house there was a contemporary oval **Building IV**, measuring *c.* 8,00m in length and 5,50m in width.[619] The entrance was located in the SE short

[609] L. Kahil, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 167-169; Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 4.

[610] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 14f., 23f.; *id.*, *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-66*, London 1968, 30. See also Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 57f.

[611] *Cf.* Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 17 & fig. 11.

[612] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 369; M. Popham, *OJA* 9 (1990) 31.

[613] A. Sampson, "Αρχαία Χαλκίδα", *AAX* 1 (1986) 16, 37, fig. 4 at p. 17.

[614] Sampson, *op.cit.*, 24, 47: two insignificant stretches of walls in Area Θ, nos 16 and 17.

[615] "Η πρώιμη αρχαία Χαλκίδα", *AAX* 3 (1988/89) 94, and fig. 3 at p. 95.

[616] E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki suggests the area of modern Kyme in "Η Ευβοϊκή Κύμη της εποχής των αποικισμών", *AE* (1984) 151-160.

[617] For the justification of the term "colony" see J.N. Coldstream, in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis, Oxford 1994, 56 and D. Ridgway, *AR* (1994/95) 83.

[618] The same remark stands for the burial customs, which have been consistently compared to those of Eretria: D. Ridgway, *L'alba della Magna Grecia*, Milano 1984, 59-105. Now see G. Buchner & D. Ridgway, *et al.*, *Pithekoussai* I: *Tombe 1-723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961*, Roma 1993, which is a mere presentation of the data.

[619] G. Buchner, "Pithekoussai, 1965-71", *AR* (1970/71) 63-67; J. Klein, "A Greek Metalworking Quarter", *Expedition* 14, 2 (1972) 34-39; D. Ridgway, *L'alba della Magna Grecia*, Milano 1984, 106f.; M. Torelli, in *Case e palazzi d'Etruria*, ed. S. Stopponi, Milano 1985, 25, fig. 3; Fusaro, *Architettura* (1982) 15.

side and if I correctly interpret the plan, it was bordered by two pairs of posts, reminding us of Building B2 in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria. Still judging by the plan, more posts ran along the inner face of the wall (or were they partly embedded in the wall?).[620] Building IV was apparently also damaged by the earthquake but it was repaired and remained in use until *c.* 700 B.C., at which time it was transformed into rectangular. The sequence at Pithekoussai proves that the three main plans of the EIA originally coexisted side by side but that curvilinear plans gradually gave way to rectangular ones.[621] At **Punta Chiarito**, on the SW coast of the island (Fig. 120), a Greek farmstead of the LGI-LG II/EPC period was partly excavated between 1992-93, but the plan of the fragmentary house which was revealed there is still unknown. However, in the second half of the 7th c., an oval house was built in the same area, indicating, perhaps, that such plans were deeply rooted in Euboean Pithekoussai.[622]

The apsidal houses of **Lathouriza** in Attica present unorthodox plans (Figs. 141-142): **House X** is a broad, almost square, free-standing apsidal building.[623] H. Lauter regards **House IX** as an apsidal edifice as well.[624] The presence of a bench along the front wall of the building might indicate that the entrance was located on the S long wall, as in the case of modern apsidal buildings in Aetolia.[625] A third apsidal structure at the same site (**Room XX**) which forms part of a larger complex of rooms was provided with an entrance in its long N wall.[626] In the same site, peculiar elliptical and sub-circular agglutinative rooms have been detected. These form a separate category which could be compared with certain Cycladic sites, such as Koukounaries (Fig. 321), where curvilinear buildings are sometimes combined with other units.

At **Argos** an apsidal building, constructed in the beginning of the EG period was discovered *c.* 500m to the S of the possible chthonian shrine (*infra* p. 156, Fig. 207, no. 3), next to a cemetery of the EG-LG period (Figs. 208-209).[627] This house had a short life since it was destroyed by a fire during the second half of the EG period. It is also worth noting that the two earliest graves, T15 and T37, both dated in the EG period, were discovered in the immediate surroundings of the house. The proximity of houses to tombs appears to have been a normal feature at Argos during the LG period as well (see Fig. 207).

Another apsidal building was excavated by C. Piteros in 1990 in the N part of modern **Argos**, inside the riverbed of Charadros.[628] The edifice measures 19,60 by 8,00-9,00m. The stone socle was unusually wide (*c.* 0,70-0,90m) and its even surface and the fact that it was covered with gravel, indicate a mud brick superstructure. Erosion has destroyed the interior so there is no indication as to the existence of internal divisions. According to the preliminary indications, the building was built in the LG period and should be identified with a house. It is worth noting that in the immediate vicinity

[620] J. Klein [*Expedition* 14, 2 (1972) 36], mentions that "sometimes,... wooden posts were incorporated among the stones" but he does not mention posts set against the inner faces of the walls, which however appear to exist in the plan published of Buildings I, III and perhaps IV.

[621] One observes exactly the same sequence at Miletos where Buildings A and B were eventually replaced by rectangular houses which follow the same orientation [V. von Graeve, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 72, fig. 2 and 73, fig. 3].

[622] C. Gialanella, in *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ. Scriti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, ed. B. d'Agostino & D. Ridgway, Napoli 1994, 169-204; D. Ridgway, *AR* (1994/95) 83.

[623] Lauter [*Lathuresa* (1985) 29] does not classify this house among those of apsidal shape. However, in Ph. Stavropoullos' diary, p. 142, the two rear corners are drawn curved, thus recalling the roughly contemporary "Priestess's House" at Old Smyrna (*cf.* Fig. 398).

[624] *Lathuresa* (1985) 28f.

[625] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 53 and fig. 54, with earlier literature.

[626] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 33.

[627] P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris 1966, 162, n. 1; *id.*, *Tombes Géométriques d'Argos* I, Paris 1974, pl. 2.; *BCH* 77 (1953) 263; 78 (1954) 177; 79 (1955) 314; Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 35; *id.*, "Zur Stadtwerdung des dorischen Argos", in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 303, no. 1; T. Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.*, Minneapolis 1976, 160, n. 46; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 408; N.G.L. Hammond, in *CAH* III, 1 (1972) 708. The house was turned towards the SE. Pr. height of walls 0,70m, width 0,45m. Estimated width *c.* 4,.0m, preserved length *c.* 5,50m. According to G. Touchais (p.c.) the front wall has since been uncovered, definitely proving that the plan was apsidal.

[628] See C. Piteros, "Συμβολή στην αργειακή τοπογραφία (χώρος, οχυρώσεις, τοπογραφία και προβλήματα)", in *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et Urbanisme. Table Ronde, 28/4/90-1/5/90, École Française d'Athènes* (forthcoming).

a LG cist tomb was excavated. Traces of other buildings were also noted in the surroundings, while in the southern part of Argos C. Piteros unearthed the remains of a second apsidal edifice.[629] The function of both apsidal buildings remains for the time being unknown.

At **Asine**, in the **Karmaniola** plot, an apsidal building of the MG II period lay just to the E of Building C (**Building D**, Fig. 222).[630] The reconstruction of the ground plan by S. Dietz (Fig. 229) is far from convincing, but Fagerström's suggestion that the plan consisted of two rows of rooms on either side of a corridor should also be discounted.[631] In my opinion there is no reason to reconstruct diverging long walls, and the two northern "partition walls", could have been buttresses or bases for wooden posts set along the inner face of the stone socle. The width of the building would have been *c.* 4,50m and the length would have exceeded 11,00m. A pile of stones approximately in the centre of the rear apsidal room, may represent a stone packing around a wooden column (Fig. 230).[632] In the **Levendis** plot, the N wall and the beginning of the apse of a LG house (Fig. 234) were revealed to a length of *c.* 5,00m. Naturally, it is also possible to restore an oval plan.[633] The function of this edifice is still uncertain. Traces of a flimsy curved wall of the LG (?) period were revealed nearby, in the **Samaras** plot (Fig. 233, **Room U**).[634]

An apsidal or oval building, perhaps dated in the Geometric period, was reported from **Kantia** in the Argolis,[635] a tiny acropolis with LH (?) cyclopean fortification walls which may have been still in use in the EIA.[636] A curved wall belonging to an apsidal or oval building of the Geometric period was recently found at **Aigion** (Fig. 264, **Wall T3**).[637]

At **Nichoria**, besides Unit IV-5, three or four apsidal (?) houses were unearthed but their bad state of preservation renders them useless for a typological study (*cf.* Fig. 257, **Walls N-T**).[638] They attest however, that the curvilinear plans were applied to several buildings of Nichoria from the 10th c. to the middle of the 8th c.

Free-standing apsidal and oval buildings were obviously unpopular in the Cyclades. A segment of a curved (?) wall S of Room F2, approximately in the centre of the plateau of **Koukounaries** (Fig. 321) and a straight wall, W of F2, which was perhaps a partition wall, could perhaps be connected with a MG II hearth, containing among other things a small clay phallus.[639] The reason for which one could dissociate these two walls from the LG edifice at the same spot is that they seem to pass below its walls. We must await however the final account in order to pursue further this assumption. At the same settlement, during the LG period, there was a peculiar apsidal **Room L**, which formed part of an agglutinative unit in the northern extremity of the plateau (Figs. 320-321).[640] The remaining buildings of this site are rectangular. An apsidal (?) building which could date in the

[629] *Ibid.* I wish to thank Mr. Piteros for allowing me to mention these details, in advance of his own forthcoming publication.

[630] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 32f., 53f., plan II; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 25-27.

[631] *GIAA* (1988) 25-27, esp. 26. Fagerström also suggests that in the western part of the house there are traces of a standing loom: *ibid.* and 132f.

[632] Dietz regards these stones "as a disintegrated cross-wall socle" (*ibid.*, 32).

[633] I. Hägg, in *Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine*, fasc. 1, ed. I. and R. Hägg, Uppsala 1973 (*Boreas* 4:1) 30-37; Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 54f. Tombs B3 and B4, both dated in the LG period, had been dug through the floor of the Geometric house, while it was still in use; B3 contained the skeletons of two children, B4 of two newborn infants. Tombs B3 and B10 were adult burials, presumably of the PG period: *Boreas* 4:1 (1973) 38f. and 72-74, respectively.

[634] I. and R. Hägg, ed., *Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine.* Fasc. 4, Uppsala 1980 (*Boreas* 4:4) 16, 27 (Wall A.73.101).

[635] K. Gebauer, in *Bericht VI. Internationalen Kongress für Archäoligie, Berlin, 21.-26. August 1939*, Berlin 1940, 302; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 795.

[636] R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I: *The Mainland and the Islands, SIMA* 52 (1979) 50.

[637] L. Papakosta, *ΑΔ* 40 (1985) Χρον., 120; *id.*, "Παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με την τοπογραφία του αρχαίου Αιγίου", in *Αρχαία Αχαΐα και Ηλεία*, ed. A.D. Rizakis, Athens 1991 (*Μελετήματα* 13) 236.

[638] McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 55f.

[639] On the hearth and its contents see D. Schilardi, "The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 175, 177; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 203f.

[640] *Id.*, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 178; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 203, 209; (1979) 248. The room is roughly square (exterior dimensions, *c.* 6,60 by 5,20m).

Geometric period was noted at **Kargadoura**, 2km NE of Oikonomos Island on Paros, but has not been excavated yet.[641]

The so-called apsidal building of MG date (X6) discovered at **Vathy Limenari** at Donousa is a triangular edifice divided into two rooms, the form of which was dictated by the configuration of the soil (Figs. 343-344).[642] The entrance was perhaps located in the W long wall (for further discussion see p. 194).[643]

A suggestive example of apsidal construction in the Cyclades is **Building A** on the slopes of the acropolis of **Minoa** on Amorgos (Fig. 347:A, square Γ-Δ/1-2 and Fig. 350).[644] The particular interest of this edifice is that it is partly hewn in the rock, like numerous unexcavated buildings in the same area. House A at Minoa is not a free-standing unit for it communicated with an adjacent rectangular room, A1, through a side entrance (the main entrance was presumably in the S, like the rest of the unexplored rectangular houses, Fig. 347, squares B-Δ/1-2). Both rooms yielded "SPG" sherds, which in this particular region may imply a dating even in the first half of the 8th c.

A curved wall was uncovered W of Buildings III and IV at **Antissa** on Lesbos (Figs. 356:2, 357) but one cannot establish whether it should be restored as an apsidal or an oval building.[645] On Koldewey's old plan of the site, an apsidal building is marked inside the Medieval fortifications (*cf.* Fig. 356:3). This building does not appear on W. Lamb's subsequent plan; the orientation is the same with that of Building III and so are the dimensions (*c.* 15,00 by 7,00m). These facts would perhaps support a dating in the Geometric period.[646]

At **Old Smyrna** apsidal houses are sometimes said to prevail during the LG period.[647] However, on carefully observing the plan of the LG settlement (*c.* 750-700, Figs. 408-410) one finds it difficult to recognise apsidal houses. Thus arises the question of which building served as a model for R.V. Nicholls' reconstruction of a typical Smyrnaean apsidal house, so often reproduced by scholars (Fig. 413).[648] The only so-called apsidal room of LG date mentioned by Akurgal is **XXXVIII** in its second phase which was an open-air courtyard, judging by the presence of the circular granary, J, in this area (Fig. 409).[649] On the other hand, the E wall of Space XXXVIII may represent the W wall of an apsidal house, oriented to the N and measuring *c.* 9,00m in length, as indeed H. Lauter has attempted to restore.[650] This house may have been built during the previous LG phase (Fig. 408); according to the traditional view, the houses of this stratum belong to the third quarter of the 8th c.[651] Likewise, **Building C1** (750-775 B.C., Fig. 408) may be restored as an apsidal house as well, but since its plan is incomplete, an oval plan should not be excluded.[652] The question however which building is depicted in the reconstruction would have remained unanswered, if R.V. Nicholls had not clarified this question personally.[653] Indeed, he informed me that the restored

[641] D. Schilardi, *JFA* 2 (1975) 94f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1976)

[642] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 392 and n. 2. The building's dimensions are 10,60 by 3,90m.

[643] Dr. Zapheiropoulou suggests that the entrance was located in the N short side. This seems unlikely, considering the presence of Room X5 immediately to the N of X6; not to mention that in the Cyclades, on account of the violent N winds, doors were rarely situated in this direction.

[644] L. Marangou, *Έργον* (1984) 92-94, figs. 122-123; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 381-387.

[645] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 517-519, fig. 13.

[646] See R. Koldeway, *Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, Berlin 1890, 19-21, pl. 6. Compare with W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) pl. 17.

[647] *Cf.* for instance E. Akurgal, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 344 and Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 304. This may be due to the fact that it is not always possible to distinguish between an apsidal or an oval plan at the site. There is also a tendency to regard partially preserved curvilinear houses as apsidal: *cf.* for instance A. Andreiomenou, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 187-236.

[648] E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, Berlin 1961, fig. 5 at p. 301; *id.*, *Alt-Smyrna* I: *Wohnschichten und Athenatempel*, Ankara 1983, fig. 186; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 305, fig. 96c; Fusaro, *Architettura* (1982) 7 and fig. 5 at p. 9 who speaks of "un esempio particolarmente ben conservato" but refers instead to the plan (in green) in *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) pl. 74 without specifying which is the apsidal building in question. *Cf.* also M. Torelli, in *Case e palazzi d'Etruria*, ed. S. Stopponi, Milano 1985, 25, fig. 2.

[649] *Alt-Smyrna* I (1983) 30f., fig. 15.

[650] *Lathuresa* (1985) 84, fig. 10.

[651] Akurgal's dates in *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, are eccentric and too low [R.V. Nicholls, letter of March 23, 1986 and J.K. Anderson, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 138-142].

[652] E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 28 and fig. 14.

[653] Letters of March 23, 1986, and April 20, 1996 and p.c. of Jan. 20, 1987.

drawing of the Smyrnaean apsidal house (Fig. 413) is a generalised reconstruction of an early 7th c. B.C. apsidal house in **Trench B** (Fig. 410b). This house yielded evidence that the cross-wall between the porch and the main room was constituted by a row of upright posts. Nicholls restored the so-called **Priestess's House** (Fig. 368), also dated in the beginning of the 7th c., in a similar manner (Fig. 402) though it seems that here no such posts were securely identified. Therefore one may safely remark that compared to the houses of oval plan at the same site, the apsidal house in LG Old Smyrna was favoured less than the oval one.

In **Trench B** one (or perhaps two) oval hut(s) have been excavated, dated around the middle of the 8th c. (Fig. 410a). They were presumably occupied until *c.* 700.[654] In the second LG phase (last quarter of 8th c.), oval buildings become predominant. The best preserved house comes from **Trench H** (Figs. 409, 441b): it is *c.* 6,00m long and 3,50m wide (**House d**) and the entrance was in the S short side.[655] In the centre of the room there was a circular hearth. An unexplained rectangular enclosure, lined with slabs was set against the E long wall.[656] The house is enclosed by a courtyard wall, also elliptical in shape. In the SW corner of the court there was a hemispherical structure (e) built at a later period, perhaps a barn, a storage area or even an animal pen.[657] Oval **House C2** further S, which was *c.* 8,00m long and 5,00m wide, was divided into two equal rooms (Fig. 409).[658] **Houses i** and **g** (Fig. 409) are perhaps smaller oval huts, less well preserved, presumably also dated in the last quarter of the 8th c.

A curvilinear (oval?) house of 8th c. date was recently discovered in the lower agora of **Ephesos** (Fig. 422a), but few details are available yet.[659] The evidence from **Miletos** is more suggestive: LG curved walls have been reported from the **Kalabaktepe** area as well, but the plan of the houses there is fragmentary and hybrid in character (Figs. 415:1, 417).[660] A group of oval buildings (Buildings A and B and a further stretch of a curved foundation, possibly part of a third elliptical **House, C**) was discovered to the S of the Hellenistic fortification wall (Figs. 415:2, 419).[661] The orientation of **Building A** is E-W. It is 5,20m wide and preserved to a length of 6,00m. The thickness of the stone socle varies from 0,32 to 0,35m. Approximately in the centre of the building, a hearth was recognised; it consisted of a layer of burnt clay which rested on gravel and worn sherds. By comparison to Building B, the plan of Building A can be reconstructed almost certainly as being oval.[662] **Building B** is roughly directed N-S and measures 10,40 by 5,60m. It is constructed with small irregular stones, which in places are preserved to a height of 0,45m. The width of the stone socle varies from 0,35 to 0,37m.[663] As in the case of Building A, the superstructure would have been of mud bricks. There is no indication as to the location of the entrance, for the edifice was not fully revealed. Against the inner face of the E wall, a rectangular pit, coated with clay, was excavated; it

[654] Letter by R.V. Nicholls, March 23, 1986. The western house is tiny, measuring *c.* 2,10 X 1,20 (?) m.

[655] E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 29f., fig. 15. This is the house restored by Nicholls in J.M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East*, London 1962, 32, fig. 5. The semicircular "enclosure", e, is not depicted on the drawing for as Dr. Nicholls informed me (letter of March 23, 1986) it was apparently built at a later period.

[656] This structure is interpreted by Akurgal as a hearth. However, two hearths in such a small edifice are unlikely. Moreover, the location of this structure against the long side of the house is additional proof that it could not have been a hearth, since a chimney for the evacuation of the smoke would have been problematic (provided that the roof would have been pitched).

[657] Concerning the chronology of this "enclosure", letter by R.V. Nicholls, March 23, 1986.

[658] E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 29.

[659] G. Langmann, *ÖJh* 59 (1989) Beiblatt 7, fig. 1; M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 95 (1991)145f.; 97 (1993) 127;

[660] Th. Wiegand, *Sechster Vorl. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma*, Berlin 1908, 39; A. von Gerkan, in *Milet* I, 8, ed. Th. Wiegand, Berlin 1925, 29 and pl. III. See also M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 95 (1991) 144; M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 99 (1995) 238.

[661] Excavations: German Institute, 1963, 1966 (V. von Graeve); 1968-73 (J. Kleine). Bibliography: G. Kleiner, *Alt-Milet* I, Wiesbaden 1965, 21; M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 73 (1969) 211; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 260; G. Kleiner, *IM* 19/20 (1969/70) 118-121; V. von Graeve, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 65-84; 25 (1975) 35-39; J. Kleine, *IM* 29 (1979) vol. 1, 109-139, 155; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 26-28; W.-D. Heilmeyer, "Die Einordung Milets in die Siedlungszonen der griechischen Frühzeit", *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 95-112, esp. 107f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 652-655.

[662] For further details concerning Building A see V. von Graeve, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 69-70.

[663] The thickness of the foundation decreases in the two apses. The walls presented a slight inclination towards the interior, as is the case of the apsidal building of Antissa (Fig 359: section XV).

was uncovered to a length of *c.* 2,00m and was 1,00m wide and 0,45m deep. A small circular pit, also coated with clay was discovered immediately to the W, while three further similar pits were found in the S extremity of the building;[664] the latter contained burnt sherds mixed with ashes and the one in the middle, two clay horse figurines (Fig. 421). Further identical circular pits were found to the N, outside the building, and to the S, next to a curved wall, possibly the remains of a third building in the area.[665]

The material recovered from Buildings A and B suggests a date in the LG period. Moreover, it has been established that both constructions were destroyed by fire around 700. The same destruction layer is encountered in different areas of Miletos, thus proving that the entire town perished in a conflagration towards the end of the 8th c.[666] While Building A was supplanted by a rectangular house in the beginning of the 7th c.,[667] Building B was partly reused (Fig. 420).[668] The oblong pit was filled with earth and a circular platform, composed of small and medium size stones, was placed over it.[669] A second pavement was constructed against the inner face of the building's N curved wall.[670] In the space between these two structures, animal bones were collected. The S part of the building underwent radical transformations by the construction of a complicated structure perhaps of religious nature, provisionally named by its excavators "Altarbezirk".[671] That which concerns us here, is the fact that oval Building B was partly reused, perhaps for cult purposes, in the 7th c. The problem consists in establishing whether the building was devoted to some form of cult from the very beginning. A hint supporting this interpretation is provided by the presence of the two votive horses mentioned above.[672] The rest of the finds inside the building, however, are of domestic character.[673] To this one may add the location of the edifice among ordinary domestic buildings. The question of Building B's original function must remain for the time being, open, though it is likely that it was either an ordinary dwelling in which a domestic cult of chthonian (ancestral?) nature would have taken place, or, alternatively, a (potter's?) workshop.[674]

Thus, it appears that apsidal houses, unlike those of oval plan, were not very common in the islands and the W coast of Asia Minor. Many of the E Greek examples are uncertain while those from the Cyclades are hybrid in character since they are combined with rectangular rooms. In several cases, for instance at Vathy Limenari and Koukounaries, it was perhaps the nature of the terrain which imposed irregular plans and occasionally curved walls.[675]

[664] V. von Graeve, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 80, n. 40 for comparisons with similar pits from other Anatolian sites, which provide little help in establishing their use: ordinary refuse pits, sacrificial bothroi, hearths or perhaps indicating workmanship?

[665] *Ibid.*, 39.

[666] *Ibid.*, 84 and J. Kleine, *IM* 29 (1979) vol. 1, 137. The destruction was perhaps due to the sack of Miletos by the Cimmerians or the Lydians under Gyges' rule.

[667] V. von Graeve, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 71.

[668] For further details see *ibid.*, 72 and J. Kleine, *IM* 29 (1979) vol. 1, 119-122.

[669] For parallels see Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-194. Such structures are generally related to ancestral or chthonian cult but are also found in domestic contexts (see p. 122f.).

[670] This may have been a bench. A comparison with similar pavements in the oval house of the Areopagus at Athens (Fig. 127) is inevitable.

[671] In its early phases the so-called "Altarbezirk" consisted of several pits and a hearth to the E; Walls M, N, g, paving E of g. Some time later Wall Q was built and a new hearth was established to the W of the earlier one; the circular pits fell in disuse.

[672] J. Kleine, *IM* 29 (1979) vol. 1, 155, pl. 44.

[673] V. von Graeve, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 83; J. Kleine, *IM* 29 (1979) vol. 1, 136.

[674] Concerning the latter identification see W.-D. Heilmeyer, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 107.

[675] *Cf.* House A at Vathy Limenari (Fig. 343): Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 554 and fig. 1.

APSIDAL AND OVAL BUILDINGS: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The typology of the PG and Geometric **apsidal** buildings should be examined together with the contemporary elongated rectangular constructions. The main difference between these two categories of buildings is that the rear wall of the former is curved and as a result of this the sloping roof above the apse would have been semi-spherical. Naturally, rectangular buildings could either be covered with a pitched roof or a flat one, while apsidal free-standing structures practically always had pitched roofs.[676] A further difference between these two plans is that apsidal buildings sometimes have slightly convex long sides[677] a feature rarely encountered in rectangular buildings (Nichoria IV-1, according to Coulson). According to Drerup this tendency was a widespread feature of the beginning of the EIA related to the technique of slanting posts placed on the outside of the edifice.[678] The German scholar based his assumption mainly on Megaron B at Thermon and quoted as parallels Neolithic and Medieval houses from northern Europe.[679] Now that we know that the posts of the peristyles of the PG "Heroön" at Lefkandi and of the LG *hekatompedon* at Rakita were vertical and that the stone bases around Megaron B at Thermon was either added much later to the building,[680] or, more likely, represent an intermediate phase between Megaron B and Temple C, one is forced to reconsider Drerup's theory.[681] Moreover, following the recent excavations at Thermon it has been established that the long walls of Megaron B were perfectly straight and that the convex curve was due to the pressure of the fill which covered the edifice after its abandonment. The theory that the builders tried to adapt a curvilinear technique to a rectangular plan can no longer be maintained,[682] Thus, the conclusion to be drawn is that long convex sides are a specific feature of apsidal and oval buildings, not only restricted to the EIA but to all times and places where such plans occur.[683]

The typology of the facade of apsidal buildings will be discussed in conjunction with that of rectangular edifices (Part 10, pp. 259ff.). This was also attempted by D. Fusaro who erroneously concluded that LG apsidal houses were usually provided with an anta porch, as the contemporary elongated rectangular "megara" (see Tables IV-VII).[684]

The main entrance of apsidal edifices is as a rule located in the short rectilinear side, unless the building is agglutinated with other rooms, as at Toumba in Thessalonike and at Lathouriza (Room

[676] All the apsidal or oval clay building models discovered up to now present pitched roofs. On the other hand if an apsidal structure is not free-standing but one of the compartments of a larger unit, it may have been provided with a flat roof; see for example a LM IIIC house at Knossos [A. Mazarakis Ainian, *BSA* 84 (1989) 283, fig. 17; P. Warren, *AR* (1982/83) 78, fig. 40], the apsidal unit at Thessalonike in use from the 12th to the early 10th c. B.C. (Figs. 2, 4) and the Geometric buildings at Minoa (Fig. 350), Koukounaries (Fig. 321, Room L) and Lathouriza (Fig. 141, Room XX). H. Lauter restores a flat roof in Unit I-IV at Lathouriza (Fig. 150) but I have argued that Room II at least may have been provided with a pitched roof (Fig. 151).

[677] For instance, Lefkandi "Heroön", Nichoria IV-1, Old Smyrna (House LIII-LIV?) and Unit U2 at Tarsus in the PG period, Asine (House D in the Karmaniola area), Mycenae, Rakita, Lathouriza II, Eretria (Building A and Temple D) and Antissa III in the Geometric and EA periods.

[678] *Baukunst* (1969) 83-87.

[679] *Ibid.* and *id.*, "Das geometrische Haus", *MarbWPr* (1962) 1-12.

[680] Ingeniously explained by J. Coulton, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 63-65, but subsequently it was proven that the bases were placed there after the destruction of Megaron B (see *infra* p. 132).

[681] *Cf.* criticisms in Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 601-604.

[682] Nevertheless, in Aetolia there was a continuous tradition of apsidal and oval buildings from prehistoric times to our days: *cf.* a complex of Hellenistic apsidal and/or oval buildings excavated by K. Rhomaios at Panagoula [G. Karo, *AA* (1933) 234; H. Payne, *JHS* 53 (1933) 282] and modern apsidal huts in Aetolia: M. Clemmensen, "Primitive hustyper i Aitolien", *Geografisk Tidsskrift* 3/4 (1933) 1-21; E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion der Tempelbezirk von Kalydon*, København 1948, 324-331; B. Wells, "Absidhuset -en 5000- årig tradition i Grekland", *Medusa* 1:1 (1980) 38-48; S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 52f.

[683] Snodgrass [*DAG* (1971) 369] follows Drerup for he considers long convex walls a feature of EIA houses. Dietz (*Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 56) assumes "that the tendency to a curving long side might be a restricted Geometric feature, rather than an Iron Age feature as a whole". For comparisons with EH and MH apsidal houses with convex long sides see Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) figs. 95, 96, 194; D. Konsola, *Πρώιμη αστικοποίηση*, Athens 1984, 86, fig. 19; K. Th. Syriopoulos, *Η προϊστορία της Στερεάς Ελλάδος*, Athens 1968, 225, figs. 3:2 and 4.

[684] *Architettura* (1982) 6f.

XX).[685] In several buildings there is a secondary door in one of the long sides (Lefkandi "Heroön", Nichoria IV-1, Minoa A, Antissa III-1). The interior is usually divided into one to three rooms and occasionally in more (Lefkandi). This is according to Drerup the reason for which one encounters very short or more elongated apsidal buildings.[686] Naturally, the presence of several rooms the one behind the other creates an elongated plan, but the opposite does not necessarily occur.[687]

The popularity of the apsidal form during the PG and Geometric periods is unquestionable. It is also encountered in post-Geometric times (*cf.* Key to Map 1), and unlike the oval plan (*cf.* below) it was more often applied to sacred or public buildings than to dwellings.[688] Moreover one should recall that certain apsidal buildings, mainly temples, which were erected in the LG period were still standing and in use during the EA period.[689] The application of the apsidal plan in post-Geometric cult buildings may be explained in different ways; it may have been reminiscent of the distant DA, when houses and temples were built in this manner. It would have been natural to return to this

[685] This contrasts with the modern apsidal buildings of Aetolia, where the door is located in one of the long sides: S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 53 and fig. 54; B. Wells, *Medusa* 1:1 (1980) 45, fig. 10.

[686] *Baukunst* (1969) 92.

[687] *Cf.* for instance the LG monumental temples, regardless whether their plan is apsidal or rectangular (Ano Mazaraki, Eretria D, Kalapodi A and B, Samos H1).

[688] As houses, they occur at Old Smyrna (Priestess's House and house in Trench B, Figs. 398 & 410b), at Thasos [P. Bernard, *BCH* 88 (1964) 80-83, fig. 1: first half of 7th c.], Panagoula [G. Karo, *AA* (1933) 234; H. Payne, *JHS* 53 (1933) 282], Aetos in Ithaca [apsidal storeroom of house of the Hellenistic period, S. Symeonoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 112, fig. 3 at p. 114] and Bessan, in southern France [A. Nickels, *Gallia* 34 (1976) 99-106, fig. 4; *id.*, *La Mondédière à Bessan (Hérault), Documents d'archéologie méridionale* 12 (1989) 51-119: House A, middle of 6th c.].

As public edifices we encounter them at Olympia (A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, München 1972, 235-240) and Analipsis near Vourvoura (Kynouria) [K. Rhomaios, *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 81; *Ἔργον* (1956) 83].

As cult edifices they occur in several sites. Here is a selection: from the Archaic period, "Temple B" at Corinth (B.H. Hill, *Corinth* I, VI, Princeton 1964, 129-134, fig. 75), perhaps the temple in the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus near Sparta [H.W. Catling, *BSA* 85 (1990) 15-35, fig. 4], Building B on the Athenian Acropolis (Th. Wiegand *et al.*, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Acropolis zu Athen*, Cassel & Leipzig 1904, 155-162, fig. 154; C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg 1929, 20f.), the temple of Apollo Patroos in the Athenian Agora [H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 77-84, esp. 79 and 81, fig. 72 at p. 133, pl. III; R. Martin, *BCH* 66/67 (1942/43) 349 and n. 1; H.A Thompson & R.E. Wycherley, *Agora* XIV, Princeton 1972, 136-137; J.M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, London 1986, 161, fig. 134], Treasury XXIX at Delphi (M.F. Courby, *FD* II, Paris 1927, 186f., fig. 142; Weickert, *op.cit.*, 80f.), Building D at Kalydon (E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion der Tempelbezirk von Kalydon*, København 1948, 53f., plan between pp. 54 and 55), the first temple by the harbour at Emporio [J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 64-83, fig. 34], a small apsidal shrine at "Larisa on the Hermos" [J. Boehlau & K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos* I: *Die Bauten*, Berlin 1940, 75-77, fig. 75. See also fig. 3 at p. 15. Doubts about the correct identification of the site have been expressed by J.M. Cook in *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 20, n. 47], a modest apsidal structure at Troy, perhaps an altar [C.W. Blegen, *AJA* 41 (1937) 43f., figs. 23-24], the first predecessor of the early Hellenistic Hieron at Samothrace (P.W. Lehmann, *Samothrace* 3, I, London 1969, 35-37, 154-156; *id.*, *Samothrace* 3, II, London 1969, 51-53], Building Γ at Poseidi in Chalkidike [J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 5 (1991) 303-310, fig. 2 at p. 305] and an apsidal edifice in the sanctuary of Apollo at Metapontum in S Italy [D. Adamesteanu, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 312-313]. Note also the "Theke" monument on Delos (Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 144f. with earlier references). There is also a small limestone model of an apsidal building, discovered in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta [H. Van De Locht, *AM* 99 (1984) 145-153], and another from the Heraion at Samos [Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 74, no. 36]. See also Eretria, *supra* p. 95.

From the Classical period we may mention Delos ("apsidal monument", perhaps to be identified with the *Keratinos bomos*: Bruneau & Bucat, *op.cit.*, 148), Paros [J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 83 & n. 6; W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 233f.], Emporio (second temple by the harbour: Boardman, *op.cit.*, 64-83, fig. 34), Nymphaeum in the Black Sea [temple in the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi: J. Boardman, *AR* (1962/63) 47f.], Samothrace (second Hieron: Lehmann, *op.cit.*), Colophon (P.W. Lehmann, *Samothrace* 3, I, London 1969, 155, n. 5) and the Kabeirion near Thebes (Banquet House 10: W. Heyder & A. Mallwitz, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* II: *Die Bauten*, Berlin 1978, pl. 17). House Z (phase 2) at Vitsa Zagoriou also belongs to this period (p. 94, Fig. 31). An apsidal building, dating probably in the Hellenistic period, was discovered at the sanctuary of Apollo at Prasies, near Porto Raphti [O. Kakavoyanni, *ΑΔ* 40 (1985) Χρον., 66, fig. 6 at p. 67].

[689] For instance, the apsidal edifice at Mycenae, the temple at Paralimni, the apsidal houses at Lathouriza, some apsidal buildings at Eretria, the temple (?) at Oikonomos, the Lower Megaron at Emporio (provided that one accepts my suggestion, p. 85, Fig. 374) and perhaps the curved wall by the temple of Artemis at Eleusis.

primitive architectural form each time that a polis wished to emphasise its ties with the past. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that apsidal buildings of LG and post-Geometric date were often dedicated to Apollo[690] or located inside[691] or in close proximity[692] to sanctuaries of Apollo, whose cult was of primary importance during the EIA (see p. 339). Fewer buildings of this plan are connected with sanctuaries of Apollo's sister, Artemis,[693] or with sanctuaries where Mystery cults were celebrated.[694] In the latter sites there may have been a connection of some sort between the use of the apsidal plan and the remote origin of these cults.

The external appearance of **oval buildings** is radically different from that of apsidal structures, due to the form of the roof which is half conical at both ends. There are three types of oval buildings:[695] the first consists of two semicircular short sides and straight long sides. The second has convex long walls as well. The last is basically rectangular in shape but presents four rounded corners. All three plans are encountered throughout the Geometric period; the oval houses of the PG period as yet discovered belong to the third type. The entrance is usually located in the middle of one of the two short sides and occasionally it is situated in one of the long walls (Areopagus, Tourkovounia, Mytilene, ?Pyrrha and on two limestone models from Samos). The oval buildings known to the present day rarely attain large proportions and therefore usually consist of one single room. Two oval buildings of Lesbos (Antissa IV-1 and Mytilene) are among the largest and were divided into two compartments; one more modest house from Old Smyrna (C2), dated in the last quarter of the 8th c. had two rooms as well.

Oval buildings, exceptionally encountered during the PG-MG periods, become predominant during the LG and SG periods in two well defined geographic areas: Attica and Euboea on one side and the East Greek islands and the West coast of Asia Minor on the other (Map 6). I should stress here that in this analysis I have not taken into account a vast number of incomplete buildings which could be restored either as oval or as apsidal. The emerging picture, however, is that around 700 B.C. the oval form was preferred to the apsidal one in these two regions. In that respect it may be significant that towards the end of the 8th c. several apsidal buildings were transformed to oval (for instance Building B in the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria, Buildings A and Θ at Oropos, Building IV at Antissa and perhaps House C at Old Smyrna and according to N. Spencer the oval building at Mytilene, Fig. 355b). The popularity of oval buildings lasted well into the EA period and in some places even later (*cf.* Key to Map 1). As profane buildings, post-Geometric oval structures occur in the periphery of the Greek World, as in Mycenaean times,[696] but sacred post-Geometric buildings of this kind occur only exceptionally.[697]

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[690] For instance Temple D at Eretria, Building B on the Barbouna hill at Asine, and perhaps Pyrrha. *Cf.* also the temple of Apollo Patroos in the Athenian Agora.

[691] For example Treasury XXIX at Delphi, or the apsidal building in the sanctuary of Apollo at Metapontum.

[692] Temple B at Corinth, situated less than 50m SE of the temple of Apollo.

[693] For instance Ano Mazaraki (Rakita) and Building D at Kalydon; *cf.* also the apsidal building model discovered in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

[694] Nymphaeum and Thebes (Kabeiroi), and Samothrace (sanctuary of the Great Gods).

[695] J. Walton, "The Oval House", *Antiquity* 26 (1952) 135-140.

[696] For instance Panagoula in Aetolia [G. Karo, *AA* (1933) 234; H. Payne, *JHS* 53 (1933) 282], Vitsa Zagoriou (first phase of House Z, Fig. 31), Dodona [D. Evangelides & S. Dakaris, *AE* (1959) 24-30, pl. 2], Mt. Aipos in Chios (M. Mitsos, in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 103-111; V. Lambrinoudakis, in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 375-381), Teichioussa [W. Voigtländer, *AA* (1988) 574-577, 574 fig. 6 (Ovalbau Δ), 577 fig. 9 (Ovalbau Γ)], Melie [W. Müller-Wiener, in G. Kleiner, P. Hommel & W. Müller-Wiener, *Panionion und Melie*, *JdI* 23. Ergänzungsheft (1967) 118-122, fig. 62:1, p. 117], Larisa on the Hermos (J. Boehlau & K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos* I, Berlin 1940, 15, pl. 44), Punta Chiarito on Pithekoussai [D. Ridgway, *AR* (1994/95) 83] and at Bessan in southern France [A. Nickels, *Gallia* 34 (1976) 95-128, esp. 106, fig. 4 at p. 100: Nickels regarded House B as apsidal but the plan favours in my opinion the restoration of an oval building]. To these examples we may add the oval buildings which were erected at the close of the Geometric period and continued to be used into the 7th c., and in some places into the 6th (Antissa IV-1, Mytilene, houses at Eretria, Oropos, Lathouriza, etc.).

[697] For instance the horseshoe temple at Gonnoi in Thessaly (p. 86, Fig. 56) and in the Kabeirion near Thebes (Banquet Room 25: W. Heyder & A. Mallwitz, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* II: *Die Bauten*, Berlin 1978, pl. 17). *Cf.* also the limestone models from Samos, which however presumably represented houses [Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 78-84, nos. 38-43] and the oval building at Tourkovounia which was still in use.

PART 5

CIRCULAR BUILDINGS AND RELATED STRUCTURES

A. ROUND BUILDINGS

The round plan, as Drerup pointed out, was of little importance during the EIA, especially in sacred contexts.[698] This statement is still valid, though recent excavations have demonstrated that round buildings were not so exceptional in domestic contexts at least.

NORTHWEST GREECE

In 1990, a round stone enclosure, *c.* 13,00m in diameter, was discovered in the area between the Archaic temple and the "cairns" in the sanctuary of Apollo at **Aetos** in Ithaca (Fig. 37). The structure, which has not been dated yet, has been identified by the excavator with a peribolos wall which he tentatively equated with the *ἄλσος σκιερόν ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος* mentioned in the Odyssey.[699] In 1990 the interior was partly excavated and the remains of a substantial structure, which the excavator calls a "Tholos" came to light. The construction of this edifice, consisting of Walls A, B and C has been tentatively dated in the Mycenaean period, its destruction in the early 4th c. B.C.,[700] The excavator further suggests that this edifice was a spring (probably artificial rather than natural) and correlates it with the "τυκτὴ κρήνη" of the Odyssey (XVII, 204-211) which, in his opinion, may have been inside the sanctuary of Apollo.[701] However, one could remark that since the "Mycenaean" building which lies beneath the curved peribolos lasted until the 4th c., the latter should presumably post-date the destruction, in which case the round enclosure cannot be identified with the *σκιερόν ἄλσος* of the Odyssey. The Mycenaean "Tholos" (Building A-C), on the other hand, does not appear to have been a circular building justifying such a name. Moreover, the dating in the Mycenaean period of this structure is highly uncertain and the plan does not resemble that of a rounded vaulted structure, as the excavator seems to imply. The absence of significant finds (including the fact that PG and Geometric sherds are not mentioned in the brief enumeration of the finds),[702] with the exception of a group of bones of a bull which have been tentatively regarded as evidence for animal sacrifice,[703] at present does not allow one to assign a sacred function to the spot.

CENTRAL GREECE

At **Larisa**, on the E slopes of the acropolis (Phrourio hill) a round (?) building 3,70m in diameter (int. diam. 1,85) was excavated (Fig. 57).[704] The foundation is preserved at the S and W to a height of 0,20m and consists of unworked stones and mud in between. The width of the socle oscillates between 0,75-1,12m. Such an important width, in my opinion, could imply that part of the interior side of the foundation represents a substructure of a bench. A peculiar feature, visible in a photograph is the lack of an interior face, while the one at the exterior is shaped of larger stones.[705] This detail,

[698] *Baukunst* (1969) 93f.

[699] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1990-92 (S. Symeonoglou). Bibliography: S. Symeonoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 200-210; *Ἔργον* (1990) 126f. See also *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1990) 274-276.

[700] Perhaps in 374, by an earthquake: *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 205.

[701] *Ibid.*, 209.

[702] *Ibid.*, 205.

[703] *Ibid.*, 202.

[704] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1980 (A. Tzaphalias). Bibliography: A. Tzaphalias, *ΑΔ* 35 (1980) Χρον., 287f.; *id.*, "Δεκαπέντε χρόνια ανασκαφών στην αρχαία Λάρισα", in *Θεσσαλία. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικῆς ἐρευνας, 1975-1990. Αποτελέσματα και προοπτικές. Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου, Λυών, 17-22 Απριλίου 1990*, B', Athens 1994, 155, fig. 2 p. 162 (G. Phantana plot). In the second article, however, the excavator characterises the remains as an "apsidal building".

[705] Tzaphalias, in *Θεσσαλία...* (*op.cit.*), 162, fig. 2.

combined with the observation that the surface of the structure is even, could indicate that we are in the presence of a circular paving similar to those included in the next section (p. 122). The excavator dates the edifice in the Geometric period, judging by the substantial pottery of that date recovered from the fill inside the structure. The function of this building (?) has not been discussed yet, but since this area was reserved for houses in the Geometric and Archaic periods,[706] one could suggest a domestic function for the earlier structure as well (granary?).

Two circular buildings were uncovered at **Oropos** (*cf.* p. 100f.).[707] **Building ΣT** (Wall 30, Fig. 77) is the earliest of the two. It consists of a circular foundation 3,85m in diameter. Three large river stones formed a rectangular free-standing bench near the N side. The entrance, 0,70m wide, was situated at the NW side. The clay floor contained a few pebbles. After the removal of the floor (i.e. immediately beneath the floor) the area was uneven and showed signs of burning. Several cavities full with ashes, charcoal and earth were noted.[708] One pit almost in contact with the N face of the wall was 0,22m in diameter and just a few cm deep (Pit 1). It contained a clay spindlewhorl, a blade and a flake of obsidian, olive pips, scorias, charcoal and animal (?) bones.[709] Another pit was found approximately in the centre of the building (Pit 2). It was 0,40m in diameter and 0, 08m deep, full of ashes, charcoal and contained a few sherds, fragments of a lead object, and four pyramidal clay loomweights[710]. On the floor, among other finds, a scarab of faience,[711] and fragments of a terracotta bird (?) figurine were collected.[712] Fragments belonging to a large handmade vase were also discovered on the floor.[713] Traces of burning were observed in the interior of this vase. The puzzling feature is that sherds belonging to the same vase were discovered inside the adjacent rectangular room, Z.[714] A fragment belonging to a crude clay stand were also found. There were also several sherds of LG decorated vases.

Building H (Wall 31, Fig. 77) consists of a circular foundation comprising a single row of stones 0,40m wide, 2,15m in diameter. The entrance, 0,70m wide, was situated at the W. Two antithetical areas with ashes were identified on the clay floor, almost in contact with the interior face of the foundation of the building, at the N and S sides. The northern hearth contained sherds of handmade vases and numerous burnt olive pips. Wall 31 was founded on a stratum which covered apsidal Buildings Θ and Building ΣT and therefore should be considered later. The pottery from the floor dates for the most in the Archaic period.

The function of the two circular buildings cannot be determined until the finds are fully studied. The pits in the earlier building suggest some sort of industrial activities, perhaps associated with metalworking (obsidian tools, lead object, scorias). The handmade vase with traces of burning in the interior could also be associated with such activities. However, the presence on the floor of finds such as the faience scarab and the bird figurine could imply a religious function of the edifice.[715] A further puzzling feature is the presence inside the pits of animal bones and finds such as loomweights and spindlewhorls, which cannot receive a satisfactory explanation in case we opt for the first possibility. The free-standing bench could be either a working stand or a cult bench, depending on the function of the building. One could perhaps suggest that Building ΣT was a small

[706] *ΑΔ* 35 (1980) Χρον., 288. In the same area habitation layers, of the EH, MH and Mycenaean periods were also detected.

[707] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1985-86 (A. Dragona). Publication in preparation, under the direction of the author.

[708] The excavator notes that the surface of the central pit (Pit 2) is level with the floor: A. Dragona, *Oropos Diary* XXIII, 14, p. 123.

[709] A. Dragona, *Oropos Diary* XXIII, 14, p. 121, 123.

[710] *Ibid.*, 123.

[711] L. Kahil, who examined the scarab, suggested to A. Dragona that it looked like Egyptian (*Oropos Diary* XXIII, 14, p. 111). According to Dr. H. Whitehouse (letter of Febr. 4, 1995) the style is Egyptianizing rather than Egyptian. Professor G. Hölb (letter of July 14, 1995) also agrees that the scarab is either Egyptian or Asiatic in origin and has no connection whatsoever with the Aegean production. For a close parallel see E. Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, London 1907, pl. XVI, no. 36888 (19th Dynasty or later). I thank I. Lemos for forwarding the photograph of the scarab to these scholars.

[712] A. Dragona, *Oropos Diary* XXIII, 14, p. 113.

[713] *Ibid.*, 127.

[714] *Ibid.*, 127.

[715] In his letter Prof. Hölb underlines the fact that no such find has turned up in a domestic context in Greece.

shrine within the industrial quarter, though no final decision can be taken before the thorough study of the stratigraphy and material of the site.

The function of Building H is equally obscure, though it seems logical to assume that it served normal household uses. It is not clear whether the concentrations of burnt olive pits among patches of ashes indicates hearths or a destruction by fire. If the latter hypothesis proves to be correct, Building H could perhaps be identified as a storeroom for agricultural products, such as olives.

EUBOEA

A round (?) LG building at **Eretria** lies close to the shore (Fig. 108, Wall 4).[716] It was presumably entered from the E (diam. 3,75m). There has been no description of the edifice yet and so one can neither be sure that this was indeed a circular structure nor can its function be determined. A small circular hut or animal pen uncovered S of the oval house of **Xeropolis/Lefkandi** (Fig. 96, Structure no. 2) also belongs to the LG period (on the circular pavings, identified as silos, p. 122).[717]

ATTICA

Room III of the "Anaktoron" at **Lathouriza** (Fig. 149) is not free-standing and may have served as a place for storage (see p. 235 below). **Room IV**, too, appears to have been roughly circular (Fig. 142) or perhaps elliptical (Fig. 149) in plan.[718] The alleged circular cult building of the LG period from the same site, the "**Tholos**" (Figs. 141-148), was most probably built in the Archaic period on top of an hypaethral cult place. The "Tholos" (VIII) lies in the most prominent part of the settlement.[719] Its exterior diameter is 7,75m. The walls are 0,50-0,60m wide and are built in the pre-polygonal style. This is the only building of the settlement, with the exception of the small "suburban" temple discussed below (p. 144), in which this technique was used. Lauter and Seiler were not able to decide where the entrance was located,[720] but Stavropoullos mentions that it was situated at the SE, facing Room IV of the "Anaktoron".[721]

A stone socle, 0,75-0,50m wide, presumably the lower part of a bench, ran along the inner side of the foundation. The votives continued beneath the bench which was partly dismantled by the excavator.[722] Among the finds there were several seated figurines of the 6th c. B.C. which

[716] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1973/74 (A. Andreiomenou). Bibliography: A. Andreiomenou, *AΔ* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., 478; *id.*, *AE* (1975) 206 n. 4; *id.*, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 203-214.

[717] Excavations: British School, 1964-66 (M.R. Popham and L.H. Sackett). Bibliography: M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 17.

[718] Both D. Giro (in J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 458, fig. 575) and C.W. Eliot (unpublished rough plan of the architectural remains at Lathouriza, Febr. 1957, in J. Travlos' archives, now in the Greek Archaeological Society), drew a round building.

[719] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1939 (G. Oikonomos and Ph. Stavropoullos). Surveys and study of the architectural remains by the German Institute in 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1982 under the direction of H. Lauter. Bibliography: Ph. Stavropoullos, *Βάρη 1939*, pp. 132-144 (excavation diary, henceforth *Diary*); Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 43-50; F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 7-24; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 619-637; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 50; A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Λαθούριζα: Συμβολή στη μελέτη ενός οικισμού των πρώιμων ιστορικών χρόνων", in *Ε' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής, 5-8 Δεκεμβρίου 1991*, Paiania 1994, 237-244; *id.*, "Λαθούριζα: Μια αγροτική εγκατάσταση των πρώιμων ιστορικών χρόνων στη Βάρη Αττικής", in *Structures Rurales et Sociétés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Corfu, 14-16 mai 1992*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 65-80; *id.*, "New Evidence for the Study of the Late Geometric-Archaic Settlement at Lathouriza in Attica", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 146-153; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 195-197.

[720] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 47; F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 16. Seiler suggested that it may have been situated towards the S.

[721] *Diary*, 133. The entrance is also clearly marked on Stavropoullos' plans (*Diary*, plans A and B, pp. 133 and 135, respectively). He also states that "of the door, one of the parastades lies *in situ*, while the other fell and blocked the entrance".

[722] *Diary*, 136, 139, 143f. It may be a mere coincidence, but the same thing may have occurred in a sacred circular building (?) at Lakathela (Mila) in Messenia: see Th. Karageorgha, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 261f., plan 2 on p. 262. The excavator suggests that the edifice was erected in the Archaic period on top of an hypaethral cult area of the Geometric period. See also *infra* p. 323f.

presumably provide a *terminus post quem* for its construction. We can interpret in two ways this situation: either the bench represents an addition to the original building, or, the round edifice and the bench were established during the 6th c. B.C. upon an earlier hypaethral sanctuary. At first the former hypothesis appears more likely, but certain details lead me to adopt the latter.

Inside and in the E-NE half of the building, there was a huge semicircular *eschara*, filled with ashes and calcinated animal bones (Figs. 143-144, 147).[723] The W rectilinear side of the *eschara* was 2,90m long and its radius 1,80m. According to the excavator it is also constructed in the polygonal style and is preserved in places to a height of 0,65-0,70m. The orientation is such that the worshippers would have roughly faced the E, as in the case of altars. Its off-centre position may be explained by its unusual plan and the presumed axial position of one or two wooden posts which would have supported the roof.[724] The dimensions and the position of the *eschara*, anyway, do not allow the restoration of four internal supports, arranged in a square and pegged in rectangular blocks bearing a cavity in the middle, as Seiler did (Fig. 146).[725] Seiler mentions that the four bases were scattered in and around the "Tholos" (Fig. 145a-d).[726] Of these only two are mentioned in the diary and were discovered during the first days of the excavation, among the stones which covered the building.[727] Stavropoullos assumed that they belonged to the entrance of the building, but this seems rather unlikely.[728] The function of the bases is enigmatic, unless we assume that they belonged to a "tetrastylon" or to a *baldachin* which supported some light structure, a kind of canopy, surrounding the altar. The closest parallel for such a structure is from the area of the Peribolos of Apollo at Corinth and belongs to the 5th c. B.C.[729] This hypothesis acquires more credibility if one proceeds to a comparison with other sites, such as Didyma,[730] Kallipolis (Fig. 51),[731] or the Herakleion at Thasos.[732] In these places the structures, which consisted of free-standing bases for posts supporting a roof, date in the Archaic period. The monumental size of the *eschara* of Lathouriza and its altar-like orientation may even indicate that the original structure was identical or, more probably, that the *eschara* is the original altar which was subsequently incorporated inside the "Tholos". Indeed, judging by two photographs, the masonry is inferior to that of the "Tholos", both in quality and style.[733] Two of the original bases would have been maintained into their previous position and would have carried posts which supported the roof of the round building. This may also explain why

[723] *Diary*, 140, 141. See also F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 17-18, 22-23 and Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 48-50.

[724] Seiler (*op.cit.*, 15, fig. 10) reconstructs a conical roof, and Lauter (*op.cit.*, 47) favours the restoration of a flat one. The position of the hearth would lend some support to the first possibility, but since no roof tiles were reported, a flat roof cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, Fagerström regards the "Tholos" as "an open-air altar enclosure" [*GIAA* (1987) 50].

[725] Seiler, *op.cit.*, 12, fig. 7 at p. 13 (nos. a-d), 16-17, fig. 10 at p. 15; Lauter, *op.cit.*, 46, pl. 11b.

[726] Seiler, *op.cit.*, 12 ("Im Inneren des Rundbaus und in seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung").

[727] *Diary*, 133. Three of these blocks are still visible today inside the building.

[728] *Ibid.*

[729] R. Stillwell & H.E. Askew, *Corinth* I: ii, Cambridge Mass. 1941, 4-14, fig. 7 at p. 12: four square bases, arranged in a square, surround a semicircular altar. Concerning other "tetrastyla" see D.W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 359-375 and F. Cooper & S. Morris, "Dining in Round Buildings", in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 73 and n. 19. For a definition of the "tetrastylon" see also F.A. Cooper, "The Tetrastylon in Greek Architecture", *AJA* 92 (1988) 280. It is also interesting to note that the nature of the votive deposit led Stavropoullos to the hypothesis that the finds belong to a sacred bothros since very few were entirely preserved and they were in a way wedged between the stones and gravel.

[730] B. Fehr, "Zur Geschichte des Apollon-heiligtums von Didyma", *MarbWPr* (1971/72) 29-3; M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 97 (1993) 126 and F. Cooper & S. Morris, in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 69-71. The bases here were also associated with an EA round structure which had no roof, and was moved in front of the temple of Apollo during the Late Archaic period.

[731] P. Themelis, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 242; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 35, fig. 14 at p. 34.

[732] J. Des Courtils & A. Pariente, *BCH* 110 (1986) 806, figs. 28-29, pp. 808-809; *id.*, "Excavations at the Herakles Sanctuary at Thasos", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 121; *id.*, "Problèmes topographiques et religieux à l'Hérakleion de Thasos", in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 68f.

[733] A. Mazarakis Ainian, in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 150, figs. 11-12; *id.*, *Ε' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής*, Paiania 1994, 254, 254f., figs. 5-7.

only two out of the four bases were discovered among the debris inside the "Tholos".[734] It appears then that the circular plan and the position of the round building were dictated by the pre-existing semicircular *eschara*.

According to Stavropoullos, the material from the "Tholos" dates from the Late or SG period to the end of the Archaic period.[735] Judging by the photographs,[736] it seems that the wall of the round building partly rests on the outcrops of the natural rock, partly on an accumulation of earth. It is possible that when the "Tholos" was built the area was roughly levelled in order to establish the floor, which otherwise would have been extremely uneven.[737] Furthermore, round buildings like the one at Lathouriza, contrary to apsidal and oval ones, are exceptionally encountered as cult buildings in the Geometric period, or, do not offer themselves for comparison.[738] The earliest satisfactory parallels of the type of building encountered at Lathouriza belong to the end of the 6th c. B.C.[739] Despite the fact that it is the only building inside the settlement to present a polygonal masonry,[740] the German scholars consider the "Tholos" contemporary with the rest of the settlement.[741] However, Stavropoullos repeatedly characterises the Tholos "Archaic" despite the fact that he is conscious that the earliest finds date around 700 B.C.[742] Lauter, on the other hand, admits that its polygonal masonry and interior features cannot be compared with the remaining buildings of the site.[743] The only close parallel is the N wall of the small rectangular chapel to the N of the settlement, which is built in the polygonal style as well (Fig. 153).[744] Since the two other walls are built with less care, the N wall presumably represents a subsequent repair and may therefore be part of a larger architectural program during which the "Tholos" was also built. Based on these observations I have argued elsewhere that originally there would have been an altar in the open air (perhaps to be identified with the semicircular *eschara* contained within a square *baldachin*, subsequently incorporated inside the round building). According to Ph. Stavropoullos, the Archaic seated terracotta figurines appear to have been restricted to the upper layers and the earlier rounded types to the lower.[745]

Hundreds of offerings were collected in the interior of the round building, especially from the W-SW half. Among the finds there were hundreds of terracotta figurines, some of which bore fine painted decoration. Large and small seated female figures of the Archaic period prevailed (many were intact)[746] but there were also plank-like idols, protomes and figurines with rounded body and schematic arms.[747] Beside a cavity of the rock, enclosed by a stone-built (?) structure, four or five

[734] F. Seiler (*Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 15, fig. 10) reconstructs a conical roof, and Lauter [*Lathuresa* (1985) 47] favours the restoration of a flat roof. On the other hand, Fagerström thought that the structure was not roofed and wrongly suggested that the "Tholos" was an altar: *GIAA* (1988) 50.

[735] *Diary*, 132, 134 and 144. It is interesting to note that a silver ring bearing a carving of a running deer on the bezel, was Mycenaean: *Diary*, 139. See also Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 50-57 and Seiler, *op.it.*, 20-24.

[736] A. Mazarakis Ainian, *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 150, fig. 10; *id.*, *Ε' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής*, Paiania 1994, 254, figs. 3-4.

[737] This was the opinion of Stavropoullos who also considers the possibility that the "Tholos" was erected on top of an earlier sanctuary (informal notebook, 26/6/39).

[738] F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 6-7.

[739] *Ibid.*, 25-39; F. Cooper & S. Morris, in *Sympotika*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 66-85; W. Heider &A. Mallwitz, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* II, Berlin 1978, 44-47 and 38-40.

[740] *Diary*, 133.

[741] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 50-57 and Seiler, *op.cit.*, 7-24.

[742] *Diary*, 133 and 140.

[743] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 56.

[744] *Ibid.*, 57-63, esp. 58-59 and 62. Judging by the surface finds this shrine ceased to be visited sometime during the 5th c. B.C. See also C.W. Eliot, "Coastal Demes of Attika", *Phoenix* Suppl. 5 (1962) 41.

[745] *Diary*, 139. However, on p. 136 of the diary we are informed that some seated idols were also collected beneath the bench. The seated female figurines are very common in Attica during the Archaic period and it has been suggested that they may represent Athena, though the issue is much debated. See R. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, London 1967, 72 and B. Alroth, "Greek Gods and Figurines", *Boreas* 18 (1989) 48-54. Concerning the idols with the rounded body see *Diary*, 136.

[746] *Diary*, 134, 136. The sex of the figurines is not noted by Stavropoullos, with one exception though, but it can be identified on two photographs as being female.

[747] Stavropoullos, notes that those with the rounded body were the earliest: *Diary*, 134: "At the lowest layer -bedrock- countless figurines (round) are found". It would seem, however, that there was little stratigraphy since further on, in the same context, he mentions a few fragments of Archaic plates, which were discovered in contact with the natural rock (p. 136 and notebook, 26/6/39). Concerning some of the earliest figurines see F.

fragments belonging to a large female idol were collected.[748] There were also abundant metal offerings, especially of bronze, such as, pins and various kinds of fibulae, boat-shaped earrings, plain or decorated rings (some also of silver), jewels decorated with rosettes and iron objects (including one ring and nails). Peculiar miniature lead jewels probably adorned the head of terracotta figurines since they were scattered among them and one seemed to have been detached from a terracotta head.[749] The pottery consisted mainly of miniature one-handled vases, amphoriskoi, plates and single and multiple nozzle lamps. A few sherds indicate that the site was still visited in the late Classical period.[750] Scattered among the finds were calcinated animal bones and sea shells. Most of the finds appeared intentionally smashed and rarely entirely preserved, though a few were intact.[751]

Lauter and Seiler believed that the majority of the idols were male, but as mentioned above, the largest, as well as the seated types were certainly female, while the miniature jewels would have presumably adorned female figurines.[752] The nature of the cult (burnt offerings followed by ritual eating and drinking inside the "Tholos") and the location of the building (inside the assembly place of the small community) led the German scholars to the conclusion that we are probably in the presence of a heroic cult, perhaps devoted to the "Hero Ktistes" of the village.[753] I have argued elsewhere that the main reason for which a small community settled at Lathouriza, was the cultivation of the fertile plain of Vari. In that context, a sanctuary dedicated to a chthonian female divinity, such as Demeter, would have almost been a prerequisite. Moreover, it is likely that the sanctuary was visited by worshippers from the surrounding small agrarian communities and perhaps it soon developed into a significant cult centre of the region.[754]

In the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios on **Mount Hymettos** (Fig. 136) a small round building of hybrid character was found inside a depression of the peak (Building C, Fig. 138).[755] It measures *c.* 2,80m in diameter and was entered from the W through a sort of a porch. Inside, numerous small vases were piled in rows.[756] The exact date of this structure cannot be determined any longer, but it is argued later on (p. 143) that it may have been in use throughout the 8th c. B.C. The circular structure has been identified by M.K. Langdon with a stone-lined storage pit for votives. The circular plan was perhaps meant to be a symbolic imitation of a granary.[757]

ASIA MINOR

Partly subterranean granaries of the LG period have been found on the opposite coast of the Aegean as well, at **Old Smyrna** (Figs. 408, 410a, 411).[758] These differ from the granaries of Xeropolis for they are partly sunk into the earth. Both "Tholoi" (Tholos J in Trench H and the one in Trench B) were constructed in the LG period. The one in Trench B was repaired after the earthquake of *c.* 700

Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 21, fig. 11a-h.

[748] *Diary*, 136. The low wall seems to appear on a rough drawing, p. 133 (here Fig. 143).

[749] *Diary*, 134 and 136.

[750] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 52, no. l, concerning a single fragment of a plate of the late 4th c. B.C.

[751] *Diary*, 134. The intact clay objects specifically mentioned are several seated figurines (p. 136) and one lamp (p. 141).

[752] In the possession of illegal diggers were found fifty miniature utensils and figurines, all apparently male.

[753] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 48-50; F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 19-24.

[754] A. Mazarakis Ainian, in *Structures Rurales et Sociétés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Corfu, 14-16 mai 1992*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 65-80.

[755] Excavations: American School, 1923-24, 1939 (C.W. Blegen and R.S. Young). Bibliography: M.K. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) esp. 1, 51. See also R.S. Young, *AJA* 44 (1940) 5.

[756] This reminds us of the EG I votive deposit of the Academy of Athens: Ph. Stavropoullos, *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 8f., pl. 6; *Ἔργον* (1958) 9, fig. 5; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 347. See also *infra* p. 142.

[757] A. Mazarakis Ainian, in *Structures Rurales et Sociétés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Corfu, 14-16 mai 1992*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 65-73. The replica of a granary would symbolise successful crops thanks to the rain provided by Zeus.

[758] Excavations: British School, 1948-51 (J.M. Cook and R.V. Nicholls). Bibliography: E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, Berlin 1961, 13 and fig. 2 at p. 301; *id.*, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 28, fig. 18a, pls. 16-18a; R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) pl. 74; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 380, fig. 117; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 304 and fig. 96b at p. 305.

and remained in use until *c.* the middle of the 7th c. The restored drawing of the granary (Fig. 411) combines features of both "Tholoi".[759]

B. CIRCULAR BUILDING MODELS

Several clay models of granaries have been discovered in **Attic** graves.[760] Their dates range from *c.* the middle of the 9th c. to the Early Protoattic period. Five granary models surmount the lid of a small clay chest (Fig. 497). This unusual piece, dated in the end of the EG II period, may have had a symbolic significance: the chest could symbolise the dowry of the deceased lady; the five granaries may be taken as an indication that the deceased belonged to a wealthy class, later known as the *pentakosiomedimnoi*.[761] What makes these five silos even more interesting is that each has two slots at the base, in the front, as the actual granaries from Xeropolis/Lefkandi (*cf.* Fig. 98).

A clay model of three granaries, presumably dating in the LG period, was found in the votive deposit associated with the apsidal temple of Artemis at **Ano Mazaraki** (Fig. 498).[762] This is the first model of the kind from such a context: its symbolic significance is beyond any doubt since in this sanctuary Artemis was worshipped as a goddess of vegetation. The silos are unpainted, cylindrical in shape and the roof is conical (0,058m high, 0,04m in diameter). Around the base one observes a pattern formed by rectangular slots separated by vertical elements; the excavator suggests that these indicate that the granaries were lifted from the ground by means of vertical wooden posts. On one side of each model, approximately in the middle of the height, an almost rectangular opening is indicated, presumably windows. The roof is decorated with an incised zigzag pattern and stamped triangles. The model dates to the last quarter of the 8th c. B.C., since it was closely associated with EPC sherds.[763] A similar "twin" granary model, with incised decoration, was found at Phaleron.[764]

The circular clay models of **Crete** form a distinct group (Figs. 509, 511-513). The tradition of such models goes back to Minoan times, but their significance is not well understood, since no circular buildings dated in the EIA have been discovered yet in Crete.[765] Moreover, it is possible that this specific type of building model was transmitted to Cyprus from the 11th c. onwards.[766] C. Mavriyannaki,[767] R. Hägg[768] and R. Merserau[769] assembled the LM IIIA2-LG/Early Orientalizing

[759] Letters by Dr. Nicholls, March 23, 1986 and April 20, 1996. The Tholos in Trench B was provided during the 7th c. with a central post hole but in the 8th c., as suggested by the amounts of mud bricks which had fallen inside, the original structure "may have had a corbelled mudbrick dome (of Egyptian and Middle Eastern type), possibly with an external cone of thatch to protect it from the weather".

[760] E.L. Smithson, "The Tomb of a Rich Athenian Lady, c.a. 850 B.C.", *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 92-97 and n. 41 at p. 92; J.N. Coldstream, "The Rich Lady of the Areiopagos and her Contemporaries: A Tribute in Memory of Evelyn Lord Smithson", *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 391-403, esp. 395. Concerning the form of Geometric silos, with references to the Athenian clay models, see M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 88f. A small model, 0,06m high and 0,055m in diameter at the base was discovered by the author in 1995 at Nea Makri, in a tomb dated in the 8th c. B.C.

[761] E.L. Smithson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 94-97; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 379f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 55, 314; *id.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 395.

[762] M. Petropoulos, in *Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Καλαμάτα, 8-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1985*, Athens 1987/88 (*Πελοποννησιακά* 13, Παράρτημα) 88-90, pl. IA', fig. 9.

[763] *Ibid.*, 90.

[764] J.M. Padgett, in *From Pasture to Polis*, ed. M.K. Langdon, Columbia and London 1993, 72f., fig. 14.

[765] The few circular huts uncovered in Crete belong to much earlier periods: see K. Mavriyannaki, "Modellini fittili di costruzioni circolari della Creta minoica", *SMEA* 15 (1972) 165, n. 19; P. Belli, "Nuovi documenti per lo studio delle tombe circolari cretesi", *SMEA* 25 (1984) 128, n. 115. A PG circular structure lay over the ruins of a LM III room at the settlement of Chalasmeno, to the SW of Vronda and Kastro. In the beginning it was not clear whether the remains belonged to a circular or apsidal building, or to a tholos tomb [R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 65]; during the 1995 season (W. Coulson, public lecture on the work of the ASCSA for 1995, Athens, March 29, 1996) it was confirmed that this was a tholos tomb. On the site of Chalasmeno see D.C. Haggis & K. Nowicki, "Khalasmeno and Katalimata: Two Early Iron Age Settlements in Monastiraki, East Crete", *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 303-337, esp. 308-318.

[766] See V. Karageorghis, *BCH* 94 (1970) 27-33; *id.*, in *Ειλαπινή. Τόμος τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Ν. Πλάτωνα*, Herakleion 1987, 359-362.

[767] "Modellini fittili di costruzioni circolari della Creta minoica", *SMEA* 15 (1972) 161-170.

[768] "The Cretan Hut-Models", *OpAth* 18 (1990) 95-107.

[769] "Cretan Cylindrical Models", *AJA* 97 (1993) 1-47.

round Cretan models and concluded that they represent huts.[770] One is however perplexed by the fact that in a land like Crete, where houses were usually built of stone, no such hut, contemporary with the models has survived. Round silos existed in the Minoan palaces[771] but such structures do not occur during the post-Palatial period or in the EIA, at which periods the round models belong. On the other hand, circular tholos tombs existed both in Minoan and PG/Geometric times.[772] Indeed, Crete is one of the few regions of the Greek World where the habit of burying the deceased in tholos tombs persisted through the DA,[773] and it would now seem that the PG B model from Archanes (Fig. 512) was in fact found in such a tomb.[774] One could therefore assume that the round Cretan models were endowed with a religious significance of chthonian nature, perhaps symbolising successful crop growing and by extension rebirth.[775] Therefore, it should not surprise us that apart from the fact that such models were dedicated in sanctuaries[776] or deposited in tombs,[777] they were also kept at home.[778]

[770] K. Mavriyannaki, *SMEA* 15 (1972) 161-170, with the exception of the models of Knossos (*ibid.*, 164, 168, pl. V, here Figs. 511-512) which contain goddesses with upraised arms in the interior. R. Hägg, *OpAth* 18 (1990) 101f. suggests that the models of huts were part of the equipment of household shrines. R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 19f. ascribes a more symbolic meaning to the models.

[771] *Cf.* for instance F. Charpoutier, P. Demargne & A. Dessene, *Mallia* IV, Paris 1962, 17-19, pls. 21-22; D. Levi, *Festos e la civiltà Minoica*, Roma 1976, 349-358; A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* I, London 1921, 207f.; II, London 1928, 580; IV, London 1935, 61-66. In general see D.J.J. Begg, *Minoan Storerooms in the Late Bronze Age*, Ph.D. diss., Toronto 1977, 33-41; J.W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete*, Princeton 1962, 134f. There is a chronological gap between the actual granaries of the Minoan palaces and the LM III models.

[772] I. Pini, *Beiträge zur minoischen Gräberkunde*, Wiesbaden 1968, 4-7, 104-107; O. Pelon, *Tholoi, tumuli et cercles funéraires*, Paris 1976, 419-423; P. Belli, "Nuovi documenti per lo studio delle tombe circolari cretesi", *SMEA* 25 (1984) 91-142; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 208-210.

[773] P. Belli, "Tholoi nell'Egeo dal II al I millennio", in *Transizione* (1991) 425-450, esp. 439-449.

[774] J. Sakellarakis, "Αρχαιολογική έρευνα για μία αρχαιοκαπηλία το 1949 στην Κρήτη", in *Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν* 2, Athens 1987, 68-70.

[775] *Cf.* R.V. Nicholls, *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 703 and "Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity, c. 1200-700 B.C.", in *Auckland Classical Essays presented to E.M. Blaiklock*, ed. B.F. Harris, Auckland & Oxford 1970, 16f. who argues that these models should be regarded "as granaries actually containing grain as a symbol of rebirth after death". On the other hand, J. Boardman [*BSA* 62 (1967) 66 and *RDAC* (1971) 40f.] suggests that the PG B model from Archanes (Fig. 512) represents "perhaps the discovery of a tholos which was to be reused as a tomb, and which was taken for an underground shrine". J.N. Coldstream [*Deities in Aegean Art*, London 1977, 10 and "A Protogeometric Nature Goddess from Knossos", *BICS* 31 (1984) 93-104, esp. 100f.] interprets the two models which contain goddesses inside as the House of Hades in which dwells a vegetation goddess, such as Persephone, during the winter. More recently concerning the Giamalakis model see J. Sakellarakis, in *Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν* 2, Athens 1987, 37-70, esp. 68-70 and R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, "The Giamalakis Model from Archanes: Between the Minoan and Greek Worlds", in *Transizione* (1991) 301-308. All authors seem to agree that there is a connection of some sort between this model and the underworld, with the exception of Hägg and Marinatos (*op.cit.*, 305, 308) who assign a more "symbolic" meaning to this particular hut-urn.

[776] For instance the LM IIIC-SMin model from the "Spring Chamber" at Knossos [A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* II, London 1928, 128-134; K. Mavriyannaki, *SMEA* 15 (1972) 164; R. Hägg, *OpAth* 18 (1990) 106; R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 37-39, here Fig. 511] and the Geometric or Orientalizing models from Gortyna [Mavriyannaki, *op.cit.*, 165 and D. Levi, *ASAtene* 17/18 (1955/56) 270f.; R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 43-46]. *Cf.* also the 11th c. models from Cyprus: V. Karageorghis, *BCH* 94 (1970) 27-33.

[777] For instance the PG B model of Archanes, Fig. 512 [S. Alexiou, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 4 (1950) 445-462; 12 (1958) 277-281; J. Sakellarakis, in *Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν* 2, Athens 1987, 37-70, esp. 68-70; R. Hägg, *OpAth* 18 (1990) 104; R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, in *Transizione* (1991) 301-308; R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 39-42] and a LPG fragmentary model discovered in Tomb 219 no. 86 at Knossos [J.N. Coldstream, *BICS* 31 (1984) 103, n. 54 and *id.*, in *Knossos: North Cemetery*, pl. 207, in press].

[778] Karphi, seven LM IIIC-SMin/PG models [M.S. Seiradaki, "Pottery from Karphi", *BSA* 55 (1960) 27ff.; R. Hägg, *OpAth* 18 (1990) 105f.; R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 31-37, distribution in fig. 6 on p. 12], Phaistos [Fig. 513: MG-LG model discovered in Room R3: L. Rocchetti, "La ceramica del abitato geometrico di Festos a occidente del palazzo minoico", *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/75) 218f.; R. Hägg, *OpAth* 18 (1990) 106; R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 43] and Knossos [Fig. 509: fragmentary model from Deposit GB, no. 1 at the Unexplored Mansion, dated in the LPG period, i.e. 875-850 B.C.; J.N. Coldstream, in *Knossos. From Greek City to Roman Colony. Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion* II, ed. L.H. Sackett, London 1992 (*BSA* Suppl. 21) 68, 80, pl. 62. *Cf.* also *id.*, *BICS* 31 (1984) 103, n. 54]. In general concerning the context of circular models from Crete see R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 9-14, Table 1 on p. 22.

C. CIRCULAR PAVINGS

In various places, small round stone-built structures have been found. The majority appears to have been open to the sky, though in one place at least (Xeropolis/Lefkandi), it has been convincingly argued that the pavings represent the floor of roofed structures. R. Hägg argued several years ago that structures of this kind were often associated with chthonian cults, usually in connection with the cult of the dead, and especially with the veneration of ancestors.[779] However, some of these platforms doubtless served purely domestic functions. Therefore, one should be cautious when using these structures as evidence for cult practice.

At **Xeropolis/Lefkandi** there were three LG round platforms, which the excavators identify with silos (Figs 96, nos. 3-5, 98).[780] The two southern ones measure 2,20m in diameter, the northern one 1,60m. Two parallel slots running across these structures were interpreted as ventilation shafts below the wooden (?) floor. The fact that the periphery of the circular foundations was built of larger stones than the interior, indicates perhaps the existence of a superstructure of mud bricks. If the superstructure formed a low enclosure the structures could have been oil or wine presses; if one accepts that each was covered by a domed roof one could assume that they served as granaries (ovens are excluded for there were no signs of burning on their surface).

Three circular superimposed pavings, 1,70-1,80m in diameter, were found in the level of the third quarter of the 8th c. at **Mende** in Chalkidike[781] and have been compared with the circular structures of Xeropolis/Lefkandi. At **Halai**, similar platforms of the 7th c. B.C. are believed to be associated with domestic activities, perhaps for the manufacture of mud bricks.[782] Three similar pavings of domestic use (pithos stands) were uncovered along the E long wall of Unit IV-5 at **Nichoria** (p. 80, Figs. 267-269). In Trench B at **Old Smyrna**, a circular paving *c.* 2,00m in diameter dated in the beginning of the EG period, was found (Fig. 410a). This, unlike the structures at Xeropolis/Lefkandi, appears to have been a platform on which threshing or winnowing would have taken place.[783] Two further pavings, 1,40 and 1,20m in diameter were discovered in Trench H (Fig. 409, Square E1-2) and are regarded by Akurgal as presses of olives, grapes or other fruits.[784] In Crete no circular pavings dated in the EIA have been found.[785]

Comparable pavings, dated from the 10th c. to the 7th c. B.C., were perhaps used for cult purposes, almost exclusively in relation to hero or ancestral cults, and usually in connection with ritual meals.[786] Such pavings have been discovered at **Asine** (Figs. 231-232),[787] **Argos (Deiras)**,[788] **Mycenae**,[789] **Nichoria** (inside Unit IV-1, Fig. 259), **Grotta** (Fig. 333),[790] **Miletos** (sanctuary of

[779] *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-194. See also the critical discussion in Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 199-207.
[780] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 15f., 23, 24f.
[781] J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 4 (1990) 399f., figs. 2 and 4.
[782] E. French, *AR* (1992/93) 49f.
[783] R.V. Nicholls, letter of March 23, 1986: it "overlay pure Protogeometric but was probably itself of the start of Early Geometric".
[784] *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 34, fig. 15, 19: post-earthquake period. Two smaller pavings (less than 1,00m in diameter), dated in the third quarter of the 8th c., were uncovered in the same area, but they are identified as hearths by Akurgal (*ibid.*, 29, fig. 14, Squares D3 and E4).
[785] *Cf.* the round enigmatic platforms of the LM II-LM IIIA2 period which was discovered at Knossos [P. Warren, *AR* (1982/83) 66-69, fig. 19; *id.*, "Circular Platforms at Minoan Knossos", *BSA* 79 (1984) 307-323, fig. 1 at p. 308], which appear to have been dancing platforms.
[786] First identified as such by Hägg [*Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-194].
[787] Such pavings have been found in the Lower Town, in the Gogonas and Kapsorachis plots, as well as in the Karmaniola plot (above Building C), and date in the LG period: O. Frödin & A.W. Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938, 135f.; Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-194; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 18f.; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 199-201. The possible religious nature of the paving above Building C (Structure 74F) has been discussed above (p. 70. See also S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 34-36).
[788] D. Deshayes, *Argos. Les fouilles de la Deiras*, Paris 1966, 54f. The paving was found in the dromos of Tomb XIX and was associated with SG pottery and figurines.
[789] J. Papadimitriou, *ΠΑΕ* (1953) 207-209; G. Mylonas, *Ὁ Ταφικὸς Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών*, Athens 1973, 18; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 16f.; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 201: two LG/EO superimposed round platforms on top of a LH IIIA chamber tomb, immediately to the S of Grave Circle B, and nearby a wall also dated in the Geometric period. Diam. *c.* 2,00m, pr. height 030m.
[790] V. Lambrinoudakis & Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 299-304; (1984) 330-339; (1985) 166f.; *Ἔργον*

Athena, Fig. 416 and also above oval Building B, Fig. 420),[791] and **Troy** (Fig. 336).[792] Hägg has suggested that the round platform in the sanctuary of Athena at Miletos was associated with an ancestral cult, since it was built on top of a bastion of the Mycenaean fortification wall.[793] Antonaccio, however, expresses doubts concerning the alleged "chthonic" aspect of the pavings both at Troy and Miletos.[794] Concerning the former, she prefers to consider that they were connected with the nearby sanctuary (Blegen's Upper and Lower sanctuaries), where cult activities have been dated from *c.* 700 onwards.[795] Recently, LH IIIC or SMyc,[796] as well as PG sherds[797] were found nearby, in the area of a possible Archaic temple which lies beneath the porch of the so-called North Building. These sherds may simply indicate that the area was still inhabited in the PG period.[798] Likewise, circular structures of the same kind have been found in the sacrificial areas of well-known sanctuaries of Olympian divinities, such as at **Kalapodi** (Fig. 61, no. 4)[799] and **Samos** (Fig. 384). The discovery of an oval stone platform *c.* 3,00m in diameter in the NE part of the sanctuary of Apollo at **Eretria** is reported, but its function has not been discussed yet.[800] The function of the two pavings in the East Room of the "Heroön" at **Lefkandi** (p. 50, Fig. 85) is also uncertain.[801] The one in the SW corner has been compared with the similar platforms of religious nature, while the one in the SE may have served for the preparation of food.[802] Two small circular stone structures, four-five courses high and 0,80m in diameter were also found a few metres to the S of Megaron B at **Thermon**. (p. 131, Fig. 44).[803] Lastly, one cannot exclude that the circle of stones beneath Room δ' of the Sacred House at the **Academy** in Athens (p. 141, Fig. 132) was also a platform with an earth packing in the centre, but its chronology and function remain uncertain;[804] a comparison with a stone structure which encircled a pyre at **Grotta** (Fig. 331) seems more appropriate.[805]

CONCLUSIONS

It is interesting to observe that the geographical distribution of LG roofed round buildings is the same as that of contemporary oval buildings, i.e. they usually occur in two specific regions, Attica and Euboea on one side and the W coast of Asia Minor on the other (Map 6). Unless future excavations alter this picture one may tentatively assume that there was a close link between the two shapes in LG times. This does not necessarily mean that one shape derives from the other, but simply that these

(1984) 77-79; (1985) 61f.; V. Lambrinoudakis, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 238.-244.

[791] C. Weickert, "Neue Ausgrabungen in Milet", *Neue Deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderem Orient*, Berlin 1959, 190f.; A. Mallwitz, *IM* 9/10 (1959/60), 82-85; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 204. See also Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 191. It seems that 9th votives were included among the finds: Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 329.

[792] Twenty eight superimposed round platforms were found: C. Blegen, *Troy* IV, Princetion 1958, 274f., Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 202f. Hägg suggested that these were connected with an ancestral cult, due to the proximity of the fortification wall of Troy VI, and dated them from the 9th to the 7th c. B.C.: *Funerary Meals* (1983) 190f.

[793] *Funerary Meals* (1983) 191.

[794] *Ancestors* (1995) 199-207.

[795] *Ibid.*, 203

[796] M. Korfmann, *Studia Troica* 4 (1994) 3.

[797] C. Brian Rose, in *Studia Troica* 4 (1994) 86; M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 99 (1995) 243-245; C. Brian Rose, in *ibid.*, 344.

[798] It would now seem that the Troy VIIb lasted until *c.* 950 B.C., date of the foundation of the Greek "colony" (Troy VIII): see D. Hertel, *Studia Troica* 1 (1991) 131-144 who published the PG material from Schliemann's excavations. See also C. Podzuweit, in *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.*, ed. B. Hänsel, Berlin 1982, 65-88.

[799] R. Felsch, *AA* (1980) 50.

[800] S. Huber, *AntK* 37 (1994) 92.

[801] P. Calligas suggests ovens in *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 256.

[802] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 11.

[803] *Ἔργον* (1994) 47.

[804] Ph. Stavropoullos, *Αδ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 21; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1961) 8-10.

[805] V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 303f.

two building forms are technically related; the oval plan results from the elongation of the circular plan and the round plan derives from the shortening of an oval structure.

Circular buildings would have usually been covered with a domed roof and consequently were of modest proportions. Therefore, they served mainly for the storage of provisions (or of votive offerings in the case of the building of Hymettos) or perhaps as workshops (Oropos?). Oval buildings were more spacious and were preferred for domestic use and only occasionally for religious purposes, especially in contexts implicating a restricted number of worshippers. Little by little, with the progress of the technical capacities of the builders, it became possible to expand the diameter of round buildings so that they too could accommodate a large number of people. It is only then that circular buildings could serve communal functions.[806]

PART 6

RECTANGULAR BUILDINGS (FREE-STANDING AND AGGLUTINATIVE)

The typological survey of EIA rectangular buildings is a more complicated task than that of apsidal, oval and round structures. This is due to three facts. Firstly, rectangular edifices are much more numerous than those of curvilinear shape; secondly, buildings with four right angles can acquire various proportions ranging from an extremely elongated form to a square plan. Thirdly, rectangular plans can easily be combined together and form agglutinative units.

From the 9th c. B.C. onwards the number of cult buildings and temples starts to rise and by the middle of the 8th c., and especially in the years around 700, there is a profusion of temples and other sacred edifices all over the Greek World. The rectangular plan is well represented during this period.

NORTHERN GREECE

At **Kastanas** in Macedonia (Fig. 13) the central structures on the small island-hill at the river Axios (+14,00m from the surface of the water), may have been dwellings of members of the élite.[807] Strata 13, 12 and 11 of the late KV period belong to the LH IIIC period:[808] The houses during **phase 12** (Figs. 14-16) were built of mud bricks and wooden posts were set against the faces of the walls. One of the rooms (1) of the central and apparently most important unit of that phase measures internally 9,60 by 5,00m, and was furnished with a large circular hearth and a rectangular "podium" along the N long wall. This arrangement brings to ones mind the planning of the main room of the palatial megara in southern Greece. It is significant that the culture of this phase depicts a strong "Mycenaean" character and perhaps some Mycenaeans had moved to Kastanas following the widespread disruptions which struck southern Greece. The "communal" character of this unit is further suggested by the presence of several hearths in the adjoining N courtyard, which suggest perhaps preparation of food for several people.

The settlement of phase 12 was violently destroyed by fire, which was presumably due to human action, but it was soon reoccupied, probably by the same people. Strictly speaking, **phase 11** (Figs. 17-18) represents the last phase of the LBA settlement since it represents the period extending from the end of LH IIIC and the SMyc periods down to the early (?) PG period. Many ruined houses

[806] In general concerning the history of the round buildings see F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986; concerning the practice of ritual dining in such buildings see F.A. Cooper & S.P. Morris, "Dining in Round Buildings", in *Sympotika. A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 66-85.

[807] Excavations: German Institute, 1975-79 (B. Hänsel). Bibliography: B. Hänsel, *Kastanas. Die Grabung und der Baubefund (Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa* Band 7, Teil 1) Berlin 1989, esp. 208-259; *id.*, "Ergebnisse der Grabungen bei Kastanas in Zentral-Makedonien, 1975-1978", *JbZMusMainz* 26 (1979) 167-202.

[808] For phases 12 and 11 see B. Hänsel, *Kastanas*, Band 7, Teil 1, Berlin 1989, 171-208.

of phase 12 were partly repaired and with the addition of walls, reused. Only the central building (**"Zentralhaus"**) is a completely new structure. It consists of at least three rooms. As in the previous phase, posts were set against the inner face of the walls, and were sometimes incorporated inside the mud brick walls. The estimated interior dimensions of the central chamber (Room 2) are 8,40 by 4,80m. In the northern part of this room there was again an unusually large hearth. A violent destruction by fire occurred at the end of this phase, but it seems that the inhabitants had sufficient time to save their more useful possessions.

Period KVI includes **layers 10 and 9** (Figs. 19-22) which belong to the PG and Geometric periods, respectively (10th-8th c. B.C.). There were houses centrally built along the longitudinal axis of the hill and a series of rooms set against the peripheral circuit wall (Fig. 13). The architecture of Layer 10 is characterised by the totally new arrangement of the new buildings which were small light structures of wood and branches woven together and coated with mud (Figs. 19-20). The settlement of the hill was now surrounded by a mud brick fortification wall (the gate was at the E), against the interior face of which there were houses (previously, the peripheral arrangement of the houses provided a rudimentary line of defence, as at Lathouriza in Attica).[809] The central house of the settlement, which was built in the same place as the "Zentralhaus" of the previous phase, was well preserved and contained a very large hearth and numerous finds, including fine wares, loom weights, braziers and a millstone. Opposite the hearth, but separated by a free-standing bench of mud bricks there was also a large oval pit coated with clay which appears to have been a drying bed for grain. This edifice stands out regarding the neighbouring houses and therefore may have been the ruler's house.[810] This phase of the settlement covers the PG period until the beginning of the Geometric period. The pottery of this period is local and very few contacts with southern Greece are observed. Layer 9 continues the architectural tradition of the previous phase (Figs. 21-22). The layer belongs to the Geometric period. The abandonment was due to a fire.[811]

Period KVII (layers 8-5) represents the Geometric and Archaic periods. The settlement of **phase 8** (Figs. 23-25) belongs to the 8th c. B.C.[812] Large units, consisting of clusters of up to 12 (!) rooms were now built (*cf.* "Mittleres Grosshaus") but since most rooms open only on the outside, it follows that several people dwelt under the same roof. It has been suggested that during this period, Kastanas was a military fortress, dependent from Axiochori, which was the largest settlement in the area, which could perhaps be associated with the seat of the Paeonians (see below p. 252). It may be interesting to note that in one room of the "Südliche Grosshaus" (Room 2) there was a stone podium, coated with clay and next to it was found a bowl which contained the bones of an owl, which had been violently decapitated. The excavator has suggested that this may be an instance of household ritual ("Black Magic"), and that the find may even betray a link with Athena.[813] The settlement of phase 8 was destroyed by an earthquake, but subsequently reoccupied, down to the 2nd c. B.C.

NORTHWEST GREECE

The questions of the date of construction and function of **Megaron B** at **Thermon** (Figs. 40ff.) are obscure. From the moment of its discovery, this building attracted the attention of those scholars dealing with the origins of the Greek temple.[814] The preliminary reports published by the two Greek

[809] *Ibid.*, 212-214.

[810] *Ibid.*, 216-220, 222. The main room measured 8,00 by 3,00m, and it seems that it may have been provided with an apse at the W side, though this side may have been also staight, and this is how it was restored: *ibid.*, fig. 87 at p. 211.

[811] *Ibid.*, 223-232.

[812] *Ibid.*, 232-259.

[813] *Ibid.*, 256.

[814] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1898-1908 (G. Soteriades); 1912-14, 1921, 1924, 1931-32 (K. Rhomaios); 1992- (J. Papapostolou). Bibliography: Excavation reports: G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 171-212; (1903) 75; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 136-139; *id.*, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909; G. Kawerwau & G. Soteriades, *Antike Denkmäller* 2 (1902/08) 3f.; K. Rhomaios, "Εκ του προϊστορικού Θέρμου", *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 225-279; 2 (1916) 179-185; 6 (1920/21) 168; 9 (1924/25) Παράρτημα, 4; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1931) 64; (1932) 55; J. Papapostolou, "Ζητήματα των Μεγάρων Α και Β του Θέρμου", *AE* (1990) 191-200; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 88-128; *Έργον* (1992) 44-52; (1993) 44-56; (1994) 43-49; (1995) 36-42. Other basic

excavators are vague and contain numerous controversial facts; this situation provoked many debates among scholars, which even today still continue.

In 1898, G. Soteriades uncovered the ruins of a Hellenistic temple (Fig. 41), whose plan presented many affinities with the temples of the Archaic period (henceforth, Temple C). He suggested that the actual ruins of Temple C represented a faithful reconstruction of an earlier, Archaic, temple, totally destroyed, with the notable exception of certain elements of its roof and the famous painted metopes.[815] Since the latter belong stylistically to the years between 630 and 610 B.C., Temple C's predecessor must have been built during the same period. Below the floor level of Temple C, as well as beyond its limits, Soteriades observed a layer of black earth, mixed with ashes and animal bones, which looked to him like a fill.[816] This fill, which he identified with the deposits formed by an ash altar, included pottery decorated with Geometric designs, and LG-EA bronze votive offerings.[817] Slightly lower than the black fill, Soteriades found numerous huge pithoi, which were also filled with ashes and animal bones.[818] Inside and below Temple C he partly uncovered a rectangular building, Megaron B, which he dated in the 7th c. or perhaps in the 8th c. B.C.[819] One of

studies: J.A. Bundgaard, "A propos de la date de la péristasis du Mégaron B à Thermos", *BCH* 70 (1946) 51-57; H. Drerup, "Zu Thermos B", *MarbWPr* (1963) 1-12; K.A. Wardle, *The Greek Bronze Age West of the Pindus*, Ph.D. diss., London 1972, 52-92; *id.*, "Cultural Groups of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in North-West Greece", *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 153-199; B. Schmaltz, "Bemerkungen zu Thermos B", *AA* (1980) 318-336; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 601-604, 621-624; *id.*, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 81-96; B. Wesenberg, "Thermos B1", *AA* (1982) 149-157; G. Kuhn, "Bau B und Tempel C in Thermos", *AM* 108 (1993) 29-47. See also C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg 1929, 7-10; S. Benton, *BSA* 32 (1932) 238f.; A. Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm 1941, 49; D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1945[3], 51-53; W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 42; H. Drerup, "Griechische Architektur zur Zeit Homers", *AA* (1964) 187-195; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 14-17; A.D. Brockmann, *Die griechische Ante*, Marburg 1968, 23, 148; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 240; R.F. Rossi, *Studi sull'Etolia* I, Trieste 1970, 19-34; Ph. Petsas, *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 296; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 409f.; *id.*, *AG* (1980) 59; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 89f.; A. de Franciscis, *Considerazioni sull'architettura greca arcaica*, Napoli 1973, 45-48; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 12f.; J.A. Bundgaard, *Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights*, Copenhagen 1976, 19, n. 370 & 371; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 47-50; G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen*, München 1976[2], 33; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 324; I. Kilian-Dirmleir, *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* 11, 2 (1979) see index "Thermon"; R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I: *The Mainland and the Islands*, *SIMA* 52 (1979) 104; R. Martin, in *Architecture de l'antiquité*, ed. S. Lloyd, W. Muller & R. Martin, Paris 1980, 223; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 52f.; H. Knell, *Grundzüge der griechischen Architektur*, Darmstadt 1980, 20; A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, ed. R.A. Tomlinson, Harmondsworth 1983[4], 120; C. Rolley, "Un dieu Syrien à Thermos", *BCH* 108 (1984) 669f.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 782f.; A. Papageorgiou, *Καθημερινή*, July 14/15 & 18, 1985; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 56; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 12-14, 43, 45; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 759-779; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 115; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 41f.; J.J. Coulton, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 63-65; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 112, n. 93; J. Papapostolou, "Η ανασκαφή του Θέρμου (1897- 1987)", in *Πρακτικά Α' Αρχαιολογικού και Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, Αγρίνιο 21-23 Οκτ. 1988*, Agrinio 1991, 139-143.

[815] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 181f., 187; (1903) 74, n. 1: "ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τούτου" (i.e. the predecessor of Temple C) "δέν σώζεται σχεδόν οὐδείς λίθινος τοίχος ἤ λίθινος στυλοβάτης ἤ οἱονδήποτε λίθινον ἀρχιτεκτονικόν μέλος. Τό πολύ βάσεις τινές τοῦ νῦν δυτικοῦ στυλοβάτου δύνανται νά θεωρηθῶσιν ὡς αἱ βάσεις τῶν ξύλινων κιόνων τοῦ ναοῦ ἐκείνου"; and further on: "λίθου ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμία ἄλλη χρήσις ἔγινεν εἴ μή μόνον διά τάς βάσεις τῶν ξύλινων κιόνων".

[816] In *AE* (1900) 176-179 Soteriades mentions that in places this layer reached the virgin soil. In a later report, however, he corrects his statement and mentions that the black layer was *c.* 0,30m thick [*AE* (1903) 75, n. 1]. Rhomaios claimed that his colleague had not made this observation: *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 227. Soteriades' error was that he dated all the levels, down to stereo, in the EIA. Concerning his impression that the "black" earth was a fill, see *AE* (1900) 176: "ἐκ χυτῶν ἤτοι φερτῶν χωμάτων" and 179, n. 2.

[817] *AE* (1900) 178; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 136.

[818] It is today difficult to establish the exact date of these pithoi [though now see J. Papapostolou, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 99-102]. According to Soteriades [*AE* (1900) 177 and figs. 2-3], they were lying "ὑπό τό ... στρῶμα τοῦ σπιθαμιαίου τό πάχος μίγματος τῆς τέφρας καί τῶν ὀστῶν". Rhomaios [*ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 228, 242] believed that the pithoi W of Temple C's stylobate were contemporary to the prehistoric house (α7) in which they had been found (Fig. 44). However, one of them interrupts the continuity of the wall, proving that they were placed there when α7 and presumably the Bronze Age settlement as a whole, were in ruins. The fact that all but one were full of ashes and animal bones indicates that they might be roughly contemporary with the installation of the cult.

[819] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 188f.; *id.*, *AE* (1903) 74, n. 1; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 136-138.

the most important results of the first seasons of excavation was the discovery of 18 flat stones forming an apse around the N, E and W sides of the building. Soteriades insisted on the fact that these stone bases were set upon the layer of ash and bone and therefore (in his opinion) could not possibly be related to Megaron B.[820] He finally concluded that they served as bases for wooden posts of an open-air temenos.[821]

To the NW of Temple C he partly revealed the foundations of a large apsidal building, later known as Megaron A (Fig. 40). He believed that it was a heroön, for he claimed to have found in the apsidal compartment two cremation burials, one of a child, the other of a woman.[822] Associated with the burials was a kyathos (Fig. 49).[823] In the central compartment, next to the apsidal end, there were numerous small pithoi and amphorae, placed upside down and filled with ashes and animal bones. The sherds collected inside Megaron A were qualified as "Geometric".[824]

The investigations at Thermon were taken over by K. Rhomaios in 1912. It was only then established that Megaron B was facing S and that it measured 21,40m in length and 7,30m in width (Fig. 44, which, however is the state plan after the recent excavations by J. Papapostolou). The interior was divided into three rooms. The doorway was presumably located in the middle of the front wall. In the junction of this wall and the extremity of the E wall there was a gap, 0,15m wide, in which would have been placed a wooden parastade.[825] It is significant that the same technique is encountered in Megaron A's facade, suggesting that the two buildings were either contemporary or that they coexisted at a certain period. It was observed that the rear wall, as well as the two long walls of Megaron B presented a slight convex curve. The walls were preserved in places to a height of 0,90m. Their width is 0,55m and as in almost all the Bronze Age buildings at Thermon, they present a slight inclination towards the interior.

Rhomaios executed two soundings below the E wall of Temple C's cella, in order to find layers which had not been disturbed by the excavations of his predecessor (Fig. 44, sections ε-ε and ζ-η). The two common features in both sections is the pavement of slabs, which he identified with the initial floor level of the building and the upper layer of earth, mixed with ashes and animal bones, which, as both excavators observed, extended over the entire area beneath and around Temple C. There are however difficulties in interpreting the remaining layers, for they are not the same in the N and S section. The S sounding (εε, Fig. 43) was made in direct contact with the S extremity of the E long wall of the building: over the pavement, there was a thick fill (?) of earth and stones, then a layer of burnt clay, *c.* 0,04-0,05m thick (presumably a clay floor) and finally the ash and bone fill. In the N section, which depicts the layers which Rhomaios encountered in the centre of the main room, the picture was different (ζ-η, Fig. 42): over the pavement there was a layer of burnt clay, *c.* 0,10m thick, then a layer of ash and bone, a layer of burnt clay, once again, and finally the usual LG-EA fill of ashes and animal bones. Rhomaios interpreted the alternation of ash and clay levels as proof in favour of the practice of sacrifices inside the building. Since the upper stratum of ash and bone extended outside the limits of Megaron B, he assumed that during the last period of use of the building, sacrifices were taking place in the exterior as well. He admitted however, that there was no layer of burnt clay outside the building.[826]

In the left hand side of the N section, Rhomaios drew a stone base, "θ" which he named: "Βάσις κίονος τῆς ἐλλειπτικῆς κιονοστοιχίας". This base was not discussed in the text which corresponds to the illustration. Logically, one would expect to find that base on the right hand side of

[820] *AE* (1900) 179, n. 2: "Αἱ βάσεις αὗται κεῖνται ἐπί φερτῶν χωμάτων", i.e. on the LG-EA fill, and *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 138: the bases "ἐπικάθηνται ἐπί τοῦ γεωμετρικοῦ ... στρώματος καί ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τέφρας τοῦ βωμοῦ". See also G. Soteriades, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 30.

[821] *Ibid.*, 30f. In *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 138 he claimed that the slabs belonged to a hut or fence of "barbarian times".

[822] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 180f.; *id.*, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 19.

[823] *Id.*, *AE* (1900) 181, n. 1. It may be that this vase is the one illustrated in *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 265, fig. 31β. K.A. Wardle [*Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 164 and fig. 8, no. 335 at p. 173] includes it in his discussion of the local "Geometric" pottery, which ware, according to him "almost certainly had an Iron Age context".

[824] G. Soteriades, *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 136; *id.*, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 19.

[825] Rhomaios speaks of the SE corner only. H. Koch, *AA* (1913) 99, however, mentions that there was a similar arrangement in the SW corner.

[826] *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 247. This is understandable since this thin layer of burnt clay is today definitely identified with the interior floor of Megaron B (see below).

the sketch, i.e. E of the building's long wall. It seems that Rhomaios chose to place it there in order to show its stratigraphical relation to the layers encountered in the interior of the edifice. After all, this was only a rough sketch. Further on in his report he mentions the discovery of an additional stone base in front of the E anta of Megaron B, resting on the pavement which also extended in front of the building.[827] He also mentions that this base was at approximately the same level as the bases of the "apsidal peristyle" and suggests that there was a row of columns in the facade as well. However, there is an inconsistency between the text and the sketch of the N section, where the upper surface of base "θ" is *c.* 0,76m higher than the pavement. J.A. Bundgaard, in his effort to find a suitable explanation for this problem suggested that Rhomaios made a mistake and instead of drawing the base of the "apsidal peristyle", drew one of the bases of the axial colonnade of Temple C.[828] According to the same scholar, we should accept the text and acknowledge that the slabs were at the level of the pavement. This, as we will see further on, is quite impossible, for it is today ascertained that the bases of the "apsidal peristyle" rested upon (and partly within) the LG fill, as indeed claimed by Soteriades. As for the "base" in front of the E anta, H. Drerup argued that it was a bothros (*cf.* Fig. 44), for it was surrounded by a circle of stones, leaving a hole in the centre, *c.* 0,45m deep, which was full of sherds and animal bones.[829]

Rhomaios observed that the LG-EA bronze votive offerings (*cf.* Fig. 50) were contained in the upper layer of ash and bone, which was *c.* 0,20-0,30m thick. Unlike Soteriades, he was convinced that this layer had been formed gradually by the practice of sacrifices within and outside the building.[830] Since all the buildings at Thermon (with the exception of Temple C) are founded much deeper than this layer, Rhomaios dated them in the LBA.[831] As for Megaron B, he dated it "considerably later than Megaron A", for it is built *c.* 0,40m higher than the latter.[832] He was convinced however that it existed until the Geometric period, when from a chieftain's dwelling it would have been transformed into a peripteral temple.[833]

In 1963, H. Drerup came up with some new theories, which were later on adopted by several scholars.[834] He suggested that the pavement belonged to an hypaethral cult area which preceded the erection of Megaron B. Megaron B was built at a later period and was provided with foundations which reached the level of the old pavement. The floor of the building was at the level of the second layer of clay (N and S sections) and was gradually rising, due to the accumulation of deposits from sacrifices practised inside and outside the building.[835]

According to Drerup, the slabs of the so-called apsidal peristyle were contemporary with the megaron but their purpose was to serve as bases for oblique posts which supported the pressure of the pitched roof. Such a technique is compatible with walls which incline towards the interior, as is the case of Megaron B. The main argument against Drerup's slanting-posts theory, as B. Schmaltz correctly pointed out, is that one would expect inclining posts to be sunk into the earth and not to rest on horizontal slabs.[836]

Drerup dated Megaron B in the PG period, which in this remote region could imply a 9th c. dating.[837] He relied on the three small sherds published in *AΔ* 1 (1915) 265, fig. 31, γ, δ, ε. These

[827] *Ibid.*, 248.
[828] *BCH* 70 (1946) 53f.
[829] *MarbWPr* (1963) 6-7.
[830] Doubts expressed by B. Schmaltz, *AA* (1980) 330.
[831] At first, in the beginning of the Mycenaean period [*AΔ* 1 (1915) 250], afterwards, to the end of the same period [*AΔ* 2 (1916) 184f.]. These dates were later revised by A. Furumark (*The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm 1941, 49).
[832] *AΔ* 1 (1915) 250, 276.
[833] His only argument in favour of the theory that the peristyle was an addition to the original plan was that the bases were set on the pavement, a strange argument indeed [*AΔ* 1 (1915) 249].
[834] *MarbWPr* (1963) 1-12 and *Baukunst* (1969) 14-17.
[835] Following the recent excavations at Thermon, these suggestions are now partly confirmed (see below).
[836] *AA* (1980) 329. Indeed, oblique posts would have easily slipped off the horizontal bases. Moreover, this technique is unknown in Greek lands: see Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 601-604.
[837] H. Drerup, *MarbWPr* (1963) 4. See also Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 109, who notes that even if the EIA pottery from Thermon is genuine PG, this would not necessarily mean that it dates earlier than *c.* 800 B.C. For a different opinion, see K.A. Wardle, *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 164.

pieces were collected from the interior of Megaron B (from the upper and lower layers), but though they seem to belong to the EIA, they are of little help in establishing the exact date of the building.[838]

B. Schmaltz, in a study published in 1981 and with the aid of old and unpublished photographs taken by W. Dörpfeld during a visit at Thermon reactivated the debate, which had practically ceased after Drerup's studies.[839] The new photographs constitute firm proof that Soteriades' claim that the bases of the "apsidal peristyle" were set on top of the LG fill was correct. According to Schmaltz, the so-called pavement was a simple band of slabs running along the inner face of the building's walls whose function was to stabilise the terrain. To demonstrate this theory, Schmaltz used Rhomaios' N section where no slabs appear beneath the successive layers of clay and ash. To this, he added the fact that nowhere in the text does the Greek scholar mention the pavement, with the sole exception of his description of the two sections. Moreover, Soteriades who had excavated the entire area beneath the temple to the virgin soil did not mention the presence of a pavement. The fact that the layers in the S section abut at the inner face of the building's E wall proves that it did not serve as a foundation.[840] Concerning the inclination of the walls, Schmaltz believes that it was not intentional but was instead due to the pressure of the fill and the overlying monumental temple. He also argues that the stone bases of the peristyle were added during a second building phase and served to support vertical posts. Moreover, he expresses doubts concerning the practice of sacrifices inside the building. Instead, he interprets the different layers encountered by Rhomaios as the result of successive natural disasters, such as inundation of the front room during a storm, successive fires etc. Megaron B according to the German scholar was constructed in the 8th c. and would have served as a temple from the very beginning. He rejects Drerup's theory according to whom the building served a community of men practising sacrifices and ritual meals.

A few months later, in an article dealing with the architecture of the 8th and 7th c. B.C., A. Mallwitz exposed his personal view on the question.[841] He argued that the walls of Megaron B could not have been foundations (*cf.* however below). Therefore, the building is earlier than the "apsidal peristyle" and apparently contemporary or slightly later than Megaron A, generally dated in the early Mycenaean period. The problem consists in determining whether Megaron B lasted into the EIA. Mallwitz's opinion is that it did not, for the scattered pithoi would suggest that the building was no longer of any importance and that apparently it lay in ruins.[842] By analogy to the neighbouring sanctuary at Kallipolis (Fig. 51), he maintained that the slabs of the so-called "peristyle" were bases for posts which formed an open-air temenos.[843]

In the following year, B. Wesenberg presented his personal theory.[844] Thanks to photographs which he took in 1968 during a visit to the site, the German scholar affirms once more that the so-called "peristyle" was set upon the LG fill. He suggests that these bases were incorporated in a mud brick wall and supported timbers which helped to strengthen them. In that case, one should reconstruct a monumental apsidal building, at least *c.* 30,00m long and 11,60m wide (Fig. 48). Since the bases are placed according to Wesenberg halfway inside the LG layer, the temple should be dated in the 8th c.[845]

J. Coulton fairly recently made an intriguing remark concerning the peristasis of Megaron B.[846] Assuming that the bases were an addition to the original building, one has to ask why a

[838] On the other hand, Ph. Petsas dated these sherds between the 14th and 12th c. B.C.: *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 296.
[839] *AA* (1980) 318-336.
[840] All the above appear to be wrong assumptions after the new investigations by J. Papapostolou (see below).
[841] *Architektur* (1981) 601-604, 621-624; *id.*, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 81-96.
[842] Mallwitz bases his theory on the fact that two bases of the "peristyle" were removed when a pithos was placed there. This, however, could well be a mere coincidence, for slabs are also missing in places where no pithoi were found.
[843] Therefore, Mallwitz returns to Soteriades' theory [*Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 30f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1906) 138] and also H. Bulle, *Orchomenos* I, *AbhMünch* 24 (1907) 50, n. 2; A. von Gerkan, *JdI* 63 (1948) 6; *Von antiker Architektur und Topographie*, Berlin 1959, 385.
[844] *AA* (1982) 149-157.
[845] It is however puzzling that there was absolutely no evidence of the bases of the axial colonnade, which would have been necessary to support the roof.
[846] *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 63-65

horseshoe peristasis was applied to a rectangular building. The answer could be that if the roof at the N end was gabled, it would have been easier and more safe for the architects to add a veranda which would have been roofed like a half-cone radiating from the pre-existing gable top (Fig. 47a-c).

Most recently, G. Kuhn argued that the bases of the so-called "peristasis" represent traces left from a paving which was laid after the destruction of Megaron B and before the construction of Temple C.[847]

There was little hope of clarifying the obscure situation at Thermon unless the site was re-excavated. Hopefully, from 1992 onwards J. Papapostolou started digging beneath the foundations of Temple C in order to clarify the questions concerning the date and architectural features of the underlying buildings, especially Megaron B.[848] The new investigations are still in progress but some clarifying preliminary details have been published (Fig. 44):

The small section of wall near the N extremity of the W wall of Megaron B, regarded as the cross wall separating the rear compartment from the main room of the megaron (Wall II), apparently belongs to an earlier prehistoric edifice and cannot be associated with Megaron B.[849] Walls I and II are also prehistoric and could perhaps be associated with House α7.[850] The longer eastern segment of the same cross wall (β1) does not bond with the E long wall of the building and rests upon a thin layer of clay which may be part of the floor observed in various places inside the building.[851] It seems that this wall represents an addition to the original structure.[852] On the other hand, 1,20m S of this wall the beginning of another cross wall (β2), previously undetected, was found.[853] Beneath the back wall of the cella of Temple C a N-S wall or base was detected. Stratigraphical observations allow to suggest that this feature was added during a second building period and would have subdivided the rear compartment into two compartments of unequal dimensions.[854] The long E wall is 21,0m long. The anta with the gap, 0,15m wide, in which would have been placed a wooden parastade was not found.[855] The E wall of the facade is today preserved to a length of 2,10m but appears to represent two building periods since it consists of two sections of different construction, each of which rests upon a different layer.[856] The N wall is *c.* 7,50m long and it is perfectly straight, as the two long walls, i.e., it is a normal rectangular building, without convex sides.[857] The W wall has been uncovered to a length of 8,20m.[858] In the interior NW corner a post hole (?) was observed.[859] Two retaining (?) walls parallel to the E and N walls of the edifice were also uncovered.[860] Stone slabs belonging to a paving were found inside the building in various places (especially in the SE corner of the front room), as well as to the outside of the two long walls and also to the S of the facade (depth -1,23/-1,45). This pavement lies beneath the walls of Megaron B and therefore was laid before the construction of Megaron B. It has not been established yet, however, whether the paving was reused as the first floor of Megaron B.[861] The pithos that Soteriades had found near the interior face of the W

[847] *AM* 108 (1993) 29-47.

[848] J. Papapostolou, *Έργον* (1992) 44-52; (1993) 44-56; (1994) 43-49; (1995) 36-42. The first detailed report in *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 88-128 appeared too late to be discussed in detail in this study.

[849] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 97f.; *Έργον* (1992) 45, fig. 54.

[850] *Ibid.*

[851] *Έργον* (1992) 49, fig. 59; *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 119.

[852] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 112, 114. The northern extremity of the E wall (α) and the eastern of the back wall (β) were also repaired at that time: *ibid.*, 119.

[853] *Έργον* (1992) 49, fig. 59.

[854] *Ibid.*, 51, fig. 61; *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 104, 116.

[855] *Έργον* (1993) 46. However, in my opinion, Rhomaios' detailed description could not have been pure fantasy; it is more likely that the upright slabs shifted from their position when the excavation was backfilled.

[856] *Ibid.*, 46, figs. 56-58.

[857] *Έργον* (1992) 48f.; *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 121f. Portions of the side walls have an inclination towards the interior which is due either to pressure from above or to earthquake action.

[858] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 114.

[859] *Ibid.*, 115f.

[860] *Έργον* (1992) 51f., figs. 57 & 62.

[861] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 124; *Έργον* (1992) 51, figs. 60, 54, 58; *Έργον* (1993) 46-48; (1994) 44. However, in *Έργον* (1992) 51 Papapostolou argued that the paving belonged to the period of construction of Megaron B and was covered by the destruction layer of the megaron. In 1994, the question whether the paving served also as the lower floor of the edifice was left open: *Έργον* (1994) 44.

wall of the building was rediscovered and it was established that it rests at the prehistoric level but that it continued to be used when Megaron B was built, and the area around the lip and shoulder was packed with stones at that time.[862] Lastly, according to Papapostolou, the so-called peristyle is beyond any doubt later than Megaron B and presumably represents an intermediate phase between Megaron B and Temple C.[863] In fact, the upper layer of ashes and bones in which the bases had been partly sunk, extends over the preserved surface of the walls of Megaron B. Therefore, the bases belong to an intermediate phase between the destruction of Megaron B and the construction of Temple C.[864]

By observing Rhomaios' section ε-ε (Fig. 43), Papapostolou tentatively suggested that the lower layer of earth and stones which covered the paving was in fact a fill in which was cut the foundation trench for the construction of the E wall of Megaron B.[865] Therefore, the original floor of the building could have been the thin clay layer seen on Rhomaios' section (Δ in section εε).[866] The lower ash layer of Rhomaios' northern section (Fig. 42) is presumably earlier than the construction of Megaron B. If these remarks turn out to be correct, then it will be proven that Soteriades and Drerup were right in suggesting that there was an altar in the open air and a paving which predated the construction of Megaron B.[867]

Beneath the SE corner of the cella wall of Temple C, i.e. to the S-SE outside Megaron B and immediately on top of the paving, Papapostolou investigating a mound of earth mixed with ashes and animal bones, *c.* 0,60m high, in which a stone triangular slab was set in an upright position. Near the plaque were found three iron spearheads and a knife in the shape of a sickle. Immediately to the N of the mound there was a pit 0,30 X 0,17 X 0,15m bordered by an arc of stones. Inside the pit was found ash, burnt matter and an iron knife. The peculiar bothros-like structure that Rhomaios had found was also investigated and it was proven that it was not visible during the period of use of Megaron B.[868] On the other hand, two additional sacrificial (?) pits were discovered to the SE, in front of Megaron B, near the mound with the triangular slab.[869] One of them contained black earth, carbonised wood and a fragment of an EIA jug with geometric decoration;[870] the excavator suggests that there stood an upright post here and compares the structure with a passage of the Iliad (XXIII, 237-331). The other pit further S was bordered at the N and E sides by two slabs and was also filled with black earth which contained an iron spearhead, a few sherds and some animal bones.[871] Next to these pits two roughly circular stone structures, *c.* 0,80m in diameter were found. These were built of four to five courses of flat stones.[872] Lastly, in this context one should mention that Soteriades appears to have excavated a cremation burial to the W of the stylobate of Temple C (i.e. in front of Megaron A) which contained five long iron swords and a fragmentary vase of the Geometric period.[873]

[862] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 99-102. At an even later stage, presumably when Megaron B was no longer standing, a curved wall was built just to the S of the pithos. This proves that the pithos was still in use after the destruction of Megaron, but before the construction of Temple C. This, in my opinion, suggests an intermediate phase between the destruction of Megaron B and that of Temple C.

[863] *Ἔργον* (1992) 52; (1994) 47-49; (1995) 36-42; J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 192-197.

[864] Though I have no reason to challenge the excavator's statement, I would like to make the following remarks: in Rhomaios' sections one can see that the surface of the walls of the building would have still been visible after the levelling in LG-EA times. Moreover, in the photograph in *Ἔργον* (1994) fig. 33 at p. 48, a yellow layer (no. 2) can be seen upon the stones of the southern cross wall of Megaron B (mud bricks?), while it is not possible to tell whether the upper fill of ashes and animal bones (no. 1) extends beyond this point.

[865] *Ἔργον* (1993) 48f. In fact, the fill was deeper towards the S, due to the natural inclination of the soil towards the S. Therefore, the N section of the E wall of the building was scarcely provided with foundations while the southern part of the same wall was provided with a foundation *c.* 0,50m high. However, in the latest preliminary report, the excavator leaves open the question whether the "prehistoric" paving was used as the first floor of Megaron B, which means that the existence of a foundation trench has not been proven yet [*Ἔργον* (1994) 44].

[866] *Ἔργον* (1993) 49.

[867] *Ibid.* However, in *Ἔργον* (1994) 44, Papapostolou appears to be less certain about this detail since he cannot exclude yet that the paving of slabs may have been reused as the first floor of Megaron B.

[868] *Ἔργον* (1993) 50, fig. 61.

[869] *Ἔργον* (1994) 45-47.

[870] The pit was 0,50m deep and measured 0,23 by 0,23m.

[871] It was 0,60m deep and its dimensions were 0,45 X 0,37-0,27m.

[872] *Ἔργον* (1994) 47. These rested on top a burnt layer which contained animal bones and fragments of pithoi.

[873] J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 198.

Papapostolou tentatively suggests to consider the mound with the triangular slab as a burial and the adjoining pits as installations connected with a cult which would have been practised in the honour of the deceased warrior (?).[874] The excavation in this area is still in progress but it seems an established fact that the tumulus was no longer visible when the clay floor inside Megaron B was laid, though the triangular slab was still visible since it projects 0,23m above the floor level of the megaron.[875] It seems that sacrifices were performed in connection with this mound both inside as well as outside Megaron B.

Thanks to the new excavations at Thermon it has been able to determine that Megaron B was built between the LH IIIC and the Geometric periods and that the destruction was not violent or abrupt.[876] A probe between the W wall of Megaron B and the W foundation of the cella of Temple C revealed a destruction layer which contained LH IIIA2-IIIB pottery which continued beneath the wall of Megaron B,[877] while a stone which had fallen from the W wall rested on the LH IIIB destruction level.[878] The same wall of Megaron B was built on top of prehistoric walls.[879] More suggestive is the discovery of EIA sherds in the fill upon which the cross wall (Wall γ) separating the prodomos from the main room was standing.[880] These finds are strong indications that Megaron B was built sometime during the EIA.[881] Three main phases were recognised: one during which the floor was at the level of the pre-existing paving, a second associated with the burnt clay floor higher up, seen on Rhomaios' sections and detected in 1992-93 at the SE corner of the megaron and in the rear compartment.[882] During this second phase, sacrifices were presumably performed, at least in the area of the southern compartment, though presumably not in that of the back chamber.[883] A level of yellow earth and burnt wood was observed in the back room which appears to be related with this second architectural phase, during which Megaron B was no longer in use and had been replaced, perhaps in the last third of the 9th c., by a structure built of wood and mud brick.[884] The slabs of the "peristasis" represent a third building period: these rest upon the upper black fill of ashes and animal bones that covered Megaron B and the flimsy structure and therefore were placed there after the abandonment of both buildings.[885] The upper layer of ashes and bones extends over the preserved surface of the walls of Megaron B, a fact which strongly suggests that the edifice was by then in a ruinous state.[886]

It is now indispensable to try and reconstruct the history of the architectural phases at Thermon. I argued previously that Megaron A was built in the Bronze Age but remained in use until the beginning of the EIA. There is no doubt today that Megaron B was built in the EIA (*cf.* above). Stratigraphically, it is later than Megaron A for it is founded 0,40m higher than the latter.[887] Rhomaios notes that Walls Δ-E, to the NW are founded at the same level as Megaron B which could mean that both structures were roughly contemporary.[888] Since Wall Δ passes over the E wall of Megaron A, when Walls Δ-E were erected, the southern part of Megaron A must have been in ruins.[889] Assuming that Megaron A lasted into the beginning of the EIA, we could presume that both buildings coexisted for some time. This assumption is further supported by the similarities in design (basic tripartite division, identical orientation). A final preliminary remark is that the front wall of

[874] *Ἔργον* (1993) 51-56;(1994) 43-49.
[875] *Ἔργον* (1994) 44f.
[876] *Ἔργον* (1992) 52; (1995) 42; see also a brief comment on the pottery found during the 1992 season by K.A. Wardle, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 127f.
[877] *Ἔργον* (1992) 45.
[878] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 115.
[879] *Ἔργον* (1992) 47.
[880] *Ἔργον* (1944) 47-49. For the chronology of the Thermon material in the EIA see K.A. Wardle, *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 164, 173-176.
[881] *Ἔργον* (1994) 49.
[882] *Ἔργον* (1992) 49, figs. 60-61); (1993) 48f.; (1994) 44f.
[883] *Ἔργον* (1994) 45; *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 107.
[884] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 107f., 123; *Ἔργον* (1995) 42 (C14 dating of samples of wood from this structure).
[885] *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 125f.;*Ἔργον* (1993) 52; (1994) 49; (1995) 39, 42.
[886] *Ἔργον* (1994) 47-49.
[887] K. Rhomaios, *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 242.
[888] *Ibid.* I should stress, however, that despite the fact that Wall Δ is founded at the same level as Megaron B, this does not necessarily imply that Walls Δ-E could not have been built slightly later than Megaron B.
[889] See however J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 191, n. 2.

Megaron A represents, presumably, an addition to the initial plan.[890] This is then, how I suggest to reconstruct the architectural sequence at Thermon:

(1) Construction of Megaron A, and of Houses α4, α7 towards the end of the MH period or the beginning of the Mycenaean era. The facade of Megaron A was originally open and ended in wooden parastades.

(2) Addition of Houses α1-α3, α5-α6 and perhaps of β.

(3) Destruction of Houses α1-α3 and β during the LH IIA period. Megaron A and Houses α4, α5-α6 and α7 may have continued to be used up to the end of the Mycenaean period.[891]

(4) Megaron A and House α4 may have lasted until the beginning of the EIA. Some time during this period the area S-SE of Megaron A was paved and a cult was established, perhaps associated with the worship of ancestors or heroes who were buried in the area (*cf.* lower ash layer of Rhomaios' N section ζ-η, numerous pithoi containing ashes and animal bones, tombs from both inside and outside Megaron A, as well as in front of Megaron B). It is in this paved area that the majority of the pithoi would have been standing. Since all but one pithos contained ashes and animal bones, one may assume that they did not serve for ordinary household storing. Smaller pithoi, with the same content were placed upside down in the middle compartment of Megaron A.[892] If one adds to this that perhaps two or three burials of EIA date lay in the apsidal compartment[893] one could conclude that the old chieftain's house (Megaron A) was perhaps transformed into a heroön, as the original excavator, Soteriades, had suggested, while a new one was erected close to it (Megaron B).[894] It is not clear yet whether Megaron B was built at that moment or some time later. Initially (Phase B1, Fig. 45a), the building may have served either as the new ruler's dwelling or as a hall of gatherings. In either case, however, the nature of the evidence points towards the practice of a cult of ancestral or heroic nature, involving animal sacrifice and ritual meals. There is no tangible evidence that during that period the cult was Olympian in character.

An important remark is that Megaron B was not the only structure standing in the EIA (Fig. 45a-b).[895] Several buildings were presumably erected close to the new chieftain's dwelling (Houses α8,[896] α9 and α10, to which Walls Δ-E may also belong), while the discovery of an EIA sherd in House α4 could indicate that this particular house was still in use. Building α10 and Walls Δ-E were erected over Megaron A's facade. The impression that this complex seems to present the plan often encountered in chthonian contexts cannot be proven.[897] Thus Building α10 was built after the

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[890] H. Drerup, *MarbWPr* (1963) 3 & B. Schmaltz, *AA* (1980) 334 and n. 36 at p. 330. Both scholars suggested that the front wall of Megaron B was also an addition to the initial plan. The existence of two building phases in the facade of Megaron B is also hinted by the recent observations in this area, but it seems that the edifice was provided with a closed front from the moment of its construction: J. Papapostolou, *Ἔργον* (1993) 46.

[891] Inside α5-α6 there were LH IIIB/C sherds as well [K.A. Wardle, *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 163f.] while α4 yielded an EIA sherd (*ibid.*, 164). Wall I which passes beneath the W wall of Megaron B and dates in the end of the LBA appears to belong to House α7: J. Papapostolou, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 97.

[892] The presence of ashes and animal bones in these pithoi and amphorae can hardly be incidental, for the LG layer of ash and bone did not extend over the rear half of Megaron A [G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 181] and even if it did, it could not have intruded into the pithoi, for they were intentionally placed upside down.

[893] Rhomaios claimed that these "burials" were a prehistoric hut. However, the discovery of a gold jewel in a humble hut of the first half of the second millennium B.C. is puzzling. Moreover, the only vase which could be ascribed to Megaron A was presumably from one of the two graves and may date in the EIA. K.A. Wardle who dates this vase in that period suggests however that the graves should date in the MH period (*The Greek Bronze Age West of the Pindus*, Ph.D. diss., London 1972, 56, 85). J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 197-199 published Soteriades' correspondence which proves the he had discovered tombs in the apsidal compartment.

[894] J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 199 arrived to a rather similar conclusion after his independent research. It might be interesting to note that I had also reached these conclusions independently, before the publication of the article by Papapostolou [see *RDT* (1987) 770f.].

[895] See also J. Papapostolou, *AE* (1990) 191f.

[896] The S wall of this structure was reexamined in 1992: it is founded 0,20m deeper than the back wall of Megaron B but appears to be a retaining wall which was built after the construction of the later (EIA or modern?): *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 125.

[897] The SE corner of the building was formed by walls Δ-E (see Rhomaios' plan). In the SW corner there was apparently a small square room, which appears on Soteriades' plan only (its W wall probably used as foundations the S extremity of Megaron A's W wall). For comparisons *cf.* Tsikalario and Grotta on Naxos, Xobourgo on Tenos and in general Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976).

destruction of Megaron A. Likewise, Building α11 was presumably built after the abandonment of House α4. It could be that Megaron A's facade was closed when "B" was built, leaving a narrow passage between the two buildings. The curved wall, parallel to the N wall of House α7 may have been reused as a courtyard wall. One could even imagine that there was a side door in the W side of Megaron B, perhaps in the space contained between the prehistoric walls II and III, through which one could gain access to the area of the pithoi. This assumption, however, cannot be pushed further in the present evidence.

(5) Sometime, perhaps during the 9th c., all buildings, including Megaron B, fell in disuse or were destroyed. A flimsy structure was built over the northern part of Megaron B while cult activities appear to have taken place in the open air further to the SE. The cult seems to have changed character, since the offering of votive objects became now part of the ritual (the only votive of an earlier period -SMyc- is an Oriental figurine representing a Syrian god[898]). It seems that the area below Temple C was gradually covered by a fill of earth mixed with ashes, animal bones and LG-EA bronzes.[899] At some stage a temenos in the open air (?) delimited by the posts which would have been set on the stone bases or, alternatively, a peripteral apsidal building with walls exclusively formed of perishable materials which have left no traces would have been built. The problem, however, is that if one dates Temple C to the late 7th c., the time span between the placing of the bases of the "peristyle" and the construction of Temple C appears short or even elusive. Alternatively, if the latter hypothesis is retained, i.e. that a temple with mud brick walls (perhaps, but not necessarily, partly reusing the foundations Megaron B), was built, this embarrassing problem could receive an acceptable explanation.[900] As mentioned previously, there is no tangible evidence that Temple C is a faithful replica of an earlier temple of the late 7th c. B.C.,[901] while the excavations at nearby Kallipolis have proved that in this rather remote and isolated area of Greece, we witness a persistence (or revival) of the "Archaic" style in temple architecture down to the early Hellenistic period (see p. 135). The newly discovered peripteral apsidal temple at Ano Mazaraki proves that apsidal peripteral temples with a tiled roof were known in the area down to the early 4th c. B.C. The painted metopes and the elements of the Archaic roof were found below the floor level of Temple C and could therefore belong to a temple built either entirely of mud brick, or, more likely, of wattle and daub.[902] One could suggest that the metopes were set between the colums of the peristyle or may have decorated the upper part of the walls of this temple.[903] Indeed, most of the metopes were found along the E stylobate of Temple C, where one would expect to find them if they were associated with a predecessor of Temple C.[904] It is more difficult to explain their presence along the N and the beginning of the W sides of Temple C, but one should bear in mind that not only the area would have

[898] C. Rolley, *BCH* 108 (1984) 669f.; H. Gallet de Santerre, *BCH* 111 (1987) 12; R.F. Rossi, *Studi sull' Etolia* I, Trieste 1970, 30-33.

[899] *Ἔργον* (1994) 47-49. However, Soteriades was convinced that the black upper stratum was a fill [*AE* (1900) 176-179] and Rhomaios was perplexed by the discovery of Late Mycenaean sherds among the finds of the upper layer which he believed to have been created gradually due to sacrifices taking place within and close to Megaron B: *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 228, 270f.; 6 (1920/21) 168.

[900] In that respect, Rhomaios argued that Megaron B was transformed from a king's dwelling into a temple: *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 275f. See also V. Paleologou, in *Πρακτικά Α' Αρχαιολογικού και Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, Αγρίνιο 21-23 Οκτ. 1988*, Agrinio 1991, 144 who accepts that Megaron B was transformed into a temple but claims that the *basileus* continued to reside here until the 7th c. B.C.

[901] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1903) 74, n. 1 and *AE* (1900) 181f., 187; H. Koch, *RM* 30 (1915) 53; E. Dyggve (*Das Laphrion der Tempelbezirk von Kalydon*, København 1948, 328, n. 4) had expressed doubts concerning the dating of Temple C in the Archaic period. See also J.A. Bundgaard, *Parthenon and the Mycenaean City of the Heights*, Copenhagen 1976, 194, n. 370 & 371: the width and height of the metopes oscillates "which, certainly, does not suggest exact planning or careful execution" (p. 194, n. 371). More recently: P.G. Themelis, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 243f.

[902] Soteriades insisted that not a single roof tile of the Hellenistic temple was found and believed that these had totally disappeared due to the intense cultivation of the area and the absence of a deep fill over the temple. One should of course not exclude that the roof of Temple C was never put into position: *AE* (1900) 187f.

[903] *Cf.* G. Roux, "La Tholos de Sicyone à Delphes et les origines de l'entablement Dorique", in *Delphes. Colloque de Strasbourg, 6-9 nov. 1991*, ed. J.-F. Bommelaer, Leiden 1992, 163f.

[904] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 184, 187. The metopes were lying "εἰς τό σπιθαμιαῖον μόλις στρῶμα τῆς γῆς, τό ὑπό τήν κατωτέραν τοῦ στυλοβάτου στρώσιν".

been levelled in order to construct Temple C, but that the less damaged metopes were recovered from the debris of the apsidal temple, repaired and reused in Temple C.[905] Temple C's floor level was presumably the same as the one of the walking surface of the "elliptical" peristasis.

The earliest votives, contained in the upper layer of black earth seem to date in the late 8th c., at which time the area was presumably officially converted into a sanctuary. Megaron B1 was presumably no longer in use by that time. The bases of the "peristasis" represent an intermediate phase which could be either associated with an EA peripteral temple of perishable materials or with a semi-hypaethral temenos, as in nearby Kallipolis (see below), i.e. the transition from Megaron B to Temple C occurred following some kind of break, regardless whether one accepts the traditional dating of Temple C in the EA period or not. If the second solution is retained, one could suggest that the "metopes" would have been fixed between the columns or beneath the edge of the roof of this light structure and subsequently, the less damaged ones reused in Temple C. However, the previous pages have shown that several generations of scholars have tried unsuccessfully (including myself) to present a cohesive account of the sequence at Thermon, based on insufficient and contradictory data. For this reason, I consider all the above as tentative thoughts and will perhaps return to the subject when the new period of excavations comes to an end and the results are fully published.

The town of ancient **Kallipolis** (mod. Kallion) in NE Aetolia, is today partly submerged by the artificial lake of Mornos. Approximately 150m to the S of the fortification wall of the Classical town, a Hellenistic temple (Fig. 51:C), which bears many affinities with the temple of Apollo at Thermon (*cf.* Fig. 41:C), was discovered. Partly underneath its NE corner, the remains of two earlier superimposed structures came to light.[906]

The later edifice of the two is rectangular faces S and measures 5,50m in width and at least 11m in length (**Building B**, Fig. 52). The walls, built of fairly large irregular stones, were *c.* 0,60m wide and at places (at the E) they were preserved to a height of 0,95m. Judging by the discovery of decomposed mud bricks in the rear room, the remaining superstructure would have been composed of mud bricks.[907] The E wall presented only one face towards the E, and a fill of small stones towards the interior (W). Taking into account the drop of the earth from W to E, upon which the edifice was constructed, one could suggest that the E foundation represents a retaining wall upon which the wall proper would have stood.[908] The interior was divided into two roughly equal compartments by a cross-wall, 0,60m wide. Immediately to the S of the cross-wall, 0,25m lower than the preserved surface of the N wall, there was a concentration of ashes and charcoal, 0,40m in diameter, encircled with small stones, perhaps the remains from a hearth. Against the rear wall of the building and to the W of its central axis a rectangular stone bench, measuring 1,00m by 0,60m was excavated. The ruins of Building B would have been visible at the time of the construction of the Hellenistic temple, for the latter's foundations are built in contact with the surface of the former (Fig. 54).

The E wall of the edifice was resting on a rectilinear wall, 0,70m wide, which was uncovered to a length of 6,70m (**Building A**, Fig. 51). This foundation was composed of relatively small unworked stones and doubtless represents the predecessor of Building B, but the extremely arduous conditions of the excavation did not allow to determine neither its plan nor its date and function.

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[905] Indeed, one metope was repaired in Hellenistic times: see D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1945[3], 67. The other explanation is that bulky objects, such as the metopes, were moved during the levelling which preceded the construction of Temple C, outside the limits of its stylobate: *cf.* also B. Schmaltz, *AA* (1980) 331f.

[906] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1979 (P.G. Themelis, with the collaboration of the author and K. Kyriazopoulou & E. Baziotopoulou). Bibliography: P.G. Themelis, "Δελφοί και περιοχή τον 8ο και 7ο π.Χ. αι. (Φωκίδα και Δυτική Λοκρίδα)", *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 237-245; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 33-35; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 581-584. Several of the following details are from the excavation diary, *Φωκίς* VIII. *Κάλλιο*, 1979 which was held by the author (July 26-Aug. 11, 1979) and K. Kyriazopoulou & E. Baziotopoulou (Aug. 13-20 and Oct. 16-22, 1979).

[907] The mud bricks were found -1,25m lower than the surface of the wall of the sekos of the Hellenistic temple, i.e. 0,65m lower than the preserved surface of the back wall of Building B. One mud brick measured 0,36 by 0,18m.

[908] The upper part of the building was badly dammaged when the Hellenistic peripteral temple was built (see section Fig. 54).

An oblique row of stones discovered just S of Building B (Fig. 51) delimited the W side of an extensive layer of red earth, which contained charcoal and animal bones, some of which burnt.[909] This area presumably indicates the existence of an ash (?) altar.

Building B was succeeded by a square stone-built altar/bothros (Fig. 51, phase 3) which contained numerous votive offerings, dated in the late 6th, 5th and 4th c. B.C., ashes and animal bones. This construction was enclosed between six pairs of stone bases. The presence of numerous roof tiles, scattered all over this area and inside the structure, proves that the bases supported wooden columns which, in their turn, supported a roof. At a certain moment this structure was replaced by two open-air hearths (phase 4). Towards the end of the 4th c. B.C. the large temple, provided with a wooden peristyle, was built (Temple C, phase 5).

The date of Wall A remains obscure, for no pottery was clearly associated with it. The sherds recovered from the interior of Building B belong to coarse pots of MH appearance. Fortunately, it has been possible to date this local fabric, for it was associated with a few imported Early PC sherds. Moreover, a votive bronze horse (Fig. 53), dated in the last years of the 8th c., was found 0,05m above the hearth, 0,20m beeper than the preserved upper surface of back wall. It is not yet established whether this was a Corinthian import or a local imitation. It should not be excluded that the building might have been standing until the 6th c., when it would have been replaced by the altar/bothros. The Hellenistic temple was destroyed in 279 B.C. by the Celtic raid mentioned by Pausanias.[910]

As noted previously, in front of the entrance of Building B, traces of burning and small calcinated animal bones were observed. This stratum passes underneath the W foundation of the altar/bothros and therefore could be contemporary with the LG building. The presence of this layer attests to the celebration of sacrifices. If we add to this the discovery of the bronze horse and the presence of the bench, one need not hesitate to identify Building B, and perhaps Building A, as temples. The close resemblance of Building B with the cella of its Hellenistic successor also favours this identification. The divinity worshipped remains unknown. It is however established by the finds from the later altar/bothros, that we are in the presence of the cult of a female divinity, perhaps that of Artemis Eileithyia or Lochia.[911]

CENTRAL GREECE

A rectangular cult building of the LG period was excavated at Kamila, Marmara, near the village of **Neochoraki** (Othrys?) in Thessaly (Fig. 60).[912] The building is turned towards the S and measures 12,50m in length and 5,10m in width. The stone socle was *c.* 0,80m wide and was composed of large blocks, some attaining *c.* 1,20m in length. The superstructure was apparently constructed of mud bricks. Judging by the presence of a square anta block in the S extremity of the E wall the entrance should be restored to the S. On the surface of this block which was 0,87m high, there was a square cutting, which was evidently made in order to receive a wooden parastade. The three stones of the S side should be interpreted as a threshold. In 1958, a temenos wall surrounding the sanctuary was also found.

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[909] This layer was not encountered inside the building; it contained coarse sherds, like the ones collected in the interior of Building B.

[910] X, 19, 4. E. Østby ["The Archaic Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea", *OpAth* 16 (1986) 94, n. 57] questions the late dating of Temple C in view of its resemblance with Temple C at Thermon. Yet, the dating of the temple at Kallipolis is well established by the pottery recovered inside the building and in the foundation trenches, while, as argued previously (p. 134f.), the date of Temple C at Thermon should perhaps be revised.

[911] According to N. Papachatzis (*Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις* 5: *Βοιωτικά-Φωκικά*, Athens 1981, 379) the numerous female idols, the finger-rings and the fibulae suggest that the cult was celebrated by pregnant women and new mothers. He also brings to one's attention the fact that the sanctuaries of goddesses of birth are often located in the confines of the towns. A small bronze larnax recalls similar ones found at the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi in Arcadia: see P.G. Themelis, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 242.

[912] F. Stählin, "Zur Landeskunde der Phthiotis", *AM* 31 (1906) 29f.; *id.*, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, Stuttgart 1924, 177; G. Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958) 754; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 69; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 782; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 668f.

The finds seem to belong to the LG period,[913] but none have been illustrated. Those found in and around the temple were mainly bronze votive offerings such as fibulae and two figurines of warriors. Perhaps this was the temple of Athena Itonia,[914] though one is not told the reasons for such an identification.

Kalapodi is situated a few km W of Atalanti, in the district of Phocis. Excavations in the sanctuary started in 1973 and ended in 1982.[915] Beneath the foundations of the two EA temples discussed below, earlier traces of buildings (LH IIIC - *c.* 700 B.C.) were revealed (Figs. 61-62). Indeed, the sanctuary at Kalapodi presents a continuous sequence from LH IIIC times into the historical period.[916] Between the facades of the EIA temples (Squares K25-26) the remains of a rectangular structure measuring 3,80 by 3,50m (Fig. 61, no 1) and a stretch of wall further to the E were discovered.[917] These structures were built in the LH IIIC period (layer 4) and were destroyed in the end of the same period (covered by layer 15 which included SMyc material).[918] The excavators assume that they belonged to an altar complex.[919] The open-air altar remained in use throughout the SMyc down to the SPG periods.[920] The centre, however, of the LBA sanctuary was presumably situated beneath the enigmatic mud brick structure of Temple B (see below).[921]

A destruction occurred towards the end of the MPG period, after which, the area E of the later temples was levelled (during the SPG period, i.e. sometime around the middle or second half of the 9th c. B.C.) and the cult activities were transferred beneath the EA northern temple (Temple A).[922] Five or six superimposed hearths and burnt floors were discovered below Temple A's *eschara*, the earliest of which dates in the second half of the 9th c. B.C. Just S of the earliest hearth two post holes, only 0,11m in diameter, were detected, belonging perhaps to a light wooden cult structure.[923] The first hearth to be lined with small stones is associated with the third floor beneath Temple A. Another burnt floor of the 8th c. B.C. with disintegrated mud bricks on it indicate that there was already a cult building with a mud brick superstructure in the 8th c. B.C.[924]

Inside the southern EA temple (Temple B), beneath the enigmatic mud brick rectangular structure, there was clear evidence of cult activity, reaching back to LPG-SPG (9th c. B.C.) and possibly even LH IIIC times.[925] Moreover, in a trench below the same structure a wall of mud bricks associated with a burnt floor of the 8th c. B.C. (Wall 2) imply that there were already two cult buildings at Kalapodi by that time.[926]

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[913] *BCH* 82 (1958) 754.

[914] *Ibid.*

[915] Excavations: German Institute, 1973-82 (R. Felsch). Bibliography: R. Felsch & H. Kienast, *AAA* 8 (1975) 1-24; R. Felsch *et al.*, "Apollon und Artemis oder Artemis und Apollo: Bericht von den Grabungen im neu entdeckten Heiligtum bei Kalapodhi, 1973-1977", *AA* (1980) 38-123; R. Felsch, "Zur Chronologie und zum Stil geometrischer Bronzen aus Kalapodhi", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 123-129; R. Felsch *et al.*, "Kalapodhi. Bericht über die Grabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis Elaphebolos und des Apollon von Hyampolis 1978-1982", *AA* (1987) 1-99; R. Felsch, "Tempel und Altäre im Heiligtum der Artemis Elaphebolos von Hyampolis bei Kalapodi", in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 85-91, esp. 85f. See also G. Touchais, *BCH* 104 (1980) 625-627; 105 (1981) 809, 812; 106 (1982) 561-563; 107 (1983) 777, 779; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1980/81) 23-25; (1981/82) 28f.; (1982/83) 32-34; N.A. Winter, *AJA* 86 (1982) 546; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 39-41; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 572-580; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 133 and A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, July 11-12, 1982.

[916] R. Felsch, "Mykenisher Kult im Heiligtum bei Kalapodhi?", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 81-90. The character of the finds suggests that the cult was first established in the Late Mycenaean period.

[917] The square structure seems to have served similar functions as the EA rectangular enclosure (C), a few metres to the E.

[918] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 4f.

[919] *Ibid.*, 4; R. Felsch, in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 85.

[920] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 4f.

[921] *Ibid.*, 5.

[922] *Ibid.*

[923] J. Touchais, *BCH* 104 (1980) 625 mentions also a flimsy wall to the N of the hearth.

[924] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 5, 11.

[925] H.W. Catling, *AR* (1982/83) 33; R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 17 and p. 5, n. 9.

[926] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 11. See also R. Felsch, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 123-129.

The main bulk of metal votives from the sanctuary dates from *c.* 850 B.C. onwards (they increase in number during the LG period), which accords well with the architectural evidence for the construction of the first temple at the site (the one beneath Temple A). Many of the votives were lying on the successive floors of the Geometric temples.[927]

Temples A and B are roughly contemporary and belong to the same building program of *c.* 700 or of the first half of the 7th c.[928] The pottery recovered immediately beneath the floor of Temple A, belongs to the last years of the 8th c. and provides a firm *terminus post quem* for its construction.[929] Temple B is considered contemporary with Temple A, but no details demonstrating this fact have been produced yet. Since it is not yet clear from the preliminary reports so far published whether Temples A and B date around 700 or later in the first half of the 7th c., I have chosen to include them in my analysis.

The foundations of **Temple A** (Fig. 61) underlie a series of later temples and therefore are badly preserved.[930] The long S wall was uncovered to a length of *c.* 22,00m and consists of a stone socle 1,00m thick which supported a superstructure of mud bricks. The socle was formed by a single course of dressed stones placed in two rows and a fill of smaller stones in the middle. The mud bricks were preserved in places to a height of three rows and measured 0,33 X 0,33 X 0,08m. In the E wall there was an entrance, 6,80m wide. The threshold was composed of large rectangular poros blocks. Against each extremity of the front wall there was a rectangular stone pillar which served as a parastade. The doorway was divided in three parts by two wooden columns, 0,625m in diameter. The N wall was totally destroyed, but the front wall, almost entirely preserved, suggests that the building would have been *c.* 10,00m wide. The rear wall was not located, though it seems that the entire length of the building did not exceed 29,00m. Originally it had been suggested that the W end might have been apsidal, but it has not been possible to confirm this hypothesis.[931] Against the inner and outer faces of the side walls there were wooden posts which served to strengthen them and support the roof. A rectangular stone block which bears a circular cutting on its upper surface was lying in the E extremity of the S wall. Its purpose is not clear, though it may have been a base for a wooden column belonging to a peristyle. The interior was certainly provided with an axial wooden colonnade for the span of the roof is very large. Unfortunately all evidence was destroyed by later building activities.[932] In the rear part of the building there was a rectangular hearth, lined with stone blocks; it was full of ashes and calcinated animal bones. To the S of the hearth a cylindrical stone, *c.* 1,00m in diameter was found. It may have served as a base for the cult image. In the S wall, just E of the hearth there was a side doorway. The roof would have been composed of perishable materials which left few traces of burnt material on the floor.

Temple B (Fig. 61) lies immediately to the S of Temple A, beneath a small Archaic temple.[933] Though it was not possible to excavate it completely, many details of its design were recovered, thanks to its remarkable state of preservation. Like Temple A, Temple B's walls, were of mud brick on a stone socle. In the NE corner nine courses of mud brick were preserved, displaying an astonishing alteration of colour: one course of yellow mud bricks alternates with a course of black ones. Moreover, the rows of yellow bricks on the E wall correspond with the dark ones on the N wall and vice versa. The bichrome effect of the walls was intentional and may have been visible. The thickness of the walls was *c.* 0,75m and the building's proportions were more modest than those of Temple A. Temple B measures 7,90m in width in the middle and 7,40m at the E end, for the two long

[927] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 12.
[928] The details concerning the date of the buildings at Kalapodi are due to Dr. Felsch (letter of Febr. 9, 1987).
[929] R. Felsch, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 126.
[930] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 13f.
[931] As Dr. Felsch informed me (letter of Feb. 9, 1987), the rear end of Temple A is destroyed. He also noted that there were two parallel straight walls W of the hearth, one of which (the E one) could perhaps represent the remains of an older temple's rear wall (8th c.?) which in that case would have been rectangular. If this assumption proves to be correct, there is a good chance that the rear wall of Temple A would have also been straight. The western wall, as Dr. Felsch informed me, is presumably of Classical date.
[932] In H.W. Catling, *AR* (1981/82) 29 it is suggested that "two parallel lines of supports seem more likely than a single one". Subsequent excavations proved that Temple B, which is very similar to Temple A, was provided with an axial colonnade. Perhaps then, Temple A had an axial colonnade as well.
[933] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 14-19.

walls present a gentle convex curve. Since it was not possible to investigate the W end, this fact could perhaps be regarded as an indication that the rear wall was apsidal, though a straight rear wall remains for the time being the more likely possibility.[934] The outer face of the N wall was partly flanked by a low stone foundation.[935] Along the inner faces of the long walls (and possibly along that of the rear wall) there were vertical wooden posts resting on poros bases, which would have supported the roof beams and would have strengthened the mud brick walls.[936] Aligned with the two eastern bases, on the central axis of the building, a post hole was observed, implying the presence of an interior colonnade. To the E, the temple was provided with a tetrastyle, prostyle porch, *c.* 2,30m deep (total uncovered length of the temple, 21,0m). The wooden columns had a diameter of 0,50-0,52m and rested on a stone stylobate, similar to the threshold of Temple A. The arrangement of the front wall recalls the one observed in Temple A, though here, the threshold of the doorway (4,00 or 4,30m wide) was wooden. There was also a side entrance in the S wall, which in a second phase was provided with a poros threshold.

Approximately in the centre of the building there was an ash deposit which included some calcinated animal bones, presumably from a hearth which may have occupied the centre of the building, which the excavators were unable to excavate due to the overlying buildings (presumably in Square I23). The rectangular enclosure behind this hearth belongs to a second building period, during which the front entrance was blocked with mud bricks. This mud brick structure which rests on a stone socle measures 3,20 by 1,40m and was 1,00m high. Its function for the time being remains enigmatic. It was however established that this construction remained the focus of the cult even after Temple B's destruction.[937] It seems that it was accessible in a pit inside the later Archaic temple, and after the destruction of this temple it continued to be regarded as sacred.

Temple A was destroyed by fire around 600-580 B.C. and was shortly afterwards succeeded by a new peripteral temple. Temple B was badly damaged by a fire in the second quarter of the 7th c. B.C. and was partly rebuilt a few years later (soon after the middle of the 7th c.). The final destruction of Temple B also occurred around 600-580 B.C.[938] Upon its ruins, a small peripteral temple was built in the second quarter of the 6th c. Both Archaic temples perished in a conflagration caused by the Persian invasion of 480. A provisional structure was erected over the N Archaic temple which was soon followed by the construction of a new peripteral temple (N Classical temple). The S Archaic temple was not replaced by a new one, but rituals were still practised over the previous centre of the cult (i.e. over the rectangular mud brick feature inside Temple B).

In Square K26, E of the two EA temples, a LG stone wall following a N-S orientation and preserved to a length of 8,0m, was uncovered and could be identified as the earliest temenos wall (3).[939] Just to its W there was a roughly circular mass of stones, mixed with ashes, charcoal, sherds and metal votives (no. 4, altar?).[940] Further to the NE, more LG buildings were found (5). According to one preliminary report these should be identified as workshops of weavers and metalworkers, but there has been no subsequent confirmation of this statement.[941]

The two temples were standing on a terrace which was bordered to the E by a curved retaining wall (6). The terrace was presumably constructed towards the end of the 8th c. or in the early 7th c. and marks a radical reorganisation of the sanctuary. The fill which formed the terrace contained ashes, calcinated animal bones, and hundreds of metal votive offerings, mainly of the LG period. A rectangular stone construction (C), at least 4,10m long and 3,10m wide, rested upon this fill.[942] Despite the fact that its interior was full of ashes and calcinated animal bones, there were no

[934] Certain observations would indicate that the entire length would not have exceeded *c.* 28,00m, including the porch.

[935] A similar technique was used in the first Samian Heraion, p. 200, Fig. 388.

[936] This reminds us of the similar cases at Porto Cheli (Fig. 245) and Sparta (Fig. 276), not to mention but two instances. The roof of Temple B was pitched and consisted of reeds and daub.

[937] H.W. Catling, *AR* (1982/83) 33.

[938] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 13-19 for the date of destruction of Temples A and B.

[939] R. Felsch, *AA* (1980) 52.

[940] *Ibid.*, 50.

[941] J. Touchais, *BCH* 104 (1980) 625. Could these buildings be identified with the walls of the LG period which appear on the most recent ground plan of the site [*AA* (1987) fig. 3 between pp. 4 and 5, here Fig. 61]?

[942] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1980) 52, 63-64.

traces of burning on its floor, excluding the possibility that this was an altar. Gradually, the ash and bone deposits increased and formed a mound *c.* 0,70m high and 8,00 to 10,00m in diameter, over and around the structure. It seems that the ashes and bones were brought and deposited there from elsewhere, perhaps from the hearth/altars inside the two temples.

NE of the rectangular construction, the S part of a very long and narrow building was unearthed (D). Its walls consist of a stone socle *c.* 0,40-0,45m thick which supported a superstructure of mud bricks. The entrance was probably located in the short S side. What is puzzling is the probable presence of an axial wooden colonnade, which divided the interior in two extremely narrow naves, *c.* 0,90m wide each (compare with Hymettos, Structure A, p. 143, Fig. 136).

The sanctuary at Kalapodi has been identified with that of Artemis Elaphebolos and of Apollo of the city Hyampolis, mentioned by Pausanias.[943] An Archaic votive plaque bears a representation of Artemis Tauropolos. A clay mask representing Artemis (?) and a bronze statuette of a kouros (Apollo?) were standing *in situ* on a votive table or bench, together with offerings, inside the provisional temple which was built shortly after the Persian raid. R. Felsch suggests that a bronze statuette representing Artemis would have been standing symmetrically at the other extremity of the base.[944] If this assumption is correct, the N temple which was built after the destruction of 480 would have been dedicated jointly to the two divinities. On account of this later evidence, one could suggest that in the period which preceded the Persian destruction, the N temples (Temple A and its Archaic successor) would have been dedicated to the main deity of the site, Artemis, while the smaller S temples (Temple B and its Archaic successor) would have been devoted to the subsidiary divinity, Apollo.

At **Paralimni** the apsidal tripartite temple (Fig. 72) was transformed to rectangular (Fig. 71), but this event presumably took place in post-Geometric times (*supra* p. 46).

ATTICA

The so-called Sacred House is situated on the E slopes of a low hill, at the site of the later **Academy** of Plato (Figs. 129-130, 132).[945] It is composed of several rooms which were perhaps added to the

[943] X, 35, 7. Concerning the identification of the sanctuary see R. Felsch & P. Siewert, "Inschriften aus dem Heiligtum von Hyampolis bei Kalapodi", *AA* (1987) 681-687; R. Felsch, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 123, n. 4; R. Felsch & H. Kienast, *AAA* 8 (1975) 23f.; R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1980) 41f. and G.A. Lehmann, *Boreas* 6 (1983) 35-43, esp. 35. However, N. Papachatzis (*Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις* 5: *Βοιωτικά-Φωκικά*, Athens 1981, 439, text accompanying fig. 458) expresses doubts regarding this identification. The ritual related with the a Elaphebolia consisted in lighting pyres on which tame and wild animals, grain and food were thrown: *ibid.*, 274, n. 1. The bones among the ashes in the ash deposit belong mostly to goats, sheep and piglets. Papahatzis claims that no bones of wild animals were found. Yet, the animal bones from Kalapodi, as Dr. Felsch informed me, are currently studied by Professor Boessneck, so one should be cautious before accepting this statement.

[944] For a detailed description R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1980) 85-99; G. Touchais, *BCH* 101 (1977) 582-584. Adjacent to the stone base there was a semicircular mound of stones covered by plaster and set against the votive bench. Ashes were found on top of this mound. On the surface of the base were placed numerous votive offerings of the 5th c. B.C. The bronze kouros was sealed at the SE corner of the block. A symmetrical cutting in the NE corner of the same block proves that there was a second bronze statuette there as well.

[945] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1958-64 (Ph. Stavropoullos). Bibliography: Ph. Stavropoullos, *Έργον* (1958) 5-9; (1960) 8-10; (1961) 5-9; (1962) 5; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 16 (1960) Χρον., 34; 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 21; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1958) 5-9; (1961) 8-10; (1962) 5-7; G. Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959) 576-578; 85 (1961) 618; 86 (1962) 654; 88 (1964) 628; H. Drerup, "Griechische Architektur zur Zeit Homers", *AA* (1964) 199f.; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 31f.; J. Bouzek, *Homerisches Griechenland*, Praha 1969, 127 & 176; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 398; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 114; J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Athen*, Tübingen 1971, 42; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 58f.; J.N. Coldstream, "Hero Cults in the Age of Homer", *JHS* 96 (1976) 16; *id.*, *GG* (1977) 347; H. Abramson, *Greek Hero Shrines*, Ph.D. diss., Berkeley 1978, 187-189; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 613; A. Snodgrass, in *CAH* III, 1 (1982) 678; S. Hiller, "Possible Historical Reasons for the Rediscovery of the Mycenaean Past", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 13; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1981) 789; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 159-162; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 23f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 474-477; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 46f.; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 46; A. Pariente, in *BCH* Suppl. 22 (1992) 205; J. Whitley, "The Monuments that Stood before Marathon: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Archaic Attica", *AJA* 98 (1994) 221, n. 42; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 186-189. The excavator's diary (henceforth *Diary*) is kept in the archives of the Greek Archaeological Society (file no. 41β, esp. pp. 210-327).

original nucleus, an oikos with porch and main chamber (α-α') and two rooms, β and ζ. It is composed of at least seven compartments arranged on either side of a corridor (Fig. 132). The building's exterior dimensions are as follows: N side: 11,60m; E side: 14,80m; S side: 17,70m; W side: 14,60m. The walls were at places preserved to a height of 0,90m[946] and composed entirely of mud bricks, i.e. there was no stone socle.[947] The NE compartment is divided into two rooms, α-α'. The off-centre position of the doorways of the oikos recalls House XVIII at Lathouriza (Fig. 152). This device could perhaps be taken as an indication that Unit α-α' had a pitched roof, as H. Lauter has suggested for House XVIII at Lathouriza (p. 144). The next room, ζ, was provided with a circular pit, 1,55m in diameter, which contained four layers of clean ashes and several sherds from vases of the Geometric period.[948] It has been identified with a hearth by the excavator, but H. Lauter suggests that it may have been the nest of a huge pithos, subsequently used as a receptacle for the ashes, which is rather unlikely.[949] A rectangular *eschara* of mud bricks, was situated at the end of the corridor between Rooms α' and ζ.[950] Nearby a iron knife was found.[951] In Room ε, there were two parallel channels coated with clay. Their purpose is not clear.[952] A circular stone structure was uncovered immediately underneath the last layer of sacrifices in Room δ'; it is founded at the same depth as the stone foundation of this room and therefore may be associated with the hypaethral cult activities.[953]

By simply observing the plan (Fig. 132), it is possible to infer that the building presents at least two architectural phases. Originally it might have been composed of Rooms α-α' and β. Rooms γ-ζ may have been added gradually, due to the increasing need for more space.[954] Indeed, it was observed that inside the rooms animal sacrifices were performed. They are attested by the presence of ashes and charcoal mixed with calcinated animal bones,[955] a few sea shells[956] and smashed pots.[957] At the end of the ceremony these remains were covered with a layer of clean earth. Two or more unworked stones were placed on top of this layer as a *sema*, sometimes forming a thin wall of one or two courses of stones. At least five superimposed layers of sacrifices were observed inside the building. The lower one continues in certain places beneath the walls, a fact which led Stavropoullos to deduce that in the beginning the cult was celebrated in the open air.[958] However, this was observed in connection with the walls of Rooms δ and δ', and ζ,[959] which according to my interpretation would have been additions to the original unit. The foundation of the cult could have been accompanied by the erection of the building, in which case, sacrifices would have been practised both inside and in front of the edifice. It is not possible to tell whether parts of the building were roofed; one could

[946] *Diary*, 211.

[947] The only exceptions: two walls of Room β and the wall of Room δ', which were provided with a stone socle. Constructions built entirely of mud bricks are rare in the EIA: *cf.* the late SMyc-PG apsidal or oval house recently discovered at Tiryns [p. 98, Fig. 217: K. Kilian, *AA* (1988) 107f., fig. 5] the oval house of *c.* 900 B.C. at Old Smyrna (p. 99, Figs. 403-404 and E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, pls. 4-5; as the floor level inside the edifice was at a lower level than the one on the outside, the footing was provided with a facing of stones), houses at Assiros [Figs. 6-9 and K.A. Wardle, *BSA* 75 (1980) 254f., fig. 15], Kastanas (Figs. 14-18 & 23-25 and B. Hänsel, *Kastanas*, Band 7, Teil 1, Berlin 1989, 171-259] and Thessalonike [Fig. 5, S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, *AEMΘ* 6 (1992) 264, fig. 4] in Macedonia.

[948] *Diary*, 316. Only two fragments of animal bones are mentioned, as well as a few EH sherds.

[949] *Turkovuni* (1985) 159f., followed, it seems, by K. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 46, 137].

[950] *Diary*, 284, 300-306.

[951] *Diary*, 301, 306.

[952] Ph. Stavropoullos believed that they received the blood from the animal sacrifices [*ΠΑΕ* (1958) 8]. H. Lauter expresses doubts about the sacred nature of those channels [*Turkovuni* (1985) 160: drain of a wine-press?].

[953] *ΑΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 21; *ΠΑΕ* (1961) 8-10.

[954] This assumption is based on the odd manner in which the southern rooms are articulated with the northern ones, forming angles which are purposeless.

[955] The bones from each pyre were not numerous and sometimes Stavropoullos specifically mentions that they were calcinated (Diary, 322).

[956] *Diary*, 303, 304, 325.

[957] Mostly lekanai, oinochoai and skyphoi; in the diary several sizeable kraters are also mentioned (*Diary*, 308, 318, 325), as well as pyxides (*ibid.*, 322, 325). Several pyres contained spindle-whorls as well.

[958] *ΑΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 21.

[959] *Diary*, 316: one of the pyres continued beneath the E wall of Room ζ.

assume that this was at least the case for Room α-α', but on the other hand, since the floor level seems to have risen sharply everywhere, and rather quickly, it would be justified to assume that perhaps none of the compartments was roofed.[960] An annoying detail, perhaps favouring the idea that all the rooms were open to the sky, is the fact that sacrifices seem to have been also performed inside the corridor of the "Sacred House",[961] and later, towards the end of the 7th c., *upon* the walls.[962]

The vases recovered from the interior of the building have been dated by the excavator in the end of the Geometric period.[963] The lowest stratum of sacrifices lay upon a sterile layer, 0,60-0,90m thick, beneath which followed the stratum of the EH period.[964] This proves that the site had been abandoned during the intervening period. The discovery of a pyre dated around 600 B.C. in the area of Room ζ, but at a higher level, suggests that sacrifices were performed throughout the 7th c.,[965] while it seems that the last sacrifices were no longer contained within the enclosure walls, due to the substantial rise of the floor level inside the various rooms. Among the finds of the Sacred House, there were also a few EH sherds, as well as fragments from obsidian blades. These, according to Stavropoullos, were contained inside the mud bricks, since the clay with which they had been made appears to have been extracted from a stratum which contained EH material.[966] However, it is puzzling that several of these EH sherds were "sizeable",[967] and therefore one may question the validity of the excavator's assumption. Could it be that a portion of the "EH" sherds belonged in fact to coarse vases of the Geometric period?

Stavropoullos believed that the sacrifices were celebrated in honour of the local hero Academos; an EH apsidal or oval house, just N of the LG building, was probably discovered by chance and would have been considered as the dwelling of the hero (Fig. 130).[968] Stavropoullos based this theory on a deposit of *c.* 40 LG intact vases which he discovered next to the prehistoric house.[969] Moreover, six child cremation burials, dated in the LG I period, were excavated immediately on top of the EH house (Fig. 131).[970] We should mention here that the Greek excavator discovered *c.* 150m to the SW of the excavated area a deposit of over two hundred EG I kantharoi placed in rows the one inside the other.[971] These vases rested on a layer of ashes. Stavropoullos suggested that this deposit should be also connected with the cult of Academos. In that case, however, we have difficulties in explaining how the cult originated, for the deposit related to the "rediscovery" of "Academos'" house (i.e. the EH house) is LG. Moreover, it is not at all certain that this deposit had anything to do with the prehistoric house. On the other hand one must bear in mind that the excavations to the NE of the Sacred House revealed more LG, EA and Archaic tombs,[972] as well as the ruins of another Geometric

[960] The level of the pyres, in relation to the walls is clearly seen on the photographs, *ΠΑΕ* (1962) pl. 2α.

[961] The largest sacrificial pyres was observed at the end of the corridor, between Rooms α' and ζ, in the area of the rectangular *eschara*.

[962] *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 7.

[963] *ΠΑΕ* (1958) 6f.

[964] *Diary*, 243, 315.

[965] *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 7, pls. 2α and 3α; *Ἔργον* (1962) 7f., fig. 4. It is possible that a portion of the material dates in the 7th c., but since it has not been illustrated, one cannot be sure.

[966] *Diary*, 272, 285, 295, 305.

[967] *Diary*, 295 ("τρία μεγάλα τεμάχια"), 305 ("μεγάλα τεμάχια ΠΕ ἀγγείων").

[968] *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 53f., pl. 4α; *Ἔργον* (1956) 12f., fig. 9.

[969] *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 52. These vases were dicovered in a deep pit which had cut through the EH building. The vases were empty and set on the side in nine layers, each separated by a fill of earth, ranging 0,10-0,90m in thickness. This pit had also cut through an earlier pit, which was full of large (two amphorae and one krater are noted) and small smashed vases. The sides of the pit were burnt, and it was covered by a burnt layer. In the section, Fig. 131, a child burial (Tomb 1) seems to have been placed in the bottom of this pit, which may mean that the earlier pit contained this burial.

[970] *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 49-51 (Tombs 2-7); concerning the date see J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 399. Cremation of children is an unusual practice in this period: see Morris, *Burial* (1987) 20.

[971] *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 8f., pl. 6; *Ἔργον* (1958) 9, fig. 5; V.R.d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, pl. 12, nos. 2031 & 2026; *id.*, *GDA* (1971) 278. Concerning the date adopted here, Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 398 and Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 347.

[972] Ph. Stavropoullos, *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 47-54; (1958) 9; (1959) 9; (1961) 5-7. See also Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 162, Morris, *Burial* (1987) 222, no. 18 and J. Whitley, in *Classical Greece*, ed. I. Morris, Cambridge 1994, 69, with references.

rectangular building to the E of the Sacred House (**Building V**, Fig. 130).[973] It is therefore possible that the buildings, or, more likely, enclosures, served for sacrifices and perhaps ritual meals, celebrated in honour of the deceased.[974] Lauter has suggested that the edifice served for a burial association which gathered here to honour a common hero.[975] The study of the material from Stavropoullos' excavation, which I have planned for the near future, will certainly clarify both the date and function of the edifice.[976]

Excavations on the summit of **Mount Hymettos** revealed three constructions, two rectangular and one circular (Fig. 136).[977] The northern consists of two parallel stone foundations, preserved to a length of 4,80m (**Building A**). It is generally assumed that this structure was not roofed. Further south lies a square edifice, **B** (5,80 X 5,80m: Fig. 137). The S and W walls are 0,80m wide while the N and E are 2,00m thick. In the SW corner three slabs are believed to belong to a paving. Against the inner face of the E wall there was a pile of stones which was identified with an altar. In a hollow immediately to the E of Building B, excavations revealed a circular construction (Fig. 138: Building C), identified as a small repository for votives since it contained numerous vases (see *supra* p. 119).[978] Large quantities of sherds were collected inside the hollow and also around Building B.

The material recovered from the excavations covers a period of many centuries, but it was not stratified. From the amount of sherds collected it has been possible to deduce that the sanctuary was first established in the LPG period and that it was frequently visited until the end of the 7th c.[979] During the following centuries the sanctuary declined, though occasionally it still received visitors. In Roman times it once again flourished, before its final abandonment. Though the date of construction of Structures A, B and C is almost impossible to determine, it is possible that it falls within the limits of the Geometric period.[980] Moreover, since the main bulk of sherds belongs to the MG II and LG periods (8th c.), this could be taken as an indication that this was the period during which the need to house the numerous votive offerings brought by visitors at the sanctuary, urged the persons responsible for the cult to erect the buildings. The fact that Structure A passed out of use during the course of the 7th c. strengthens this assumption.

The site has been identified with the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios mentioned by Pausanias.[981] Several sherds bear inscribed dedications to Zeus, but the epithet "Ombrios" is absent.[982] The nature of the finds, however, demonstrates that Zeus was honoured as a rain god,[983] since drinking and pouring vases preponderate among the votive offerings. Structure B has been identified with the altar of Zeus.[984] However, the term "altar" is not appropriate here, for presumably we are dealing with a

[973] Excavated in 1959 by Ph. Stavropoullos [*ΠΑΕ* (1959) 10; (1961) 7]: it is a Π-shaped room, *c.* 2,50m on a side, facing SE. A few metres to the E of this edifice, a cult building of the Classical period was built almost on top of a grave (Tomb 6) of the LG period: *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 8f.

[974] Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 47 (see also F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 46) identifies the building with "a complex dwelling, perhaps a farmstead" or a "patrician's house" and adds that "there remains nothing to denote this structure as holy". Fagerström, however, does not discuss the pyres associated with the building. For a more moderate view see Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 160-162. J. Whitley [*AJA* 98 (1994) 221] rightly expresses doubts that the cult was directed towards the local hero Akademos.

[975] *Turkovuni* (1985) 159-162.

[976] The permit from the Greek Archaeological Society has been issued, but the study has not started yet.

[977] Excavations: American School, 1923-24, 1939 (C.W. Blegen and R.S. Young). Bibliography: R.S. Young, "Excavations on Mount Hymettos", *Hesperia* 44 (1940) 1-9; M.K. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) esp. 1-8; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 299, 329; D. Rupp, "Reflections on the Development of Altars in the Eighth Century B.C.", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 101f.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 607; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 134-136; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 36; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 568-571; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 119; A. Mazarakis Ainian, in *Structures Rurales et Societés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Corfu, 14-16 mai 1992*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 70.

[978] This reminds us of the EG I votive deposit of the Academy of Athens, discussed above (p. 142).

[979] M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 70, 74-76.

[980] *Ibid.*, 51. Judging by the amount of votive offerings, the cult attained its peak during the 8th and 7th c.: see *ibid.*, 75, Table 1.

[981] *Ibid.*, 3-7, 50. Pausanias, I, 32, 2.

[982] The graffiti are assembled and discussed in M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 13-50.

[983] *Ibid.*, 77f.

[984] *Ibid.*, 50; see also D. Rupp, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 101f.

modest chapel which was probably entered from the S: H. Lauter recently suggested to consider Structure B as a roofed building, provided with benches along the N and E sides (Fig. 137).[985] M.K. Langdon notes that the main ritual consisted of unburnt offerings, mostly of ordinary pots. It should be stressed however that animal sacrifice and presumably ritual dining[986] were also performed in the sanctuary. The altar would have simply been a mound of ashes, located near the small shrine. During periodic cleanings, the ashes would have been swept in the hollow, below.[987] Lastly, enigmatic Structure A has been identified as an altar of Herakles, for two inscriptions possibly bearing his name were found there.[988]

On the N spur of the hill of **Lathouriza**, at a short distance from the settlement there is a small rectangular building facing SE (Fig. 153).[989] The N wall is 4,83m long, the S wall 4,75m and the rear wall 4,05m. They are approximately 0,60m wide and in places are preserved to a height of *c.* half a metre. The S wall is built with small stones while the N with larger stones assembled in the polygonal style. In my opinion this indicates two building phases. The antas are composed of two huge monolithic stones, the northern attaining 1,00m in height. In 1975 there was a flat stone between the antas, no longer in place. This was perhaps a base for a wooden column. Lauter suggests that the superstructure of the walls was of mud bricks but in my opinion the preserved height of these indicates a construction entirely of stone. In front of the building, at a distance of *c.* 2,50m, Lauter observed a row of stones which could have served as foundations for an altar.

The circumstances of the excavation (?) of the small naiskos are not known. The earliest sherds noted by Lauter in the proximity are of the early 7th c. Yet, we have no proof that the edifice is contemporary with this material but even if it were, the polygonal N wall was a later addition, although presumably still of the 7th c. (the shrine was also abandoned in *c.* 500 B.C.).

The rectangular oikos (**I**), which is one of the four units composing the chieftain's dwelling at Lathouriza (I-IV, p. 235ff., Fig. 149) consists of a porch and a main room. The overall dimensions of Building I at Lathouriza are approximately the same as those of Rooms α-α' of the contemporary building of the Academy in Athens (Fig. 132). Furthermore in both instances the oikoi are not free-standing but part of larger complexes.

House XVIII (Fig. 152) at the SW extremity of the same settlement appears to be post-Geometric in date.[990] It measures 7,70 by 4,90m and it is partitioned into a main anteroom and a smaller rear chamber. The walls are 0,42-0,47m wide at the S and the E, 0,50m at the W and maximum 0,56m at the N. Compared to the thickness of the walls of the other buildings at Lathouriza, which ranges from 0,60 to 0,70m, those of Building XVIII are the thinnest. The front entrance is 0,75m wide and its N anta is "T"-shaped, i.e. it is a more elaborate version of the thick antas of other houses of the settlement (IV, XIII, XVII). The entrance between main and rear compartments is 0,90m wide. Lauter ingeniously explained the off-centre position of the two doorways: he observed that the two cross walls are more solidly constructed at the longitudinal axis of the building, perhaps in order to support the pressure of a ridge pole. This detail indicates that the building's roof would have been pitched. This strange device recalls the manner in which the gable of apsidal Room II would have been maintained into position (*cf.* Fig. 151). Lastly, at the SE corner and along the S wall of both rooms there was a bench, 1,00-0,80m wide.

House XVIII was unfortunately left unexcavated and therefore one can only make speculations. The careful construction and the location of the house at the SW end of the settlement (*cf.* Fig. 141) make it possible to conclude that it was the last element in the building sequence. The

[985] *Turkovuni* (1985) 135f. The hint for the existence of benches is provided by the exaggerated thickness of the walls, as in the oval building at Tourkovounia (Fig. 133). The benches would have been *c.* 1,00m wide.

[986] C. Morgan, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 19.

[987] *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 76f. The excavation diaries mention the presence of ashes and many burnt bones among the votives in the hollow. No such traces were reported from the interior of the square edifice.

[988] M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 97f. and C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 110, n .4. It should not be excluded however that this structure was a roofed edifice: compare with similar roughly contemporary buildings at Kalapodi (Fig. 61: D) and Kommos (Fig. 485:Q).

[989] Excavations (?): Greek Archaeological Service, 1939 (?). Bibliography: Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 57-63; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 628.

[990] Surface cleaning by Stavropoullos, 1939. Bibliography: Lauter, *op.cit.*, 34-37; Mazarakis Ainian, *op.cit.*, 627f.

clue which supports this hypothesis is that this house and the adjacent House XIX do not share a common wall, as was the usual practice at Lathouriza, but each has a wall of its own. Thus House XVIII would have been built some time after the construction of XIX. Therefore, the edifice presumably dates in the Archaic period.

The chthonian shrine inside the necropolis of **Anavyssos** is a small building flanking the inner face of a peribolos wall which partly encloses a large LG cemetery (Figs. 154-156).[991] Its stone walls are preserved in places to a height of *c.* 0,40m and are *c.* 0,60m wide. The W wall, which is set against the enclosure wall, is thicker (0,85m). The edifice is divided into three compartments. The middle room (2) measures internally 3,00 (N-S) by 2,50m (E-W). It was provided with a stone bench, *c.* 0,50m wide, along its W wall, while a second square stone structure occupied the SE corner of the room. Judging by the photographs published,[992] the entrance may have been situated in the N extremity of the E wall. On the other hand, P.G. Themelis suggests that the entrance was situated in the N wall of Room 2 and therefore regards Room 3 as a roofed porch. However, there is no trace of an opening and one cannot understand why there were two parallel walls there. The southern room (1) measures 1,85 (N-S) by 2,30m (E-W) and its floor is at a slightly lower level than that of Room 2. Close to the S wall, opposite the doorway which led to Room 2, a free-standing stone base, 0,45m by 0,70m, was found. The northern room (3) is perhaps not entirely preserved, but there is evidence in my opinion that there was a stone bench along its S wall.[993] Therefore, unlike its southern counterpart, Room 3 did not communicate with Room 2. It was perhaps entered from the N.[994]

The building is presumably contemporary with the peribolos wall which was erected in order to enclose the three richest tombs of the cemetery (Graves I-III/73, Fig. 154).[995] Since these tombs belong to the second half of the 8th c., the peribolos and consequently the building, should be dated at a slightly later period than the graves, presumably sometime before 700 B.C.[996]

The building was repaired in the 4th c. B.C. and was transformed into a country house of an beekeeper. Therefore, in the absence of finds of the Geometric period, we have to base our conclusions about the original function of the building on its architectural features and relationship with the cemetery. The numerous benches and especially the free-standing base in Room 1, strengthen the hypothesis that the edifice was a shrine. Moreover, the fact that the floor of Room 1 is lower than the soil level outside indicates a cult of chthonian character.[997] Perhaps the inauguration of the cult was due to the initiative of the descendants of the three wealthy persons of Tombs I, II and III. It is also worth noticing that groups of smashed pots and traces of burning were found over these graves, suggesting funeral rites, such as *perideipna* around the tombs. Funerary cult buildings appear to have been common in the area during the Archaic period, as recent excavations at Anavyssos and Palaia Phokaia (Kataphyki) have shown.[998]

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[991] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1965 (K. Davaras), 1973 (P.G. Themelis). Bibliography: K. Davaras, *AΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 97f.; P.G. Themelis, *AΔ* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., 109f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 485-487; Morris, *Burial* (1987) 82-84.

[992] *ADelt* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., pl. 87γ-δ.

[993] Judging by the photographs published, the surface of the bench is at a lower level than that of the wall: *AΔ* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., pl. 87γ-δ.

[994] Provided that the grave to the N of the room's E wall (Tomb XXII/73, Fig. 155) antedates the erection of the building and was visible [Morris, *Burial* (1987) 84, fig. 26a, here Fig. 156a], the total length of the room may not have exceeded 2,40m. Tomb XVIII/65 (*ibid.*, fig. 26b, dated in the LG IIb period, here Fig. 156b), judging by the plan, seems to have destroyed the SE corner of Room 2 - unless this grave is slightly earlier than the building, in which case one may suggest that the building was erected partly over the grave.

[995] According to I. Morris (*ibid.*, 83f.) who has studied the pottery from Anavyssos, Tombs I, II and III date in the LG Ib, LG IIb and LG IIa periods, respectively (*cf.* Fig. 156a-b).

[996] Morris (*ibid.*, fig. 26b) places the building in the LG IIb period.

[997] The rear half of the apsidal building at Mycenae, which seems to have also been a chthonian shrine (Figs. 202, 204), was also below the soil level.

[998] These buildings were set on top of tumuli which contained tombs of the Geometric and Archaic periods: see O. Kakavoyanni, *AΔ* 39 (1984) Χρον., 43-45 and *id.*, *AΔ* 42 (1987) Χρον., 96f., respectively.

Another building which may have been connected with the cult of the dead was excavated at **Thorikos** (**Building III/XXVI**, Figs. 160, 162).[999] The building lies inside the Geometric-Late Archaic necropolis of Thorikos, which is known as Necropolis West 4 (Figs. 158, 160). It follows a N-S orientation and measures *c.* 9,00m in length and *c.* 5,00m in width in the N and *c.* 5,70m in the S. The width of the walls varies from 0,40-0,50m.[1000] The building consists of a closed porch, XXVI, and a main chamber, III. Originally, there was a side entrance in the N part of the W wall, which was subsequently blocked.[1001] In the porch a square pit lined with slabs and containing ashes (88) was interpreted as a hearth.[1002]

Building III/XXVI is set against the SE corner of Building X-XII/XXII and in fact reuses the E extremity of the S wall of this unit. It should be stressed however that when III/XXVI was in use, X-XII/XXII was in a ruined state (*cf.* below and p. 254).

It is possible to suggest that Unit III/XXVI presents two building phases: originally, it would have consisted only of Room III, which would have been provided with two entrances, one looking towards the W, the other, axial, looking towards the S (Fig. 161). This assumption is based on the following facts: three circular pits (28, 29, 45) containing small EG sherds, ashes, small bones (some positively identified as animal bones), beads, loom weights, shells and pebbles, and a square enclosure, lined with slabs and assigned to a layer which contained PG and EG material (27), were excavated in the N part of this room.[1003] Comparable pits were discovered in Room X-XII, which dates in the EG period.[1004] Moreover, judging by a photograph published,[1005] the lower part of the N wall of Room III bonds with the SE corner of Room X-XII, a fact which could be taken as an indication that both rooms were built at the same moment. The fact that the excavators do not mention the presence of EG sherds in the porch (XXVI) could mean that it represents an addition to an already existing plan (Fig. 162); it was perhaps at the same moment that the W door of Room III was blocked. The fact that the main bulk of material recovered in Room III is LG indicates that it was repaired and reused during this period.

The corner of another roughly contemporary rectangular edifice (**Building XXX**) was excavated a few metres to the S (Fig. 160),[1006] but its fragmentary state of preservation leaves grounds only for speculations about its plan. Two round pits of uncertain purpose were discovered along the inner face of the E wall.

In the first preliminary report dealing with Building III/XXVI it was noted that a LPG-EG level was encountered inside Room III.[1007] Moreover, the pits mentioned previously also favour the assumption that Room III was in use in the EG period. Yet, the majority of the finds belong to the LG period.[1008] This means that Room III lay in ruins during the MG period and that it was repaired and reused in the LG period. Room XXVI on the other hand seems to have yielded LG sherds only[1009] and therefore would not have been erected before that period. Building XXX has been tentatively dated in the MG II or more likely in the LG I period.[1010]

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[999] Excavations: Belgian School, 1964-69 (J. Bingen). Bibliography: J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 25-34; *id.*, *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 31-49; *id.*, *Thorikos* IV, 1966/67, Bruxelles 1969, 102-109; *id.*, *Thorikos* VIII, 1972/1976, Gent 1984, 144-146; H.F. Mussche, *Thorikos: A Guide to the Excavations*, Brussels 1974, 25-29; Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 53f.; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 163; K. Van Gelder, "The Iron-Age Hiatus in Attica and the *Synoikismos* of Theseus", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991) 55-57. *Cf.* also Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 22; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 780-784; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 51f.; Morris, *Burial* (1987) 68f., 71.

[1000] The antas of the partition wall between Rooms III and XXVI become wider at the ends (0,60m). This device recalls the antas of several houses at Lathouriza (Houses IV, XIII and XVII, Fig. 141).

[1001] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* IV, 1966/67, Bruxelles 1969, 103f. The surface of the threshold is *c.* 50m lower than the floor level of the porch.

[1002] *Ibid.*, 104. The dimensions of the hearth are 0,65 by 0,46m.

[1003] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 32.

[1004] For instance pit 46 (*ibid.*, 32). Concerning the chronology of the edifice see Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 70.

[1005] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 31, fig. 19.

[1006] *Id.*, in *Thorikos* VIII, 1972/1976, Gent 1984, 144-146 and plan at p. 131.

[1007] *Id.*, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 32f.

[1008] *Id.*, in *Thorikos* IV, 1966/67, Bruxelles 1969, 109.

[1009] *Id.*, in *Thorikos* VIII, 1972/1976, Gent 1984, 104-106.

[1010] *Ibid.*, 144.

The main problem consists in determining the function of Buildings III/XXVI and XXX. In order to do so, one has to examine first the function of Building X-XII/XXII. This edifice, judging by the numerous pits discovered in Room X-XII, two of which yielded fragments of litharge, would have been a workshop of metal.[1011] This is perhaps supported by the fact that the floor was covered by a layer of clay and pure ash.[1012] Moreover, the plan of the edifice [courtyard (XXII), entrance in the longer side, bench along a significant portion of the N and E walls] brings to one's mind the roughly contemporary metal-workshop at Pithekoussai (Fig. 122, Building III).[1013] Since the contents of the three pits discovered in Room III are similar to those of pit 46, discovered in the SE corner of Room X-XII, and since in my opinion, both units would have been erected at the same moment, I would be tempted to assign a similar function to Room III.

It seems that following repeated avalanches, still during the EG period, the buildings were damaged and finally perished in a conflagration.[1014] Thereafter, the area ceased to serve domestic activities. A grave of the second half of the 9th c. B.C. (58) was dug in the NE corner of Courtyard XXII;[1015] another grave of Geometric date was excavated just W of Building III/XXVI (90)[1016] and several more, of LG date, were discovered E of the same edifice (for instance, Graves 93, 91, 85, 104, 84).[1017] Thus it appears that from MG I times onwards the area was used as a burial ground. The excavators assume that the excavated area represents a habitation quarter "in the midst of the necropolis".[1018] The presence of the LG buildings in the immediate proximity of contemporary adult burials is an uncommon feature indeed, but not unique, especially in Athens and Attica. On the other hand, one could perhaps identify Units III/XXVI and XXX as edifices related with the cult of the dead.[1019] This hypothesis is supported by the discovery in the doorway between Rooms XXVI and III of a louterion, a vase which often turns up in chthonic contexts.[1020] No final decision can be reached concerning this question, though the excavators' assumption appears reasonable.

At the sanctuary of Demeter at **Eleusis**, the well-known Mycenaean **Unit B/B1-3** was presumably converted into a cult building towards the middle of the 8th c. (Figs. 164, 169-171). Building B and Room B1 open to a common porch, Rooms B2 and B3 simply communicate with B1. An addition to the plan during this phase is perhaps the propylon in the NE side of Room B1, which room now possessed two antithetical entrances.[1021] The courtyard in front of the unit was bordered by a curved retaining wall, often interpreted as the remains of a curvilinear temple of Demeter (E3 - Wall K in the preliminary reports).[1022] The information about this wall is insufficient. It is preserved

[1011] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 29f., 32; *id.*, *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 34. Concerning the identification of the edifice as a metalworking complex see Heilmeyer, *FGK* (1982) 91; *id.*, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 110. However, Lauter [*Turkovuni* (1985) 163] identifies the building as a "Totenkultverbandes", owing to the discovery of two jugs of *c.* 900 B.C. in the NE and NW corners of the room, which could be explained as some sort of ritual [J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 29f., fig. 16 (TC 64.471); *id.*, *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 32-34, figs. 35-36 (TC 65.594)]. See also *infra* p. 284.

[1012] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 30.

[1013] G. Buchner, *AR* (1970/71) 64-67; J. Klein, *Expedition* 14, 2 (1972) 34-39.

[1014] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 31, 34; *id.*, in *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 36; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 70.

[1015] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 38-42; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 70 dates the grave in the last quarter of the 9th c.

[1016] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* IV, 1966/67, Bruxelles 1969, 109.

[1017] *Ibid.*, 71-101.

[1018] H. Mussche, *Thorikos: A Guide to the Excavations*, Brussels 1974, 25.

[1019] Themelis [*Grabbauten* (1976) 53] identifies the LG architectural remains with funerary buildings and Lauter [*Turkovuni* (1985) 163] suggests that all the buildings could be connected with chthonian cults (though he remains sceptical concerning the function of the LG buildings).

[1020] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 48, figs. 57-58; *id.*, *Thorikos* IV, 1966/67, Bruxelles 1969, 104f. Concerning the significance of louteria see D.C. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, Ithaca & New York 1971, 151.

[1021] J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 330.

[1022] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1883-84 (D. Philios), 1931-32 (K. Kourounioties and G.E. Mylonas). Bibliography: D. Philios, *ΠΑΕ* (1883) 50; (1884) 64f.; F. Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums*, Berlin & Leipzig 1927, 10; K. Kourouniotes, *ΑΔ* 13 (1930/31) Παράρτημα, 23-26; K. Kourouniotes & G.E. Mylonas, *AJA* 37 (1933) 274; K. Kourouniotes, *Ελευσίς. Οδηγός*, Athens 1934, 8; *id.*, "Das eleusinische Heiligtum von der anfänge bis zur vorperikleischen Zeit", *Archiv für*

to a length of *c.* 5,50m. Inferring from the published plans, the width may have been 0,60-0,70m. All authors agree that only the outer, i.e. convex, face of the wall was dressed. The curved foundation is built upon a Mycenaean wall, thus indicating that it belongs to a period later than the Mycenaean.[1023] It seems that the sherds which were found in connection with the wall date in the late (?) 8th c.[1024]

Practically all the scholars who have dealt with this wall believe that it belongs to an apsidal, oval or, less probably, round temple dedicated to Demeter. The presence, however, of only one dressed face, implies that it served as a retaining wall. G.E. Mylonas and others deny this fact "because the wall stands on a contemporary terrace supported already by comparatively strong retaining walls".[1025] J. Travlos formulated a different opinion.[1026] He argued that the Mycenaean complex which lies immediately to the N of the curved wall (Unit B/B1-3), lasted until Geometric times (this is also the opinion of several other scholars, including Mylonas) and that the curved wall may have been built in the early 8th c. in order to contain a terrace which would have extended in front of the entrance of Building B and its dependencies (Fig. 170). The latter were additions to the original building and are generally placed at the end of the Mycenaean period. P. Darcque argues that Rooms B1-B3 could even be considered as additions of the Geometric period for inside Room B1, two Geometric handles were collected, 0,05m higher than the LBA floor.[1027] These finds had led Mylonas to accept an uninterrupted use of the complex until the middle of the 8th c.[1028]

Unfortunately, the issue of this debate remains uncertain. My opinion is that since the curved wall was most certainly a retaining wall, it should be related to a building, most probably Building B/B1-3.[1029] The construction in the LG period of the massive terrace and peribolos walls which enclosed all the buildings discussed above and the presence of a sacrificial pyre (Pyre A), *in situ*, by the terrace's entrance,[1030] indicate that by that time, the cult of Demeter was firmly established. The

Religionswissenschaft 32 (1935) 63-66; *id.*, "Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της ελευσινιακής λατρείας", *ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 273; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 57f.; J. Travlos, "Die Anfänge des Heiligtums von Eleusis", in *Tempel und Stätten der Götter Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas, Köln 1970, 65-68; *id.*, "Η Αθήνα και η Ελευσίνα στον 8ο και 7ο π.Χ. αιώνα", *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 330-333; K. Kokkou-Vyridi, *Πρώιμες πυρές θυσιών στο Τελεστήριο της Ελευσίνας. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του ελευσινιακού ιερού*, Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Athens 1991, esp. 3-6 (summary of the evidence). See also Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 30; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 395; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 322; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 605, n. 28 & p. 642; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 39; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 535-537; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 115; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 117f.

[1023] The remaining part of the wall was resting on a Mycenaean fill.

[1024] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, 58; *id.*, in *PECS* (1976) 297: "built *ca.* 750 B.C.". J. Travlos, in *Tempel und Stätten der Götter Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas, Köln 1970, 67 suggested a date in the late ninth and in *Bildlexikon des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 92 in the first half of the 8th c. Kourouniotes [*ΑΔ* 13 (1930/31) Παράρτημα, 24] mentions the presence of plenty PC sherds among the Geometric pottery which was associated with the wall, but these sherds seem to indicate the last period of use of the wall. In the *AJA* report the wall is repeatedly characterised as SG or belonging to the "close of the Geometric period" [37 (1933) 274, 284] but there exists a confusion since twice the wall is also said to date in the late 9th c.: "The sub-geometric sherds discovered will date these structures to the closing quarter of the ninth century" (p. 284) and "K was constructed towards the end of the ninth century" (p. 285).

[1025] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, 58. On these retaining walls, *ibid.*, 56f. and E1 on Fig.169.

[1026] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 330; *id.*, in *Tempel und Stätten der Götter Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas, Köln 1970, 65-68.

[1027] "Les vestiges mycéniens découverts sous le Telestérion d'Éleusis", *BCH* 105 (1981) 599. The level on which the two fragments were resting could perhaps be the initial floor of the Rooms B1-3, "d'autant plus que la fouille qui a été effectuée par dégagements "mécaniques" de 30 cm d'épaisseur est loin d'offrir toutes les garanties stratigraphiques voulues".

[1028] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, 38. See also K. Kourouniotes & G.E. Mylonas, *AJA* 37 (1933) 277: "one in the form of a bird (a dove?) and the other in the form of a griffin". However, these two finds may perhaps indicate a slightly later date: the former could have been of the LG II type, such as Coldsteam, *GG* (1977) 121, fig. 37c, the latter may have been even later [*cf.* the Protoattic cauldron from the Kerameikos: J. Whitley, AJA 98 (1994) 218, fig. 5 and *id.*, in *Classical Greece*, ed. I. Morris, Cambridge 1994, 58, fig. 3.2].

[1029] By observing the photograph in G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, fig. 13, there can be no doubt that when Wall E3 (K) was built, the LBA edifice (B) was still standing.

[1030] Mylonas, *op.cit.*, 56f. and J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 337 and figs. 15-16 illustrating few of the finds which consisted of hundreds of clay idols and small painted clay plaques. Now see K. Kokkou-Vyridi, *Πρώιμες πυρές θυσιών στο Τελεστήριο της Ελευσίνας*, Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Athens 1991, esp. 84-90, 142-149, 158-184, 211-235, 236-241, 242-294, 347-390, 488-495. Pyre A contained material from the

first indications of cult activities belong to the last quarter of the 8th c. (e.g. the massive peribolos wall which enclosed Unit B/B1-3 and the sacrificial Pyre A by its entrance). Yet, it is often claimed that one witnesses at Eleusis a clear case of cult continuity with the Mycenaean Age: indeed it is generally assumed that Megaron B and its later dependencies (Figs. 167-168) was a temple and that it may have remained in use throughout the DA until the 8th c. B.C.[1031] First however, the function of the Mycenaean unit is uncertain; the so-called peribolos wall which surrounds the edifice has been recently reinterpreted as the remains of several buildings adjacent to Megaron B.[1032] Moreover, the ruins below and around the later Telesteria are extensive (Fig. 166) and should be identified as ordinary Mycenaean dwellings. Votive offerings are lacking; the few Mycenaean figurines discovered are not enough to prove that in this spot public cult practice is attested.[1033] Yet, the raised platform in front of the porch of Megaron B, which was flanked on either side by steps -an unparalleled feature indeed- and the frescoes which adorned the interior of the edifice[1034] indicate that we are in the presence of no ordinary house. Nevertheless, if it were the residence of the Mycenaean ruler of Eleusis, would not one expect it to be situated on the acropolis, where massive foundations were excavated?[1035] On the other hand one may suggest that Megaron B and its annexes B1-3, served as the residence of the leading family of an important "genos" of LBA Eleusis.

The claim that the Mycenaean unit was continuously used until the 8th c. B.C. is ungrounded.[1036] Yet, judging by the presence of PG (?) sherds below the later Telesteria[1037] of LPG and EG graves and pottery at Eleusis,[1038] of the retaining wall in front of the LBA unit (Wall E3), and also bearing in mind that inside Room B1 two Geometric handles were found just above the LBA floor, one could accept a reuse of the complex in the EIA. However, the absence of votive offerings, could suggest a secular reuse of the complex until *c.* the middle or the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th c., at which time, on the evidence mentioned previously, the area and presumably the building as well, would have been officially devoted to the cult of Demeter.

I will examine the case of Eleusis in more detail further on (Chapter III, p. 347). For the time being we may remark that in the EIA, Building B/B1-3 may have been the residence of an

last quarter of the 8th c. to the beginning of the 6th. The earliest finds were LG/EA oinochoai, an EPC aryballos (A13), a male (A70) and a seated female (A71) terracotta figurines, gold jewels and plaques of the last quarter of the 8th c. (from Pyre A, but also "heirlooms" in Pyre Γ). On new investigations concerning the peribolos wall see G.E. Mylonas, *ΠΑΕ* (1981) 155; *Ἐργον* (1981) 45.

[1031] M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 468-470 & *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, München 1955, 340; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, 33-49; B.C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin & New York 1974, 140-142, 213, 224f., 233; E. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, Chicago & London 1972², 287; *id.*, *Götterkult*, *AHom* III, V, 1974, 141-144; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 49f.; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 189-192. The influence of the LBA Telesterion on those of the historical period at Eleusis is also accepted by Ch. Kardara, "A Prehistoric Survival in Certain Greek Telesteria", *AAA* 5 (1972) 123-126 and I. and E. Loucas, "The Megaron of Lykosoura and Some Prehistoric Telesteria", *JPR* 2 (1988) 25-33.

[1032] P. Darcque, "Les vestiges mycéniens découverts sous le Telestérion d'Eleusis", *BCH* 105 (1981) 593-605. See also doubts expressed by K. Clinton, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 114.

[1033] R.V. Nicholls, "Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity, *c.* 1200-700 B.C.", in *Auckland Classical Essays presented to E.M. Blaiklock*, ed. B.F. Harris, Auckland & Oxford 1970, 5 and n. 16 at p. 24; P. Darcque, *BCH* 105 (1981) 600.

[1034] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, 43.

[1035] The case is however exceptional, and C. Kerényi may be right in assuming that already in Mycenaean times Eleusis was probably ruled by its priests rather than by "Mycenaean" kings (*Eleusis. Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter*, Princeton 1967, 22).

[1036] Concerning the alleged continuity of occupation at Eleusis see G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, 38-49, 55. See also Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 117, n. 392 for further references. *Contra* see more recently K. Van Gelder, "The Iron-Age Hiatus in Attica and the *Synoikismos* of Theseus", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991) 60f. and n. 60.

[1037] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Princeton 1961, 56f. Mylonas is the only scholar who notes the presence of PG sherds below the Telesteria, and especially in the fill beneath the LG peribolos wall. In general it is believed that there exists a break in the pottery sequence until the LG period.

[1038] *Ibid.*, 60f.; A. Skias, *AE* (1898) 76ff.; (1912) 35; P. Ålin, *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland*, Lund 1962 (*SIMA* 1) 113; V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1962, 316; *id.*, *GDA* (1972) 159.

outstanding family, perhaps descending from the family which had occupied the same house in the LBA, but that around 750 B.C. it changed function and served thereon exclusively for cult purposes.

The so-called **Sacred House** at **Eleusis** was presumably associated with an ancestral or hero cult (Fig. 173).[1039] The building had a stone footing (roughly rounded stones of medium size and joined with mud) and a mud brick superstructure.[1040] It is composed of four compartments set in a row, each of which communicates with a common "corridor" through a separate door. The northern half of this "corridor" was perhaps a porch supported by wooden posts.[1041] In front of the "corridor" there was a paved "court", 1,80 (at the centre) - 2,50 (at the S) wide, delimited by a wall. The entrances at the two extremities of the courtyard are hypothetical restorations.[1042] The entire building rested on an artificial terrace, due to the slope from NW to SE. The overall dimensions of the roofed part of the building are *c.* 13,65 by *c.* 10,00m. The largest room (I) was provided with a central wooden column which rested on a stone base. At the N corner there was a square stone bench, 0,40m on a side and 0,70m high and at the E corner a small enclosure.[1043] In the NW corner of Room II there was a well-like bothros which seems to have passed out of use at some time during the life span of the building, presumably during the remodelling of the mid-7th c. B.C. (see below).[1044] From the bothros departs a drain, covered with slabs, passes under the threshold, crosses the "corridor" and the "court" and ends outside the building. On the new plan of the building published by Travlos, the cross wall seen on earlier plans which divides Rooms III and IV in two compartments, has been eliminated (it has been added in outline in my Fig. 173). The reason is that in the 1938 excavation season it was determined that the cross wall was an addition to the original plan, dated by Travlos to the middle of the 7th c.[1045] Inside Rooms II, III and IV, numerous amphorae, pithoi and small decorated vases were found among ashes.[1046] The large vessels were filled with ashes. Travlos was of the opinion that all these vases were placed there during the remodelling of the mid-7th c.[1047]

H. Lauter, in a recent study, re-examined the sacred house of Eleusis and came to some interesting conclusions (Fig. 180).[1048] He suggests that the strange plan of the building was dictated

[1039] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1920, 1924, 1937 (K. Kourouniotes), 1938 (final investigations and cleanings by J. Travlos). Bibliography: K. Kourouniotes, *Ελευσίς. Οδηγός*, Athens 1934, 50; K. Kourouniotes & J. Travlos, *ΠΑΕ* (1937) 42-50; (1938) 35; K. Kourouniotes, "La "Maison Sacrée" d'Eleusis", *RA* 11 (1938) 94-97; *id.*, "Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της ελευσινιακής θρησκείας", *ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 274f.; J. Travlos, *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, unpublished report in the archives of the Greek Archaeological Society (henceforth *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*); *id.*, "Η Αθηνα και η Ελευσίνα στον 8ο και 7ο π.Χ. αιώνα", *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 333-336. Also: E. Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 29 (1925) 111f.; *BCH* 52 (1928) (la rédaction); G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 59f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 33; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 114; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 59; J.N. Coldstream, "Hero Cults in the Age of Homer", *JHS* 96 (1976) 16, n. 76; C. Krause, "Grundformen des griechischen pastas-häuses", *AA* (1977) 169; H. Abramson, *Greek Hero Shrines*, Ph.D. diss., Berkeley 1978, 169-191; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 612; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 163-169; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 540-543; Morris, *Burial* (1987) 68; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 43f.; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 49; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 190f.

[1040] Concerning the mud brick superstructure see J. Travlos, *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 43.

[1041] *Ibid.*, 25. There is evidence that approximately in the middle of the exterior foundation there was an entrance 1,20m wide. Travlos detected that the foundation N of the entrance was added to the original structure and since it was only 0,29m wide could not have supported a mud brick superstructure.

[1042] *Ibid.*, 26, though some stones which could belong to the W side of the court were observed at a distance of 0,50m from the extremity of the SW corner of the house.

[1043] On the old plan, after the first excavation season [*ΠΑΕ* (1937) 45, fig. 3], this space appeared to be delimited by a semicircular row of stones. Subsequent excavations in 1938 showed that beneath the curved foundation there were two stretches of wall meeting at right angles and together with the side walls of the room formed a rectangular enclosure 1,50 by 0,70m (J. Travlos, *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 17). Presumably, we witness here two building periods, since further on in his unpublished report, Travlos mentions that the floor level was raised at some time (*ibid.*, 18f.).

[1044] J. Travlos, *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 23.

[1045] *Ibid.*, 22. The floor of the room passes beneath the cross wall.

[1046] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 334. In *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 21, Travlos notes that Room III was covered by a layer of clean ashes (καθαράν στάχτην) which was thicker in the centre (0,10m) and decreased in thickness towards the walls. He further states that this was a pyre lit inside the room, since the underlying floor bore evident traces of burning.

[1047] *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 35.

[1048] *Turkovuni* (1985) 163-169.

by the presence of the road which passed to the W of the house and led to the centre of the sanctuary. The "paved court" could well form part of the same road while the "corridor", also bearing traces of a paving, should be interpreted as a platform which extended in front of the rooms. It is most probable that this terrace was roofed with the aid of wooden posts, thus creating a sort of porch. We are however faced with a problem: in the new plan appearing in *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 333, fig. 10 (here Fig. 173) one observes a wall which seems to constitute the W limit of the "court". The only explanation, if one is willing to maintain the theory that the "court" was a road, is that this was a retaining wall which was necessary due to the steep rise of the slope at that point.

The earliest vases date in the end of the 8th c. or in the beginning of the 7th., while the latest in the end of the 7th c. Travlos assumes that the building was constructed in the middle of the 8th c. and that it represents a characteristic example of the type of house used in those years.[1049] The later assertion is unfounded since the plan is not typical of the Geometric period (Tables I-VIII). The building was destroyed in the end of the 7th c., but the cult persisted until the Roman period.

The building of Eleusis was certainly no ordinary house.[1050] As mentioned above, all the large vases, including amphorae and pithoi, were filled with ashes. The bothros structure most probably served for the pouring of libations, though Lauter identified it with a structure used for tanning or dyeing.[1051] In 1938, J. Travlos discovered a few metres to the SE of the building a male inhumation which he dated in the end of the 8th c. (Figs. 172, 175, 177)[1052] Over the tomb there was a tumulus of earth, *c.* 3,00m in diameter and multiple sacrificial pyres were associated with the mound, containing broken vases, ashes, charcoal, calcinated animal bones and sea shells (Figs. 174-176).[1053]

Lauter suggested that the Sacred House served a group of worshippers, closely associated with the cult of Demeter and Kore, perhaps the family of the Kerykes.[1054] Travlos, on the other hand, has argued that the Sacred House which is located outside the sacred precinct served for a short period as the new home of the leading members of the Eumolpid family; before the end of the 8th c. B.C. this building would have also ceased to serve as a habitation and a cult of ancestral or heroic nature was presumably established in connection with a male burial, discovered just E of the building.[1055] There exists however a difficulty in accepting this view for no evidence has been produced in favour of a dating of the building before the last years of the 8th c. B.C. The fact that the burial antedates the erection of the Sacred House is inferred by Kourouniotes' earlier statement that "κοντά της" (i.e. the Sacred House) "ὑπῆρχε ἤδη πάνω ἀπό ἕνα μικρό τυμβοειδές ὕψωμα, πού σχηματίστηκε κατά μέγα μέρος ἀπό τά ὑπολείμματα ἀλλεπάλληλων πυρῶν θυσιῶν πού γίνονταν πρός λατρείαν τοῦ νεκροῦ."[1056] To me it seems more probable that the edifice was devoted from the moment of its construction to cult practice.

Taking into account the new evidence from Travlos' archives in the Greek Archaeological Society, we may give the following additional details: the tomb was located immediately in front of the porch of a small "megaron" building, which lay beneath the later Archaic naiskos (Fig. 174; *cf.* also Fig. 172). In an unpublished report, following the 1938 excavation season during which the grave was found, Travlos presented sufficient evidence that the "Megaron" belonged to the Geometric period and was built *before* the Sacred House, which he discusses separately in a section dealing with the 7th c. B.C.[1057] For unknown reasons this early structure was ignored in the later reports and publications. A big question mark remains why Travlos himself overlooked his own

[1049] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 333.
[1050] On the other hand, Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 44 calls it "a substantial Late Geometric farm building", which is highly unlikely.
[1051] *Turkovuni* (1985) 166.
[1052] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 334f. See also K. Kourouniotes, *ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 274f. and Morris, *Burial* (1987) 68.
[1053] J. Travlos, *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 7-11. No date is provided for the pottery which was associated with the pyres, but is seems that the majority dates in the 7th c. B.C.
[1054] *Turkovuni* (1985) 168 and n. 261.
[1055] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 333-335. See also K. Kourouniotes, *RA* 11 (1938) 94-97, where one may find the origins of this theory. Travlos' assumption is based also on the fact that Rooms II-IV underwent a change of function, serving now as storerooms for the vases which contained the ashes from the sacrifices which were performed over the tomb of the hero (*Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 21-23, 35).
[1056] *ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 274.
[1057] J. Travlos, *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 5-7, 9, 12.

earlier detailed report when several decades later he decided to return to the subject. A possible explanation may be that since 40 years had elapsed, Travlos did not pay attention to the earlier rather confusing remains and focused his attention on the tomb and the Sacred House instead.[1058]

Only a small part of the "**Megaron**" was preserved (Walls B1-3, Fig. 174): the anta porch, facing NW, and a small section of the main room, towards the SE. The preserved length of the NE wall (B2) was 1,80m. The porch was 2,10m deep, and the edifice 4,20m wide. The walls, built of sizeable stones, were 0,50-0,60m wide and in places preserved to a height of 0,40m. The superstructure was composed of mud bricks. The wall between the antas (B1) was pierced with an entrance 1,20m wide. A rectangular pit (0,60 by 0,50m) at the extremity of the northern anta presumably received a wooden parastade. This post hole had been opened in Stratum 314, which represents the walking surface outside the building. This rather thin layer (0,14m thick) was apparently placed immediately after the construction of the edifice, in order to create a neat walking surface around the building.[1059] Traces of the clay floor of the main room were also detected.[1060]

The skeleton lay immediately on top of Stratum 314 (Fig. 175).[1061] Therefore, it would seem that the sequence should be reconstructed as follows: (1) First came the construction of the "Megaron", and (2) presumably immediately afterwards Stratum 314 was laid. (3) The skeleton was placed upon this layer and simply covered with a mound of earth, *c.* 3,00m in diameter at the base (Figs. 175-176).[1062] (4) At the same moment (first pyre, no. 305α-β which was in immediate contact with Stratum 314)[1063] or soon after the inauguration of the cult, the "Megaron" was destroyed and was presumably replaced by the Sacred House. Travlos suggested that when the first pyre was made, the "Megaron" may have been still standing.[1064] On the other hand, he argued, the fact that the second pyre (303) associated with the tumulus which covered the tomb extended over the ruined wall of the "Megaron", proves that by that time the edifice was no longer standing.[1065] Travlos seems to have based his former assumption on the fact that the first pyre (Pyre 305) reached close to the walls of the edifice but did not continue beyond (0,40m high at the centre, 0,10 at the edge). However, among the material associated with this pyre there were also mud bricks. These cannot receive an adequate explanation, unless we consider that they belong to the superstructure of the walls, which, as Travlos himself proved, were composed of such material (decomposed mud bricks were in fact associated with the stone socle of the *megaron*).[1066] It therefore seems that the building was standing for a certain period and was destroyed immediately or shortly after the placing of the burial. This sequence suggests that the edifice was the dwelling of the person who, at his death, was buried just in front. Whether the edifice was intentionally pulled down, as in the case of the Lefkandi "Heroön", cannot be determined any longer, though this appears to be a plausible assumption. On the present evidence, however, one cannot totally rule out the possibility that the "Megaron" was a "Heroön" associated with the cult of the hero, but for some unknown reason failed to serve the needs for which it had been built. (5) The Sacred House was built immediately or shortly after the death of the hero and sacrifices were performed over the grave mound throughout the 7th c.[1067] The sacrificial remains were piously stored inside the Sacred House. (6) The Sacred House was presumably destroyed around the end of

[1058] It appears that Travlos was undecided whether the "Megaron's" entrance was looking towards the N (his concusion in the unpublished report) or towards the N (attempt to restore the building in pencil in his detailed plan of the area, not shown on Fig. 174). In the latter case, the burial would have been contained inside the "Megaron", near the back wall. From the details in the unpublished report, the former solution would appear more likely.

[1059] *Ibid.*, 5. The walls were contained within this layer, and there were no signs of a "foundation trench".

[1060] For the description of the "Megaron" see *ibid.*, 5-7.

[1061] *Ibid.*, 7.

[1062] Big efforts were made to define the shaft in which the skeleton had been placed, without success; the deceased was simply covered by a uniform mound of earth. However, in the plan of the tomb (Fig. 177) one observes a row of stones along the E side of the skeleton, and a return at the two short sides.

[1063] *Ibid.*, 8.

[1064] *Ibid.*, 9. Pyre 305 consisted in fact of three or four pyres.

[1065] *Ibid.*, 9.

[1066] *Ibid.*, 5, were decomposed mud bricks were found in association with the stone socle.

[1067] *Ibid.*, 9-11: in total six superimposed pyres were identified: Pyres 305, 303 (at the prodomos of the "Megaron"), 0, 30m higher than Layer 314; Pyre 300; Pyre 301 which is separated from the previous pyres from a thin burnt layer; Pyre 298 separated from 301 from a thin layer of earth; Pyre 294.

the 7th c. and was replaced by a bipartite oikos which was built on top of the grave mound. Judging by the preliminary reports, this small cult building would have been constructed around 600 B.C. and would have replaced the Sacred House.[1068] In the earlier unpublished report, however, Travlos dated the oikos around the middle of the 7th c. and suggested that the Sacred House was remodelled at the same time.[1069] He further argued that it is precisely at that time that the Sacred House started to be used for religious purposes: the pyres in Room III, as well as the vases filled with ashes from Rooms II and IV appear to belong to this phase, while previously, the edifice would have been "ἡ κατοικία ἄρχοντος τινός τῆς Ἐλευσῖνος".[1070] (7) By the end of the 6th c. B.C., when the altar was built, both the Sacred House and the bipartite temple were in ruins.[1071] (8) Slightly later followed the construction of the polygonal peribolos, which enclosed all the earlier remains, and the poros temple on top of the Sacred House.[1072] This temple was founded over the substantial fill of mud bricks which once formed the superstructure of the 'Sacred House".[1073]

To me it seems more probable that the Sacred House was devoted from the moment of its construction to cult practice, and it seems that Travlos finally concluded too that the cult in this edifice began in the end of the 8th c.[1074] Whether the deceased person was a member of the Eumolpid family (an hierophant[1075]) who would have been the last occupant of Unit B/B1-3, which edifice was henceforth converted into a temple, as Travlos argued, cannot be determined. In order to accept this hypothesis, one has to prove first that Unit B/B1-3 was continuously used throughout the LH IIIC and MG periods, something which, as noted above (p. 149), appears unlikely when one evaluates the present evidence. The ceramic sequence indicates in fact that the spot was abandoned before the end of the LBA and reoccupied in the Geometric period, perhaps as early as *c.* 900 B.C.

There are three points which deserve further discussion. First, if we accept that the "megaron" at the area of the tomb predates the Sacred House, we should accept that it was built no later than the 8th c. B.C. Its use (and perhaps its construction), therefore, coincides with the official inauguration of the cult at the Telesterion. Secondly, the skeleton is turned exactly towards the Telesterion. Thirdly, the plan and bipartite division of the "Megaron" recall the reused Megaron beneath the Telesteria. These details, in addition to the sequence of events exposed previously, could corroborate Travlos' hypothesis that the person buried at the area of the Sacred House once dwelt inside the reused Mycenaean megaron beneath the later Telesteria. Strictly speaking, however, firm proof in favour of this assumption is lacking.

It may be worth noting that roughly during the same period a second hero cult may have been established at Eleusis, in connection with several MH tombs, at the West Cemetery.[1076] These graves were surrounded by a peribolos wall (Fig. 182) and the spot ceased to serve as a burial ground. Mylonas suggested that here was located the **heroön of the "Seven against Thebes"** mentioned by Pausanias (I, 39, 2) and Plutarch (*Θησεύς* 29, 24f.).

The **second** so-called **"Sacred House"** which has been excavated to the NE of the Stoa of Philon, was presumably built towards the end of the LH period (Fig. 163: B, 181).[1077] It has been claimed that this edifice was continuously used down to the Geometric period, because a foot of a krater lay on the surface of one wall and that the edifice was situated next to a well, marked Φ on the plan, which Mylonas identified with the Kallichoron of the Hymn to Demeter.[1078] The krater

[1068] K. Kourouniotes & J. Travlos, *ΠΑΕ* (1937) 49; J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 335 (early 6th c. B.C.).
[1069] *Ἱερά Οἰκία, 1938*, 28-33 (Archaic oikos), 34-36 (repair of Sacred House).
[1070] *Ibid.*, 35.
[1071] *Ibid.*, 37-40.
[1072] *Ibid.*, 41-49.
[1073] *Ibid.*, 43.
[1074] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 335.
[1075] For a summary of the duties of the *hierophant* see R.S. Garland, "Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens", *BSA* 79 (1984) 101-103.
[1076] G. Mylonas, *ΠΑΕ* (1953) 81-87; *id.*, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 62; A. Pariente, in *BCH* Suppl. 22 (1992) 208, no. 20.
[1077] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1930 (K. Kourouniotes), 1952 (G. Mylonas & J. Travlos). Bibliography: G. Mylonas & J. Travlos, *ΠΑΕ* (1952) 56f.; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 45-47, 60. The sherds from the floor date to the end of the LH III period.
[1078] *ΠΑΕ* (1952) 57.

fragment, in my opinion, simply indicates that the edifice was in a ruined condition by that time, though it may have been visible. Moreover, the well is undated, and therefore, any attempt to identify it with the Kallichoron appears vain.

Many of the Attic LG sacred buildings share common features: they are agglutinative units, the doorways are generally situated in the same direction and share a common porch (Sacred House at Eleusis), corridor (Academy), or courtyard (in a certain way the Telesterion of Eleusis). Side entrances are also encountered (Eleusis: Telesterion B2; Academy: final phase). These characteristics as we will see further on are not restricted to sacred constructions, but they are encountered in domestic architecture as well.

THE PELOPONNESE

The so-called temenos of **Hera Limenia** at **Perachora** is a terraced area located *c.* 200m E of the harbour (Fig. 185).[1079] The building originally identified as the temple of Hera Limenia lies on the uppermost terrace (Fig. 190). It is directed N-S and measures 9,50m in length and 5,60m in width. There were two entrances, one approximately in the middle of the N wall, 1,10m wide, and a second, whose exact measurements are not known, pierced in the middle of the W wall.[1080] The thickness of the walls varies from *c.* 0,50 to 0,60m.[1081] In the centre of the building there was a hearth, lined with four reused blocks, bearing inscriptions which mention the dedication of spits to Hera Leukolene.[1082] Between the hearth and the SW corner, two square stone blocks (0,30m on a side) were found, evidently removed from their original position.[1083] These could either be explained as column bases which would have stood N and S of the hearth (Fig. 191), or as supports for wooden planks forming a continuous bench along the building's walls.[1084] It seems that some time during the building's existence, tiles were added to the roof, which originally would have been composed of perishable materials.[1085]

The exact date of construction of the building is difficult to establish, for nothing was found in its interior. Yet, a large votive deposit extended outside the building, in direct contact with its walls, indicating that the building was already standing when the first dedications were made.[1086]

[1079] Excavations: British School, 1930-33 (H. Payne). Bibliography: H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia. Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 1930-1933* I: *Architecture, Bronzes, Terracottas*, Oxford 1940, 110-122; T.J. Dunbabin, "The Oracle of Hera Akraia at Perachora", *BSA* 46 (1951) 63-71; N.G.L. Hammond, "The Heraeum at Perachora and Corinthian Encroachment", *BSA* 49 (1954) 94-102; J. Salmon, "The Heraeum at Perachora and the Early History of Corinth and Megara", *BSA* 67 (1972) 159-204, esp. 168-175; R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1976, 111-113; *id.*, "The Upper Terraces at Perachora", *BSA* 72 (1977) 197-202; *id.*, "Perachora", in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 321-346, esp. 327-334; J. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, Oxford 1984, 59 & n. 15; U. Sinn, "Das Heraion von Perachora", *AM* 105 (1990) 53-116, esp. 101f. See also H. Drerup, "Griechische Architektur zur Zeit Homers", *AA* (1964) 197, 202f.; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 8f.; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 277; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult*, *AHom* III, V, 1974, 135-138; D.W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese c. 750/725 to c. 300/275 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 8-12, 285-287; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 50; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 174; A. Büsing-Kolbe, "Frühe griechische Türen", *JdI* 3 (1978) 73; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 50f.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 788; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 700-704; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 107, n. 85; I. Strøm, in *Economics of Cult in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. T. Linders & B. Alroth, Uppsala 1992 (*Boreas* 21) 45f.

[1080] Carbonised wood was found in both door spaces and evidently belongs to the wooden door frames. This discovery implies that the building was destroyed in a conflagration.

[1081] They are preserved in places to a height of 0,48m.

[1082] H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, 256-267, pl. 132.

[1083] *Ibid.*, 112. Payne believed that those bases were in their original position.

[1084] The second solution, proposed by Drerup [*Baukunst* (1969) 126] is less probable. Drerup argues that the bases are too small and could not have been able to support a wooden column. Yet, column bases of EIA buildings were often of similar dimensions.

[1085] None were collected inside the building; they were scattered in the surrounding area. Since however no other building, old enough to have been provided with such tiles, was found on the terrace, it was assumed that they belong to this building: R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 72 (1977) 199.

[1086] H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, 112, 118.

Though some of the earliest pieces from the deposit overlap with the latest dated pieces from the deposit of Hera Akraia (p. 64),[1087] it is generally agreed among scholars that the cult on the upper terraces originated in the last quarter of the 8th c. The date of the inscribed blocks which delimited the hearth (*c.* 650 for the earliest ones, *c.* 600/550 for the later ones)[1088] and the existence of roof tiles, possibly belonging to the 6th c.,[1089] prove that the building was still standing towards the middle of the 6th c. R.A. Tomlinson suggested that the building lasted until the end of the 4th c. B.C.,[1090] when it was replaced by an *hestiatorion* erected on a lower terrace further to the W (*cf.* below).[1091]

J. Salmon was among the first scholars to question the traditional view that the building was the temple of Hera Limenia. He proposed instead to consider it as a subsidiary shrine, the main focus of the cult being located by the harbour.[1092] R.A. Tomlinson went further and suggested that the building could be considered as an *hestiatorion* which would have been built in the 7th c.[1093] or in the first half of the 6th c.[1094] He bases his reasoning on the location of the N door, which is slightly off-centre, a feature usually encountered in dining rooms. Tomlinson reconstructs eleven couches, *c.* 1,80 X 0,80m, arranged four along each of the two long walls, two against the rear wall and one E of the entrance. Tomlinson lowers the date of the building for he assumes that the roof tiles were part of the initial phase. He also suggests that the inscribed slabs which surrounded the hearth were moved inside when the building was erected. Therefore, the edifice would date after the last dedication.

There are certain difficulties in accepting Tomlinson's point of view: in his reconstruction of the eleven couches he neglects the fact that there seems to have been a side entrance in the middle of the W wall (Fig. 191). Moreover, I find it difficult to follow Tomlinson's low dating: the building's foundations, as I noted above, did not cut through the layer formed by the votive deposit; this layer was in direct contact with the outer faces of the walls suggesting that the building was there when the first dedications were made.[1095] The inscribed blocks could have been transported inside at a later period. On the other hand, the identification of the building as a dining room seems correct. I agree with those who maintain that there were not two separate cults of Hera at Perachora, but just one.[1096] I suggested above that the apsidal temple by the harbour may have lasted until the 6th c. and that it would have been the main focus of the cult (p. 64).[1097] It seems that the worshippers, at least originally, dedicated their offerings there, but due to the lack of space, these were periodically gathered and transported to the higher terraces.[1098] Judging by the numerous spits discovered in both areas, it seems that from the very beginning ritual dining was one of the ritual acts celebrated at Perachora. In the 8th c., this would have taken place in the open air, next to the apsidal building which presumably served for the display of the votives (and perhaps of a cult image?). The increasing popularity of the sanctuary towards the end of the 8th c. led to the erection of a subsidiary building which served the purposes of ritual dining. This dining room was built further up the valley. It is in the same area that the surplus of votive offerings was from now on deposited.[1099]

[1087] J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 168-174.
[1088] L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, ed. A.W. Johnston, Oxford 1990², 122-131.
[1089] For the revised dating of the roof tiles see R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 72 (1977) 119f. (Payne believed that they should be dated in the second quarter of the 7th c.).
[1090] *Ibid.*, 200.
[1091] J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 174.
[1092] R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1976, 114; *id.*, *BSA* 64 (1969) fig. 5; C. Börker, "Festbankett und griechische Architektur", *Xenia* 4 (1983) 25, fig. 8. More recently, however, Tomlinson redated the double *hestiatorion* of Perachora to the end of the 6th c. B.C. ("The Chronology of the Perachora Hestiatorion and its Significance", in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 95-101, esp. 98).
[1093] In *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 333. See also U. Sinn, *AM* 105 (1990) 101 ("Befund 5").
[1094] *BSA* 72 (1977) 197-202. See also *id.*, in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 98f.; *id.*, in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 330, 333.
[1095] H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, 112.
[1096] J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 175-178; R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 72 (1977) 200-202.
[1097] Salmon, *op.cit.*, 164f., 177f. suggests that after the destruction of the apsidal building, a new temple was built in the area of the harbour, which lasted until the end of the 6th c., when the new Archaic temple was built. However, one could assume that the apsidal shrine remained in use until its replacement by the new temple.
[1098] R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 72 (1977) 201f.
[1099] Deposits containing pottery of the 7th and 6th c. have also been found in the harbour area: J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 163-165, 178 and H.G.G. Payne, *Perachora* I, Oxford 1940, 31.

According to the recent excavations on **Temple Hill** at **Corinth** (Fig. 192), the first temple of Apollo was built around 690/680 B.C.[1100] It was entirely constructed of small ashlar poros limestone blocks (Fig. 193b)[1101] and was covered with terracotta roof tiles (Fig. 193a).[1102] Neither the exact location nor the plan and dimensions of the temple are known for the debris had been thrown in a dump in order to erect the new Archaic temple. The probabilities are, however, that it would have been a rectangular free-standing building. The date of the first temple has been established thanks to the pottery which was collected among the working chips produced during the construction of the edifice. J. Salmon, however, who has examined the material from the limestone chip stratum, observes that much seems to belong well into the 7th c.[1103] He also claims that the earliest material from the discarded debris dates in the third quarter of the 7th c. He therefore suggests that the temple was built around the middle of the 7th c., like the neighbouring peripteral temple of Poseidon at **Isthmia** (Fig. 194),[1104] and that the trend towards monumentality came perhaps from Egypt.

The remains of a rectangular building were partly revealed in the western part of **Argos**, at the foot of the acropolis of Larisa (**Pilios** property, Fig. 207, no. 3 and Fig. 210).[1105] The walls were built of mud bricks on a socle of small stones. Judging by the plan the interior width of the room excavated would have been *c.* 2,20m. The pottery associated with this building was of fine quality, similar to the type found in funerary contexts. Deilaki dates the sherds in the "Mature" Geometric phase, i.e. presumably to the LG period. From the preliminary notes so far published it appears that the excavator believes that the remains could be identified either as a house or as a shrine.[1106] R. Hägg suggests that a cultic function associated with a chthonian cult could perhaps be assigned to the building, though he adds that a normal domestic function is equally possible.[1107]

The Old Temple of Hera at the **Heraion** of **Argos** near Prosymna (Figs. 211-215) was presumably built sometime in the early 7th c., though the **Old Temple Terrace** may have preceded its construction. I consider unlikely that the Old Temple dates after 700 and therefore this is not the place to proceed to a description of the specific architectural remains. Since, however, the massive Old Terrace on which the temple stood is generally dated around 700 B.C. or shortly afterwards, it

[1100] Excavations: American School, 1937-38 (S.S. Weinberg), 1954 (M.C. Roebuck), 1968-72 (H.S. Robinson). Bibliography: S.S. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 195-197; M.C. Roebuck, *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 153-157; H.S. Robinson, *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 224-235; *id.*, "Temple Hill, Corinth", in *Neue Forschungen* (1976) 239-260; *id.*, "Roof Tiles of the Early Seventh Century B.C.", *AM* 99 (1984) 55-56; C.K. Williams II, "Demaratus and Early Corinthian Roofs", in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 345-350, esp. 346; M.C. Roebuck, "Archaic Architectural Terracottas from Corinth", *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 47-63. See also Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 41f.; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 637f.; J. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, Oxford 1984, 59-61; R.F. Rhodes, "Early Corinthian Architecture and the Origins of the Doric Order", *AJA* 91 (1987) 477-480; C. Morgan, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 138f. The construction of the temple was at first placed around 700 B.C.: H.S. Robinson, *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 224-235; *id.*, in *Neue Forschungen* (1976) 239-260. For the revised dating see *id.*, *AM* 99 (1984) 57, n. 5. See also Chapter III, Part 3, p. 319.

[1101] On stoneworking at Corinth during the Geometric period see A.C. Brookes, "Stoneworking in the Geometric Period at Corinth", *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 285-290 and *id.*, "Early Stoneworking in the Corinthia", *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 229-232.

[1102] See in general N.K. Cooper, *The Development of Roof Revetment in the Peloponnese*, Jonsered 1989 (*SIMA* Pocket-Book 88).

[1103] *Wealthy Corinth*, Oxford 1984, 59-61.

[1104] O. Broneer, *Isthmia* I: *Temple of Poseidon*, Princeton 1971, 3-56; *id.*, "The Sanctuary of Poseidon", in *Neue Forschungen* (1976) 39-62; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 38-41; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 635-639. See also W. Rostoker & E. Gebhard, "The Reproduction of Rooftiles for the Archaic Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, Greece", *JFA* 8 (1981) 211-227; R.F. Rhodes, "Early Corinthian Architecture and the Origins of the Doric Order", *AJA* 91 (1987) 477-480; F.P. Hemans, "The Archaic Roof Tiles at Isthmia. A Re-examination", *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 251-266.

[1105] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1972 (E. Deilaki). Bibliography: E. Deilaki, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 108f.; *id.*, "Από το Άργος του 8ου και 7ου αι. π.Χ.", *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 38f.; R. Hägg, "Zur Stadtwerdung des dorischen Argos", in *Palast und Hütte. Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen vor- und frühgeschichtlern. Symposium Berlin 25.-30. Nov. 1979*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 302, 304; *id.*, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 12f.

[1106] E. Deilaki, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 39: "Αλλά καί τά εὑρήματα τῶν μεταγενεστέρων τῶν γεωμετρικῶν χρόνων, ὑποδηλοῦν ὕπαρξη κάποιου ἱεροῦ ἐκεῖ".

[1107] *Sanctuaries* (1992) 13.

seemed appropriate to discuss at least the chronology of the early monuments of the Heraion.[1108] The main reason for an early dating of the Old Terrace is the discovery of LG II sherds at a great depth inside the wall, thus providing a secure *terminus post quem*.[1109] The temple itself, however, is dated by some scholars in the first half of the 7th c.,[1110] and by others to the second half of the same century.[1111] B. Bergquist even lowers the date to the second quarter of the 6th c.[1112] Provided that the early dating of the terrace is correct, one has to explain the reasons for which the temple was erected several years later. J. Wright argues that the Argives built the massive terrace in a pseudo-Cyclopean style so that it would create the same impression to the visitor as the Mycenaean citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns.[1113] The reason for this would have been, according to the same author, the wish to give an architectural "pedigree" to the sanctuary, for "no monumental remains as at Mycenae and Tiryns were exposed that could have been pointed out to authenticate the site as a habitation of the heroes".[1114] F. De Polignac and others have argued that the sanctuary was founded in order to legitimise the territorial claims of the city of Argos.[1115] Even if Wright's theory is correct,[1116] one still needs to understand why a rectangular terrace, measuring 55,80 by 34,40m, was built, if it were not to create the necessary space for the construction of a temple.[1117] Nor can one seriously claim that the first temple which stood on the terrace was similar to the small well-known SG **building model** found at the sanctuary (Fig. 213) since it appears that it represents a rather modest structure.[1118] On

[1108] Excavations: American School, 1892-95 (C. Waldstein *et al.*). Bibliography: E. Tilton, in C. Waldstein *et al.*, *The Argive Heraeum* I, Cambridge Mass. 1902, 109-112; C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg 1929, 43; C. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge Mass. 1937, 19f.; *id.*, "Post-Mycenaean Deposits in Chamber Tombs", *AE* (1937) 377-390; P. Amandry, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 222-226; B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 19f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 57-59; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 42-47; T. Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.*, Minneapolis 1976, 81; H. Plommer, "Shadowy Megara", *JHS* 97 (1977) 75-78; *id.*, "The Old Platform in the Argive Heraion, *JHS* 104 (1984) 183f.; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 634f.; J. Wright, "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid", *JHS* 102 (1982) 186-201; F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 49-66; C.M. Antonaccio, *The Archaeology of Early Greek "Hero Cult"*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University 1987, 90-98; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 135-139; I. Strøm, "The Early Sanctuaries of the Argive Heraion and its External Relations (8th-early 6th Cent. B.C.): The Monumental Architecture", *ActaArch* 59 (1988) 173-203; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 12; C. Morgan & T. Whitelaw, "Pots and Politics: Ceramic Evidence for the Rise of the Argive State", *AJA* 95 (1991) 84f.; C.M. Antonaccio, "Terraces, Tombs, and the Early Argive Heraion", *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 85-105; *id.*, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 93-96; J.V. O'Brien, *The Transformation of Hera*, Lanham 1993, 119-166, esp. 124f., 131f.; J. Van Leuven, "Tombs and Religion at Mycenaean Prosymna", *JPR* 8 (1994) 42-61; A. Foley, "Idle Speculations about Argos", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 85f.; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 53-65; I. Strøm, "The Early Sanctuary of the Argive Heraion and its External Relations (8th-early 6th Cent. B.C.): The Greek Geometric Bronzes", *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1 (1995) 37-127; J. Hall, *AJA* 99 (1995) 577-614.

[1109] C. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge Mass. 1937, 19f.; J. Wright, *JHS* 102 (1982) 186-201; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 136; I. Strøm, *ActaArch* 59 (1988) 178. See also Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 59 who does not exclude a dating later in the 7th c. C. Antonaccio [*Hesperia* 61 (1992) 85-105] argues in favour of a later date within the 7th c. On the other hand, E. Tilton, in C. Waldstein *et al.*, *The Argive Heraeum* I, Cambridge Mass. 1902, 109f. and H. Plommer, *JHS* 97 (1977) 76 suggest a date in the Mycenaean period.

[1110] C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur*, Augsburg 1929, 43; P. Amandry, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 225; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 43; T. Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.*, Minneapolis 1976, 81; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 634-635; I. Strøm, *ActaArch* 59 (1988) 178.

[1111] K. Schefold, *MusHelv* 3 (1946) 88f.; G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen*, München 1976², 105; R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, London 1972, 235f.; J. Wright, *JHS* 102 (1982) 191; C.A. Pfaff, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 154; C.M. Antonaccio, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 98.

[1112] *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 19f.

[1113] *JHS* 102 (1982) 186-201.

[1114] *Ibid.*, 198.

[1115] *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, esp. 49-66. See also C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 12.

[1116] *Contra* see C.M. Antonaccio, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 95.

[1117] J. Wright dates the temple in the third quarter of the 7th c., i.e. *c.* 50-75 years after the erection of the terrace.

[1118] As for instance Bergquist (B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 19 and plan 5) and Wright [*JHS* 102 (1982) 191] suggest. See also J.V. O'Brien, *The Transformation of Hera*, Lanham 1993, 131f. Concerning this model which presumably dates in the first half of the 7th see K. Müller, *AM* 48 (1923) 52-68;

the other hand, C. Antonaccio, having reviewed the evidence, including unpublished documents of the excavators, argues that the terrace was built just before the construction of the Old Temple, during the 7th c., presumably around 650-675 B.C.[1119]

A smaller terrace, supported by a massive wall, *c.* 2,00m high, was excavated *c.* 700m to the NW of the Old Terrace ("**Secondary Shrine**", Fig 211).[1120] This terrace measures 12,50 by 8,50m. Approximately in its centre there was a burnt area, *c.* 1,20m in diameter and 0,20m deep, which contained bronze and iron votives, and pottery, including PC sherds. This assemblage presumably represents an ash altar. The material from the remaining part of the terrace dates from the LG period onwards, though the majority belongs to the 7th.[1121] There were also a few Mycenaean sherds, as well as some Classical and Hellenistic material, while one graffito on a black-glazed sherd mentioned Hera, a fact which led Blegen to suggest that the area was "merely an outlying altar" dedicated to the goddess.[1122] The material resembles that from the main sanctuary since it included many bronze and terracotta female figurines and a few horses, riders, wreaths and spools of terracotta.[1123] In order to explain this "bipolar" organisation of the sacred space, J. Wright suggested that the "Secondary Shrine" formalised the worship in and around the Mycenaean chamber graves and especially at the nearby Tholos[1124] but Antonaccio objected that the chamber tombs in the immediate vicinity had not been disturbed in the EIA, and regards instead this older shrine as the predecessor of the Old Terrace, which, as we have seen, she dates in the third quarter of the 7th c.[1125] However, since the cult of Hera in the main part of the sanctuary seems to have begun at least in the first half of the 9th c.,[1126] one cannot easily follow Antonaccio in her conclusions, for this would imply a shift of the gravity of cult, which is unlikely.

I am persuaded that the builders of the terrace had in mind the monumental temple which had been planned to be erected soon afterwards. Mallwitz correctly points out that the absence of roof tiles over the ruins of the temple can be taken as evidence in favour of an early date.[1127] It is possible, however, that roof tiles were indeed found but not mentioned in the final publication.[1128] In my opinion, it is probable that both terrace and temple date rather early in the 7th c. The use of the pseudo-Cyclopean technique in the construction of the terrace might well have been motivated by the reasons put forward by J. Wright. Indeed, one should not forget that the Old Terrace was presumably built at the period during which "heroic" cults were performed at the Mycenaean chamber tombs in the vicinity. Moreover, one should not neglect the fact that by the second half of the 8th c., Building T inside the LH IIIB2 megaron at Tiryns was presumably renovated and transformed into a temple of Hera (p. 161), while there might have been a temple over, or at least in the immediate vicinity of the Mycenaean megaron at Mycenae (p. 245f.).[1129]

G. Oikonomos, *AE* (1931) 1-53; S.D. Markman, "Building Models and the Architecture of the Geometric Period", in *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson* I, Saint Louis 1951, 259-271; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 70f.; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 235-237; R.M. Cook, "The Archetypal Doric Temple", *BSA* 65 (1970) 17, n. 1; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 422f.; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 615f.; I. Strøm, *ActaArch* 59 (1988) 191 and Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 22-26, with full bibliography.

[1119] *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 91-98, esp. 98. Antonaccio, based on the unpublished 1927 notebook of Blegen's colleague, R.S. Darbishire, presents evidence, though not conclusive, that 7th c. sherds were also found in deep probes beneath the paving of the terrace and consequently lowers the date of the terrace around the middle of the 7th c. B.C.

[1120] Excavations: American School, 1927 (C. Blegen & D.H. Cox). Bibliography: C. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge Mass. 1937, 6, 263; *id.*, "Prosymna: Remains of Post-Mycenaean Date", *AJA* 43 (1939) 410-444; J. Wright, *JHS* 102 (1988) 193f.; C.M. Antonaccio, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 100f.; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 15; P. Siewert, *AA* (1993) 599f.

[1121] C.M. Antonaccio, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 100.

[1122] C. Blegen, *AJA* 43 (1939) 412, fig. 11.

[1123] *Ibid.*, 412-428; C.M. Antonaccio, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 100, pl. 25a.

[1124] *JHS* 102 (1988) 193f.

[1125] *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 100f.

[1126] See for instance I. Strøm, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1 (1995) 86.

[1127] *Architektur* (1981) 634f.

[1128] C.A. Pfaff, "Three-peaked Antefixes from the Argive Heraion", *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 149-156, esp. 153-155.

[1129] A.J.B. Wace, *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*, Princeton 1949, 84, 86.

Building T at **Tiryns** (Figs. 218-219) was apparently constructed in the LH IIIC period and may have survived into the DA.[1130] The building overlies part of the great Mycenaean megaron on the acropolis. Indeed, it is placed in such a way that two column bases of the LH IIIB2 megaron lie on its longitudinal axis. The floor level was presumably the same as that of its predecessor. The W wall rests on the floor while the E one was built upon the E wall of the megaron. They are preserved in parts to a height of 0,65m and their thickness varies from 0,56 to 0,60m. The building measures 20,90m in length and 6,90m in width. It is generally assumed that the interior was divided into an elongated room to the N and a deep porch to the S. In my opinion, however, the edifice may have initially been divided into three rooms (Table IIIA:7), as its LH IIIB2 predecessor. This is based on the assumption that since the floor level of both structures was the same, the cross wall between the two rear compartments of the LH IIIB megaron, the lower portion of which is still visible today, would have been reused as a foundation for a partition wall in Building T. The reused column base would have therefore been located approximately in the centre of the rear room. Still, it is possible that when around 750 the edifice was converted into a temple, the inner cross wall may have been suppressed in order to enlarge the cella which would have contained the cult image of the divinity.

Along the inner faces of the walls of the porch, there was a bench, 0,50m wide. The two steps which led to the porch of the megaron were reused in the new building. The transition from the porch to the main room was made by means of a door, *c.* 2,00m wide. The old throne base, set against the E wall, was presumably reused.

In front of the building, at a distance of 11,60m, there was a circular altar[1131] which was later renewed by enclosing it with a square stone platform (Fig. 218, phase 2). Its location suggests that the residence of the Mycenaean *wanax* was connected with public cult practice. At an even later period, a narrow rectangular platform was added to the S of the altar (phase 3). At a distance of 28,00m NE of the altar, a LG-EA votive deposit was found.

[1130] Excavations: German Institute, 1884-85 (H. Schliemann and W. Dörpfeld); 1926 (K. Müller). Bibliography: H. Schliemann & W. Dörpfeld, *Tirynthe*, Paris 1885, 214, 274f., 320-322; F. Marx, *JdI* 4 (1889) 127, n. 7; A. Frickenhaus, "Die Hera von Tiryns", in *Tiryns* I, Athen 1912, esp. 1-13 & 31-41; C. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 34 (1919) 95, n. 2; C. Robert, *Hermes* 55 (1920) 381f., 386; C.W. Blegen, *Korakou*, Boston & New York 1921, 130-134; E. Bell, *Prehellenic Architecture in the Aegean*, London 1926, 147; C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg 1929, 26; K. Müller, *Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes, Tiryns* III, Augsburg 1930, 134-139 & 213-215; G. Karo, *Führer durch Tiryns*, Athen 1934[2], 48; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 35f.; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968[2], 475-479; *id.*, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, München 1955, 346 & 350; H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 435 & 444; W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 21; P. Älin, *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland*, *SIMA* 1 (1962) 32-34; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 48f., 51f.; *id.*, *Mycenaean Religion: Temples, Altars and Temenea*, Athens 1977, 44f.; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 239; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 17f.; W.H. Schuchardt, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1971, 89f.; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 398; *id.*, *AG* (1980) 59f.; Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 79; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 54; P. Gercke, in *Führer durch Tiryns*, ed. U. Jantzen, Athen 1975, ed. U. Jantzen, 96-99; D.W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese c. 750/725 to c. 300/275 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 123-129; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 326f.; R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I: *The Mainland and the Islands*, *SIMA* 52 (1979) 42; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 53; K. Kilian, "Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausübung in Tiryns", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 51 & 53; *id.*, *AA* (1981) 160; J. Wright, "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid", *JHS* 102 (1982) 195-197; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 793; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 60; K. Kilian, "La caduta dei palazzi micenei continentali: aspetti archeologici", in *Origini dei Greci. Dori e Mondo Egeo*, ed. D. Musti, Roma & Bari 1986, 76 and n. 53 p. 90; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 37f.; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 785-791; *Temples* (1988) 113f.; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 28f.; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 145-147; K. Kilian, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988*, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990, 196; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 70-76, esp. 72f.; C. Morgan & T. Whitelaw, "Pots and Politics: Ceramic Evidence for the Rise of the Argive State", *AJA* 95 (1991) 87f.; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 17f.

[1131] This altar was presumably filled in, i.e. it was not meant for libations: see K. Müller, *Tiryns* III, Augsburg 1930, 137f.; R. Hägg, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, Stockholm 1990, 181, n. 36 and K. Kilian, in *ibid.*, 184.

Since the pottery found by Schliemann and Dörpfeld inside the building was not recorded, there is a serious problem in dating the building. There are two trends among scholars: some believe that it was built around 750, date of the earliest offerings found in the neighbouring votive deposit,[1132] others maintain that it was erected shortly after the first destruction of the palace in the end of the LH IIIB period, i.e. in the LH IIIC period.[1133] The technique of construction resembles that of the LH IIIB2 megaron. Furthermore, the fact that certain walls of the LH IIIB2 megaron were reused, as well as the two column bases, the floor, the steps in front of the porch and the throne base, suggests that it was built shortly after the destruction of the LH IIIB megaron. Indeed, if a long period had elapsed between the destruction and partial reconstruction of the megaron, the ruins of the former would have vanished beneath a substantial fill of debris and earth.[1134] Moreover, none of the sherds which were incorporated in the walls of Building T that K. Müller dismantled was post-Mycenaean, while no roof tiles were discovered during the excavation of the fill above the building.[1135] Therefore, it seems likely that Building T was built at the close of the LBA, presumably during the LH IIIC period.

Judging by its alignment with the axis of the great megaron, the round altar in front of the megaron would have been built in the LH IIIB period. The square element added in the second building period is usually dated around the middle of the 8th c. B.C., but in my opinion, if one accepts the early date of Building T, it should belong to the LH IIIC period.[1136] Indeed, two curved blocks from the circular altar were built in the walls of Building T.[1137] Since the building technique of the square element is comparable to that of the walls of Building T,[1138] one could perhaps assume that the two curved blocks just mentioned were presumably removed when the circular altar was renovated and surrounded by the square element.[1139]

Recent investigations at Tiryns have proved that the citadel perished in a conflagration towards the end of the LH IIIB period, but that it was immediately resettled and new buildings replaced the older ones at least in the Lower Citadel.[1140] There is also evidence for activity on the Upper Citadel during the LH IIIC period.[1141] Moreover, Kilian suggested that Tiryns increased in size during the LH IIIC period due to the arrival of refugees from the Argolid.[1142] The final destruction

[1132] A. Frickenhaus (*Tiryns* I, Athen 1912, 2-13) dated the edifice in the middle of the 7th c.; H. Schliemann and W. Dörpfeld (*Tirynthe*, Paris 1885, 214) were the first to suggest that the building was a Hellenic temple. K. Müller (*Tiryns* III, Augsburg 1930, 213-215) maintained that the LH IIIB megaron lasted until *c.* 750 B.C., when it was destroyed by fire and replaced by Building T. G. Karo (*Führer durch Tiryns*, Athen 1934[2], 48), M.P. Nilsson (*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968[2], 475-479) and H.L. Lorimer (*Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 435) follow Müller. P. Gercke (in *Führer durch Tiryns*, ed. U. Jantzen, Athen 1975, 98), J. Wright [*JHS* 102 (1982) 196f.], G.E. Mylonas (*Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 51f.) and other scholars believe that the LH IIIB megaron was lying in ruins for *c.* four centuries when around 750, Building T was erected.

[1133] C. Blegen, *Korakou*, Boston & New York 1921, 130-134 was the first to question the traditional dating of Building T in the EIA. He was followed by Weickert (*Typen der archaische Architektur*, Augsburg 1929, 26), Yavis (*Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 36), Dinsmoor (*The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 21 and n. 1), Ålin [*SIMA* 1 (1962) 32-34], K. Kilian [in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 51 & 53 and *AA* (1981) 160] and others. Some scholars adopt a cautious approach (Drerup, Snodgrass, Coldstream) but they seem to favour a dating in the Geometric period.

[1134] This does not mean that there was no destruction layer when the LH IIIB2 megaron was destroyed (*cf.* A. Frickenhaus, *Tiryns* I, Athen 1912, 3, fig. 2), but simply that this fill was immediately removed.

[1135] K. Kilian, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, Stockholm 1990, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, 196.

[1136] See for instance O. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge 1994, 155, fig. 5.30. Mylonas (*Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 44f.) doubted that the circular altar belongs to the Mycenaean period.

[1137] P. Ålin, *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland*, *SIMA* 1 (1962) 33, with references; D.W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 126.

[1138] Rupp, *op.cit.*, 126.

[1139] *Ibid.*, 123. The superstructure of the circular altar "has been removed to its bottom course for this phase".

[1140] K. Kilian, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 52f.; R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I: *The Mainland and the Islands*, *SIMA* 52 (1979) 41f.

[1141] Ålin, *op.cit.*, 33f.; C. Podzuweit, *AA* (1978) 497f., fig. 36:7, 9, 12, 13; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1984/85) 20. Moreover, some walls in the Upper Citadel may have been built in LH IIIC: see K. Kilian, *AA* (1981) 160; *id.*, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 53; *id.*, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, Stockholm 1990, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, 196.

[1142] See for instance "Zum Ende der mykenischen Epoche in der Argolis", *JbZMusMainz* 27 (1980) 166-195;

occurred towards the end of the LH IIIC period, and was caused by fire once again. It is however noteworthy that the walls of Building T bore no traces of a violent destruction.[1143] It is possible that this was one of the few buildings which escaped destruction and may have lasted into the EIA, though it can no longer be established for how long.

By accepting that Building T was erected in LH IIIC and that it remained in use into the DA, we are faced with the problem of its function in the beginning of the EIA. The circular impressions left by 12 large pithoi between the rear walls of Building T and the LH IIIB2 megaron strengthen the hypothesis that the LH IIIC building continued to serve as a residence, as its LH IIIB2 predecessor.[1144] One should also bear in mind that recent excavations at the Lower Citadel have revealed three successive shrines of the LH IIIC period (*cf.* Tables IC:2, IIIC:2, IVC:2).[1145]

Judging by the date of the earliest dedications of the neighbouring votive deposit, Building T was perhaps repaired around the middle of the 8th c. and was transformed into a temple. By that time, the edifice was probably in a ruinous condition and was presumably renovated when the cult of Hera was established on the acropolis. The N cross wall may have been suppressed, while the altar was renovated by the addition of a rectangular platform. The latest dedications of the votive deposit are dated in the middle of the 7th c. Numerous votive offerings of the Archaic and Classical periods were found in various places of the Upper Citadel, as well as a Doric capital and roof tiles of the Archaic period. The divinity worshipped on the acropolis from the mid-8th c. B.C. was presumably Hera.[1146] Her cult at Tiryns is often mentioned by ancient authors.[1147] Moreover, the base of a bowl of the Classical period bore an inscribed dedication to the goddess.[1148] The only substantial building on the Upper Citadel which may be connected with those finds is Building T.

In conclusion, it seems that the LH IIIC-early DA building (T1), which I would be willing to identify with a ruler's dwelling, was transformed towards the middle of the 8th c. into a temple of Hera (T2). The absence of roof tiles in connection with this building can be explained if one assumes that the final abandonment of the building coincides with the last dedications of the neighbouring votive deposit, i.e. towards the middle of the 7th c. B.C. It is practically certain that there exists a break between the two building periods, though judging by the fact that the floor level in the courtyard remained the same, this break would have been rather short.

A final remark: the dimensions of the buildings at Tiryns and Thermon are roughly the same: 21,40 by 7,30m at Thermon, 20,90 by 6,90m at Tiryns. Both face S and the entrance is located in the S short side. Megaron B is divided into three compartments (Fig. 44) and I have argued that this may have originally been the case in the Tiryns edifice as well (Table IIIA:7). At the two sites, the plan of the buildings reflects a tradition going back to the LBA: the tripartite division of Building T recalls the similar arrangement of its predecessors of the LH IIIB2 and LH IIIA1 periods;[1149] the similar arrangement of Megaron B reflects the internal division of its predecessor, Megaron A (Fig. 40). Moreover, Megaron B was perhaps flanked in the W by a walled (?) courtyard, in which several large pithoi were standing. Curiously, we witness a similar situation at Tiryns; in the space formed by the rear walls of the LH IIIB2 megaron and Building T, circular impressions indicate that pithoi once stood there. The question whether the spaces containing the pithoi on both sites were roofed, cannot

id., "La caduta dei palazzi micenei continentali: aspetti archeologici", in *Origini dei Greci. Dori e Mondo Egeo*, ed. D. Musti, Roma & Bari 1986, 73-115.

[1143] W. Dörpfeld, in H. Schliemann & W. Dörpfeld, *Tirynthe*, Paris 1885, 214.

[1144] *Ibid.*, 322. Those traces were also mentioned by G. Rodenwaldt (*Tiryns* II, Athen 1912, 223, n. 2). It is most unlikely that the pithoi were standing inside the throne room of the LH IIIB2 megaron. In my opinion they could be dated in the LH IIIC period and therefore might be contemporary with the period of use of Building T. For a different opinion see J. Wright, *JHS* 102 (1982) 201.

[1145] K. Kilian, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 49-58.

[1146] See Foley (1988) 146f. who assembles all the evidence and discusses also the suggestion of a few scholars that it was the cult of Athena that was centred around Building T. On the question of the identity of the divinity see also C.M. Antonaccio, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 92, n. 50, with references.

[1147] U. Naumann, in *Führer durch Tiryns*, ed. U. Jantzen, Athen 1975, 104f.

[1148] *Ibid.*, 104, fig. 25.

[1149] For the plan of the LH III A1 megaron at Tiryns, recently identified by K. Kilian, see H.W. Catling, *AR* (1985/86) 27, fig. 31 and G. Touchais, *BCH* 110 (1986) 689, fig. 34.

be answered. I simply remark that a light roof of perishable materials is quite possible in both instances. If this had been so, then these two edifices would not have been entirely free-standing.

The rectangular temple at **Asine (Building A)** is located on the summit of the Barbouna hill, within the fortified section of the settlement (Figs. 220, no. 1, 237-239).[1150] It faces S and measures 9,60 by 4,30m. The walls are 0,80m wide, except to the N, where the width is 1,00m. They are preserved to a height of *c.* 0,60m. The interior is divided in two compartments by a cross wall, *c.* 0,20 to 0,30m wide and constructed with a single course of stones.[1151] Along the N, W, and E walls of the main room runs a stone bench, 0,30m wide and *c.* 0,35m high. Drerup interpreted this bench as a continuous base which would have supported wooden posts set against the inner face on the wall. However, the difference of level between the "base" and the original floor of the building (*c.* 0,35m) favours the bench theory.[1152] In the centre of the room, substantial traces of burning and charcoal indicate the presence of a hearth.[1153] The sanctuary was enclosed by a temenos wall. There is evidence for two entrances, one to the N and the other to the S.

The earliest sherds from the interior of the rectangular building date in the end of the 8th c., when it seems to have replaced the apsidal building (*supra* p. 70f.). Judging from the later material, it ensues that the building was frequented until into the 5th c. B.C.[1154] The sanctuary was still visited during the Hellenistic period. Since the two entrances of the temenos wall are aligned with the central axis of the temple, the former could be considered either contemporary or later than the rectangular temple.

The presence of votive offerings, among which one Archaic lead statuette identified with Apollo, suggest that the rectangular building was the temple of Apollo Pythaeus, which according to Pausanias was the only building spared by the Argives when they destroyed the city in *c.* 710 B.C.[1155]

I should recall here that the three small rectangular structures excavated in the slopes of the Barbouna hill **(Q, O, P)** may have been shrines connected with the cult of the dead (see *supra* p. 71).

The sanctuary of Apollo at **Halieis** is situated outside the fortification wall of the ancient town. Today, part of the city and the sanctuary are submerged in the sea at the NE of the harbour of Porto Cheli (Figs. 243-244).[1156] The plan of the LG/EA temple (Fig. 245), which faces S, is extremely

[1150] Excavations: Swedish Institute, 1924, 1926 (O. Frödin and A.W. Persson). Bibliography: O. Frödin & A.W. Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938, 148-151; B. Wells, "Apollon i Asine", *Medusa* 3 (1986) 13f.; *id.*, "Apollo at Asine", in *Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Καλαμάτα, 8-15 Σεπτ. 1985*, B', Athens 1987/88 (*Πελοποννησιακά* 13, Παράρτημα), 349-352; *id.*, "The Asine Sima", *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 157-161; W.S. Barett, "Bacchylides, Asine and Apollo Pythaeus", *Hermes* 82 (1954) 421-444; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 9f. & 109; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 50; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 52; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 60; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 503-505; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 27f.; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 27, 142f., 175; M.-Fr. Billot, "Apollon Pythéen et l'Argolide archaïque. Histoire et Mythes", *Αρχαιογνωσία* 6 (1989/90) 35-98, esp. 41, 43; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 18f. The material from the sanctuary is currently studied for publication by B. Wells, *Asine* III: *Supplementary Material from the 1922-1930 Excavations*, Stockholm, in preparation. Concerning the dating of the circuit wall in the LG period see B. Wells, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 261-266 and *id.*, in *Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, B', Athens 1987/88, 350.

[1151] Interior dimensions of porch: 2,70 X 2,40m, cella: 5,20 X 2,70m.

[1152] *Baukunst* (1969) 109.

[1153] B. Wells, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 48.

[1154] The roof tiles (numerous fragments were noted by the excavators) were presumably added in the Archaic period: see O. Frödin & A.W. Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938, 151 and B. Wells, "The Asine Sima", *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 157-161 (the fragment dates around 500 B.C.).

[1155] II, 36, 4-5. The finds associated with the rectangular building were mainly miniature vases and votive figurines (B. Wells, in *Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, B', Athens 1987/88, 349). For questions related to the destruction of Asine see P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris 1966, 14, 26; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 154, 327; C. Morgan & T. Whitelaw, "Pots and Politics: Ceramic Evidence for the Rise of the Argive State", *AJA* 95 (1991) 83; A. Foley, "Idle Speculations about Argos", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 82f. If this assumption is correct, the temple would have been erected either just before or immediately after the Argive attack.

[1156] Excavations: American School, 1971-73 (M. Jameson). Bibliography: M.H. Jameson, *AΔ* 26 (1971) Χρον., 116-118; 27 (1972) Χρον., 234f.; *id.*, "The Excavation of a Drowned Greek Temple", *Scientific American* 234 (1974) 111-119; *id.*, "The Submerged Sanctuary of Apollo at Halieis in the Argolid of Greece", *National Geographic Research Reports* 14 (1982) 362-367; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 95 (1971) 857f.; 96 (1972) 651f.; 98

elongated (27,30m) and narrow (4,46m) (ratio 1:6). The exterior walls were built with limestone slabs set in two rows. Only the visible face of the stones was dressed. According to the excavators, the upper part of the walls was of mud bricks.[1157] Judging by the published plan, the thickness of the walls was *c.* 0,50-0,60m. The interior was divided into three chambers (Rooms 2-4 on the plan) and a porch (Room 1).[1158] The pronaos and the sekos were entered from the S. The middle and rear chambers (3-4) did not communicate with each other, nor with the sekos; instead, they were provided with separate doors on the W side. These two rooms were provided with an axial wooden colonnade, resting on stone bases. Only the two northern circular bases of the N room belong to the original stage of the building; the remaining bases were rectangular and were replacements for the initial row. The threshold between the pronaos and the sekos belongs to the second building phase as well. In the preliminary reports it is not made clear whether the ashlar blocks of the threshold replaced an earlier threshold partition wall with door. This however is implied by the fact that nowhere in the reports published is there a mention that initially there had been no porch. A second uncertainty exists concerning the form of the porch. On the plan one observes the remains of a foundation which runs across the building's facade. The excavators do not specify whether the porch was closed (in which case the entrance may have either been axial or off-centre, to the E: see Table VIA:11) or open (in which case the stone foundation should represent a threshold: see Table IIIA:10). The latter solution seems more probable, but cannot be confirmed until the final publication appears.

Along the inner face of the walls semicircular limestone bases, set at 1,50m intervals, rested on a narrow footing projecting from the lowest course of stones of the exterior walls. These have been interpreted as bases for half-engaged wooden columns which helped to strengthen the upper part of the walls. A similar technique can be observed at the temple of Artemis Orthia, at Sparta. In the NE corner of the middle compartment (3) there was a square structure, composed of stones, which may have been a bench. The stone base for the cult statue, located in the rear part of the sekos, belongs to the second building phase.[1159] The roof was made of Corinthian tiles. These should probably be considered as a replacement of the initial roof, which, originally, would have been composed of perishable materials.[1160] The interior faces of the walls were coated with plaster which bear traces of painted designs, thus recalling the similar cases of Corinth and Isthmia.

The interior yielded numerous interesting finds. In the space between the cult base and the rear wall of the sekos, numerous iron spits, 18 Aiginetan silver coins, dated in the late 6th c., two axe-adzes and a double-axe of iron, three iron keys and other objects, were collected. The middle chamber was full of goats' horns[1161] and animal bones, mainly of young pigs. Inside the same room, but also outside the temple, quantities of iron knives, swords and spearheads were collected. One should also mention the discovery of fragments belonging to three bronze animal figurines, a goat, a ram and a bull. The northern room revealed more than 5000 miniature kotylai. It should finally be mentioned that an altar probably existed in front of the temple, from Geometric times onwards.[1162]

The origins of the activity in the sanctuary may be placed in the late 8th c. B.C. Geometric sherds were discovered at the N side of the altar which is post-Geometric in date.[1163] LG sherds and a PC lekythos dated before 675 are the earliest finds from the interior of the temple. A sample of wood,

(1974) 610; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1973/74) 12; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 28 & 119; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 621; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 42f.; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 711-715; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 118; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 149; N.K. Cooper, "Archaic Architectural Terracottas from Halieis and Bassai", *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 67-77; B. Bergquist, "Primary and Secondary Temple Function: The Case of Halieis", *OpAth* 18 (1990) 23-37; *id.*, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988*, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990, 225-228 [extended abstract of the article in *OpAth* 18 (1990) 23-37].

[1157] M.H. Jameson, *National Geographic Research Reports* 14 (1982) 364. In an earlier report [*id.*, *Scientific American* 234 (1974) 116] it had been suggested that the walls may have been built entirely of stone.

[1158] Dimensions: pronaos: 3,50m deep; sekos: 7,80m; middle room: 8,25m; N room: 5,40m.

[1159] Fragments belonging to a marble statue of Apollo were found inside the sekos. It seems that by the time the statue was made, part of the temple lay in ruins.

[1160] N.K. Cooper, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 77.

[1161] *Cf.* the similar cases of Dreros and Kato Syme and the "Keraton" altar on Delos.

[1162] M.H. Jameson, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 235.

[1163] Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 149. The details in the building techniques and the orientation of the long altar suggest that there may have been an earlier altar more in line with the temple.

dated by C14, provided a date of 780 (+/- 59 years) B.C. Thus, one may assume that the temple was built towards the very end of the 8th c., or in the first quarter of the 7th c. The majority of the finds, however, belong to the succeeding centuries, the latest being dated towards the middle of the 5th c. B.C.[1164] The roof tiles can be dated in the later part of the 7th c. or perhaps in the first quarter of the 6th c. B.C.[1165]

On one of the temple keys of the 5th c. B.C. was inscribed the name of Apollo.[1166] The presence of goats' horns and the bones of piglets is perhaps indicative of the oracular and purifying nature of the sanctuary.[1167] The case of Halieis is informative, for on one hand it constitutes a clear demonstration that sacrifices and presumably ritual banquets (*cf.* also the numerous spits) were the main ritual act performed in the sanctuary, and on the other, we begin to see a separation of the interior in compartments, each of which serves a different purpose: house of the divinity (southern compartment), *hestiatorion* (middle room)[1168] and treasury (northern room) are here bound together, but each is autonomous and entered through a separate door.[1169] Alternatively, B. Bergquist, is willing to identify the building as an *hestiatorion* the southern room of which was later transformed into a temple.[1170] The hypothesis is appealing but a combination of several functions appears to me more probable.[1171]

A small rectangular edifice (**Building A**, Figs. 247-248) is located on the acropolis of **Aigeira** in the northern Peloponnese (*c.* +413m above sea level).[1172] The site has been identified with the Homeric city Hyperesia. The EIA remains succeeded earlier walls of a LH IIIC settlement. The EIA walls are badly preserved and it is difficult to reconstruct individual ground plans. One room (II/3) measures *c.* 8,00 by 5,00m but the location of the entrance is unknown. Moreover, several LH IIIC walls were reused in the EIA, a fact which complicates even further one's attempt to restore an intelligible ground plan of the EIA complex.

Building A lies to the S and partly underneath an EA temple (Building B).[1173] It faces E and measures 7,70m in length and *c.* 5,00m in width.[1174] The N wall of the main room extends to the E, thus forming a porch, 2,10m deep (Figs. 248, 250). The rear room measures internally *c.* 4,50m. The

[1164] The destruction of the building was caused by fire, possibly by the unsuccessful attack against Halieis by the Athenians, in 460 B.C. Thereafter, the sanctuary declined; a small shrine was built over the previous entrance of the temple.

[1165] N.K. Cooper, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 77.

[1166] M.H. Jameson, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 235.

[1167] M.H. Jameson [*Scientific American* 234 (1974) 117] reminds us that Orestes was purged of guilt for killing his mother by sacrificing young pigs to Apollo at Delphi.

[1168] See also M.H. Jameson, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990, 227, who does not exclude that the northern room had a similar function as well.

[1169] Mazarakis Ainian, *Temples* (1988) 118.

[1170] *OpAth* 18 (1990) 23-37. M. Jameson and F. Cooper objected (*ibid.*, and also in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990, 227) that (1) Halieis was a humble settlement and could not have had an *hestiatorion* instead of a temple, (2) the inscribed key is an indisputable proof of the identity of the building and (3) the presence of roof tiles in such an early building suggest a temple rather than an *hestiatorion* (see *ibid.*, 36f.).

[1171] Mazarakis Ainian, *Temples* (1988) 118.

[1172] Excavations: Austrian Institute, 1981-82 (W. Alzinger). Bibliography: W. Alzinger, *ÖJh* 53 (1981/82) Beiblatt, 8-15; 54 (1983) Beiblatt, 35-40; *id.*, "Freilegung des ältesten Tempels in Griechenland", *AW* (1982) Heft 2, p. 62; *id.*, "Hyperesia-Aigeira. Der Wandel eines Heiligtums von spätmykenischer bis in klassische Zeit", in *Πρακτικά XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας, Αθήνα, 4-10 Σεπτ. 1983*, Δ', Athens 1988, 20-23; W. Alzinger *et al.*, "Aigeira-Hyperesia I", *Klio* 67 (1985) 388-451, esp. 426-451; G. Schwarz, in W. Alzinger *et al.*, *Klio* 68 (1986) 326-328; S. Gogos, "Kult und Heiligtümer der Artemis von Aigeira", *ÖJh* 57 (1986/87) Beiblatt, 108-139, esp. 119-127. See also G. Touchais, *BCH* 106 (1982) 554; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 60; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 21; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 481-484; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 109f.; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 37f.; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 8, n. 20 p. 258; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 113, n. 98; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 103f.; C. Morgan, "Ethnicity and Early Greek States: Historical and Material Perspectives", *ProsCambrPhilSoc* 37 (1991) 139, 154, n. 44.

[1173] Concerning the discovery of Temple B see G. Touchais, *BCH* 104 (1980) 614-617 & 105 (1981) 803.

[1174] The S part of the building has not survived for it was cut off by the later retaining wall of the acropolis (Fig. 247). The width of the walls varies from 0,45-0,55m. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 37, n. 203] notes that the length, porch inclusive, was 9,75m, which is not accurate.

entrance, which would presumably have been axially placed, was 1,90m wide. The entrance was divided into two parts by a central post, as the presence of a base of stones in the longitudinal axis of the edifice suggests. E. Grubits in his graphic reconstruction of the building (Fig. 249) does not take into account the N anta wall and reconstructs a porch instead supported by two wooden posts, according to the well-known clay model from Argos (Fig. 500). A central stone base, originally ascribed to the building, does not appear in the same reconstruction, nor is it mentioned in the later publications. As Professor Alzinger informed me, it was subsequently proven that this block belongs to the LH IIIC level.[1175] The walls are built of small unworked stones set on two or three courses. The surface of the foundations is even, suggesting that the superstructure was of mud bricks though W. Alzinger does not exclude the possibility that the walls were entirely built of stone.[1176]

In the earliest report the edifice was placed in the beginning of the Geometric period.[1177] In the following reports an even earlier date was proposed.[1178] In the latest detailed preliminary report the building is dated sometime between the 10th and 8th c. B.C.[1179] Following a closer study of the pottery from the building, W. Alzinger now proposes as a likely date the first half of the 8th c.[1180] Until the final publication, the question of the date of construction of the building should remain open.

The excavator suggests that the divinity worshipped on the acropolis of Aigeira was Artemis-Iphigeneia, mentioned by Pausanias (VIII, 26, 5). The main reason for such an identification is the presence of numerous female clay idols among the later votives. The anta building is tentatively identified as a temple. The excavator's main argument in favour of this assumption is the orientation of the building towards the E, as Building B.[1181] Yet, the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis was abandoned in the Hellenistic period. Thus, the temple of Artemis which Pausanias visited was certainly not on the acropolis. The excavator assumes that the temple was moved to some other place which was visited by Pausanias in the second half of the 2nd c. A.D.[1182] One however should not exclude the possibility that the sanctuary of the acropolis was dedicated to some other female divinity.

No votives of the Geometric period have been described yet with the exception of fragments belonging to a bronze tripod of the 9th or early 8th c. B.C., discovered on a terrace further down the hill (Fig. 251), as well as spits.[1183] Three feet of large kraters, dated around 700 B.C., are also regarded as votive offerings.[1184] The excavators suggest that the acropolis, which in LH IIIC times served as a seat of the local ruler,[1185] was transformed in the beginning of the EIA into an hypaethral sanctuary. However, the apparent scarcity of votives and the presence of numerous walls of the 10th-8th c. B.C. would suggest a settlement rather than a sanctuary. In my opinion one should consider the possibility that the acropolis of Aigeira was in the beginning of the EIA the seat of the local ruler, in which case, Building A could have been the leader's residence.[1186] The remaining structures (Fig. 248) should in that case be identified with the appendages of the main unit. There is

[1175] Letter of Oct. 28, 1986.
[1176] *Klio* 67 (1985) 427.
[1177] G. Touchais, *BCH* 106 (1982) 554.
[1178] W. Alzinger, *ÖJh* 54 (1983) Beiblatt, 36; *id.*, in *XIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens, 4 to 10 Sept. 1983. Summaries*, 41: "submykenische bis frühgeometrische Zeit datiert"; *id.*, in *Πρακτικά XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας*, Δ', Athens 1988, 21.
[1179] *Id.*, *Klio* 67 (1985) 428f. & 449f.
[1180] Letter by Professor Alzinger, July 4, 1984.
[1181] W. Alzinger, in *Πρακτικά XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας*, Δ', Athens 1988, 23.
[1182] *Id.*, *Klio* 67 (1985) 450f. See also S. Gogos, *ÖJh* 57 (1986/87) Beiblatt, 108-139.
[1183] W. Alzinger, *ÖJh* 53 (1981/82) Beiblatt, 2, fig. 4; *id.*, in *Πρακτικά XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας*, Δ', Athens 1988, 23 and pl. 7.3. See also C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 65 & *id.*, *ProsCambrPhilSoc* 37 (1991) 154, n. 44, concerning the latter date.
[1184] W. Alzinger, letter of Oct. 28, 1986 and *id.*, in *Πρακτικά XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας*, Δ', Athens 1988, 23. Two of these have been described and illustrated: G. Schwarz, in *Klio* 68 (1986) 326-329, figs. 118-119 at p. 328.
[1185] The location is in regarded as a "Herrensitz": S. Deger-Jalkotzy & E. Alram-Stern, *Klio* 67 (1985) 404.
[1186] In his letter of Oct. 28, 1986, Professor Alzinger expressed the view that it not likely that Building A was a ruler's house, due to its isolated location. This, however, could also serve as an argument in favour of my assumption (see *infra* p. 272f. and n. 6).

no palpable evidence, however, that the acropolis was continuously occupied from LH IIIC to the EIA.[1187] It was perhaps in the EA period that the acropolis was exclusively devoted to cult practice,[1188] while Aigeira later became the cult centre of the Achaian *ethnos*.[1189]

The earlier temple of Artemis Orthia at **Sparta** lies to the S and partly underneath the Archaic temple (Fig. 275).[1190] Only the SW corner and part of the long S wall of the edifice were preserved (Fig. 276).[1191] The walls consisted of a low socle of small stones, brought from the river beds of the Eurotas, which supported a mud brick superstructure. Stone slabs were placed at regular intervals of 1,25m and half way inside the stone socle. Each slab was backed by a flat stone set vertically. This arrangement implies that wooden posts were incorporated in the mud brick walls. To those posts corresponds a row of flat stones, parallel and to the N of the building's S wall, which evidently served as bases for an axial wooden colonnade.[1192] Thus the entire width of the building would have attained 4,50m. The entrance was certainly located to the E, but no trace of it has survived. The total length of the edifice can be estimated to *c.* 12,00m, for beyond that point extended a large votive deposit. Drerup argued that elongated buildings were usually provided with an anta facade and suggested that the Orthia temple had a similar kind of entrance (*cf.* Table IA:11) but in my opinion the restoration of a closed front is equally acceptable (*cf.* Table IVA:25).[1193]

In the SW corner a square structure lined with extremely thin vertical slabs was found. Those of the S and W walls are *c.* 0,90m high. Since the earth in the rear part of the building was black, one may suggest that the structure was a hearth, and not a bench or base for the cult image, as the excavator and other scholars maintain.[1194] The purpose of those tall slabs would have been to protect that walls from the effect of the fire of the hearth.

A fragment from a clay **building model** (Fig. 501) found in the sanctuary may serve towards a better understanding of the techniques used for the construction of the temple.[1195] It seems that the painted decoration (two sets of crossed diagonals crowned by sets of three vertical lines) could be explained as "wooden elements of a half-timbered or timber-framed construction" and triglyphs or barred windows, respectively.[1196] According to R.W.V. Catling "it is unlikely to be coincidental that the same type of construction can be discerned in both the temple itself and the model from the same sanctuary",[1197] though he adds that this does not necessarily mean that the model copies the specific building but simple an architectural form typical of 7th c. Sparta.

[1187] Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 104.

[1188] *Cf.* C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 258, n. 20; *id.*, *ProcCambrPhilSoc* 37 (1991) 139.

[1189] See *id.*, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 8.

[1190] Excavations: British School, 1906-10 (R.M. Dawkins). Bibliography: R.M. Dawkins, *BSA* 14 (1907/08) 12-22; 16 (1909/10) 18-53; *id.*, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta Excavated and Described by Members of the British School at Athens, 1906-1910*, London 1929, esp. 18-53; C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg 1929, 11f.; E. Kunze, *Gnomon* 9 (1933) 1-14; D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1945[1], 53f.; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 69, 108-110; E. Kirsten, "Heiligtum und Tempel der Artemis Orthia zu Sparta in ihrer ältesten Entwicklungsphase", *BJb* 158 (1958) 170-176; H. Drerup, "Zur Entstehung der griechischen Tempelringhalle", in *Festschrift für F. Matz*, Mainz 1962, 32, n. 10; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 19-21; J. Boardman, "Artemis Orthia and Chronology", *BSA* 58 (1963) 1-7; B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 47-49; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 235-237; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 55; G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen*, München 1976[2], 29f.; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 77; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 160; P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Laconia*, London 1979, 357-361; A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, ed. R.A. Tomlinson, Harmondsworth 1983[4], 120, 122; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 795f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 755-758; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 31f.; R.W.V. Catling, "A Fragment of an Archaic Temple Model From Artemis Orthia", *BSA* 89 (1994) 269-275, esp. 272f.

[1191] The rear wall was preserved to a length of 1,80m, the S wall to a length of 8,00m.

[1192] The existence of an axial colonnade in such a narrow edifice implies that the roof was pitched.

[1193] *Baukunst* (1969) 91.

[1194] See R.M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London 1929, 10; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 69; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 20f.; E. Walter-Karydi, *AntK* 23 (1980) 10; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 31, 134. S. Marinatos [*BCH* 60 (1936) 240] includes the temple of Artemis Orthia in his list of EIA temples with interior *eschara* but avoided to call the structure a hearth.

[1195] R.W.V. Catling, *BSA* 89 (1994) 269-275.

[1196] *Ibid.*, 271.

[1197] *Ibid.*, 273.

At a distance to the E of the temple there existed a rectangular altar which followed a slightly different orientation than the temple (Fig. 275).[1198] Both structures were enclosed by a temenos wall and rested on the level of the cobble paving with which the temenos was floored. Partly beneath the altar, below the paving, a deposit of ash, animal bones and votive offerings was discovered. This attests that originally the cult was celebrated in the open air, presumably around an ash altar.

Nothing was found in the building itself, but numerous deposits containing votives and residues from sacrifices occupied the space concealed inside the temenos.[1199] Luckily, the excavators recorded in detail the stratigraphy of the site, allowing J. Boardman to revise their dating:[1200] he concluded that the early temple, the cobble pavement and the first altar were built around 700 B.C.[1201] The temple was destroyed by an inundation which occurred in the second quarter of the 6th c. and was immediately replaced by a new one further N. At the same time the entire sanctuary was reorganised (i.e. construction of a new altar and temenos wall). It seems that the roof of the first temple which would have been composed of perishable materials was replaced by tiles towards the end of the 7th c.[1202] Judging by the substantial number of inscribed dedications found at the site, the sanctuary was dedicated to Artemis Orthia.[1203]

A sanctuary of a female divinity was excavated on the W slope of **Gortsouli** hill, the site identified with ancient Ptolis, *c.* one km outside the fortification wall of Classical Mantineia (Fig. 281).[1204] According to the initial report of the excavator, there would have been an earlier small rectangular building, 4,90m wide, preserved to a length of 5,50m (**Building A**), enclosed inside a later building, measuring 16,60 by 6,50m (Building B).[1205] Based on this account and on certain details observed on the first published plan, I was led to suggest that the remains could be attributed to only one building and to consider the two inner foundations, which appeared exactly parallel to the walls of Building B, as benches.[1206] I was also led to suggest that the rear foundation (Wall 6) would have presumably delimited an adyton. Such a plan is not very often encountered in free-standing rectangular buildings of the Geometric period (*cf.* Table VIIIA), though it occurs in Sicily and S Italy during the Archaic period.[1207] We also find it at Lathouriza, where the house in question (XVIII, Fig. 152) seems to date in the Archaic period as well.

[1198] B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 48, argues that the first altar was simply the *prothysis* of the second one. Rupp (*Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 104 and fig. 17 at p. 106) adopts Dawkins' point of view. It should not be excluded that Altar I was reused as a *prothysis* for Altar II.

[1199] Among the interesting finds one may note the numerous obeloi which date between 700 and continue throughout the 7th c: I. Strøm, in *Economics of Cult in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. T. Linders & B. Alroth, Uppsala 1992 (*Boreas* 21) 46.

[1200] *BSA* 58 (1963) 1-7. Dawkins (*The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London 1929, 10 & 49) believed that the temple dated in the 9th or possibly in the 10th c. E. Kirsten [*BJb* 158 (1958) 175] lowered the date to *c.* 800-750.

[1201] Boardman's chronology of the stratigraphy was recently revised owing to the correspondence with the stratigraphy of the Menelaion, and therefore the excavators' absolute chronology of Laconian I should be slightly lowered. See *BSA* 79 (1984) 34f.; *AJA* 91 (1987) 388.

[1202] R.M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London 1929, 11f., 140, no. 35. Only one painted tile was found inside the temple, the rest were scattered inside the temenos.

[1203] H.J. Rose, in Dawkins, *op.cit.*, 400.

[1204] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1962, 1989-90 (Th. Karageorgha). Bibliography: Th. Karageorgha, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 88f.; *id.*, "Η Μαντινική Πτόλις", in *Πρακτικά του Δ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Κόρινθος, 9-16 Σεπτ. 1990*, Β', Athens 1992/93 (*Πελοποννησιακά* 19, Παράρτημα) 97-111; *id.*, "Πτόλις Μαντινείας", *AAA* 22 (1989) 113-122. See also G. Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963) 766f.; S. and H. Hodkinson, "Mantineia and the Mantinike", *BSA* 76 (1981) 254f.; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d' Arcadie*, Paris 1985, 134, 136f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 649-651; M. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia*, Göteborg 1990, 30-32, 87-89; *id.*, "Geometric Arcadia", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 277; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 718.

[1205] Its walls are 0,65m wide.

[1206] *RDT* (1987) 649-651. The excavator at that time did not alltogether exclude this hypothesis, though she considered it rather unlikely (p.c. April 11, 1984).

[1207] S.K. Thalmann, *The "Adyton" in the Greek Temples of Southern Italy and Sicily*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1980; see also *CdA* 16 (1977) esp. 108, fig. 4; 109, fig. 5 and 7.

The excavation was continued after a cessation of 26 years and Th. Karageorgha promptly published the stratigraphy from the site (Fig. 282) and presented a different restoration which is different from the original account (Fig. 281).[1208] The excavator stresses the fact that this new interim account aims in correcting the first report published in 1963 and to avoid the formulation of further wrong assumptions.[1209] Since I am presumably one of those who generated these assumptions, I present here the facts, even if Temple A appears to be post-Geometric and therefore should have been excluded from this study. Indeed, it would now seem that Temple A is a tripartite building, 0,40m longer than B, formed by Walls 2, 4, 6 and the back wall, and measuring internally 14,60 by 4,65m; it consists of a closed (?) porch (3,00m deep), a main room and an "adyton". Truly, the fact that Wall 2 and the western preserved portion of the back wall pass *beneath* the same walls of Building B (Wall 1 and the eastern preserved section of the back wall) strongly suggests that the former represent an earlier building phase.[1210] Nevertheless, I cannot help from making once more some remarks which are in contradiction with the excavator's views. In my opinion, the section published does not preclude that the E wall of the earlier building (2) was reused as a substructure of a bench in the second temple, since the "yellow" layer which represents according to the excavator the decayed superstructure of the latter is in contact with the upper surface of Wall 2. Moreover, the W wall of the second building (3) is also founded inside Stratum IV, like Wall 2, and is founded slightly deeper. The fact that it lies at a higher level than the exterior foundation (4) does not necessarily imply that this earlier wall (4) was suppressed but perhaps that Wall 3 represents a new bench which corresponded to that along the opposite long side (the reused Wall 2).[1211] One could even propose that Wall 3 belongs in fact to the original structure and consequently would have been a bench inside Temple A. My original remark that the two inner foundations present only one dressed face and a fill of smaller stones in between is still applicable for the western wall (3), which on the plan appears to present a straight line only towards the E.[1212] The fact that the thin cross Wall 6 (0,40-0,45m wide), does not seem to pass underneath Wall 3,[1213] and was not disrupted by the construction of the later,[1214] is perhaps one further indication that Wall 3 belongs to the initial phase. Therefore, the excavator's remark that the hypothesis of the existence of a bench along the side walls is "totally unfounded",[1215] cannot be regarded as final.

One is presented with difficulties in dating the building's construction, for the stratigraphy was disturbed. According to the excavator, the walls of the largest construction were founded within (and not *on*, as stated by G. Daux)[1216] a layer rich in finds, ranging from the end of the 8th c. down to the 3rd c. B.C.[1217] In the more recent and detailed reports the excavator argues that the cult originated in the late 8th or early 7th c. B.C. but that Temple A was constructed around the middle of the 7th c.[1218] Therefore, it seems that the temple of Ptolis should be no longer included in the list of cult buildings of the Geometric or SG period, though I must confess that I do not really understand the reasons for this downdating, since both Layer IV and the "Yellow Layer" included material of the late 8th or early 7th c. Indeed, some of the earlier finds were found in the junction of the IVth and

[1208] Th. Karageorgha, in *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 102-108.
[1209] *Ibid.*, 98.
[1210] *Ibid.*, 104.
[1211] It is natural that the western wall (4) is founded deeper than the eastern since there is a strong declivity towards the W. This also explains the thickness of the W wall, which the excavator identifies as a kind of *euthynteria* (1,10m as opposed to 0,70m of the E wall): *cf. ibid.*, 105. At Koukos (Building B) and Nichoria (Unit IV-1) earlier walls served as substructures for benches during the second building phase.
[1212] *RDT* (1987) 649.
[1213] Th. Karageorgha, in *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 104, n. 31.
[1214] *Cf.* the plan but also the photograph in *ibid.*, pl. 2 at p. 114, where it seems that the surface of Walls 3 and 6 is at the same level.
[1215] Th. Karageorgha, in *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 104, n. 30.
[1216] *BCH* 87 (1963) 767. See the discussion by S. and H. Hodkinson, *BSA* 76 (1981) 254f.
[1217] Th. Karageorgha, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 89; *id.*, *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 104. According to M. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 87-89 the earlier sherds can hardly date before 700.
[1218] Th. Karageorgha, in *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 105; *id.*, *ΑΑΑ* 22 (1989) 116f. However, in the English summary of the latter article one reads that "the temple on the west slope was built on a site of a cult place at the end of the 8th c. or beginning of the 7th c. B.C." (*ibid.*, 122).

"Yellow" Layers, on either side of Wall 6,[1219] while the low dating of Temple A is based exclusively on "exterior" criteria, i.e. the history of other Arcadian sanctuaries and the typology.[1220]

Judging by the finds, especially the terracotta figurines, it has been established that the divinity worshipped was Artemis.[1221] M. Voyatzis suggested earlier a kind of Fertility Goddess or Mistress of the Animals.[1222] N. Papachatzis identifies her with a kind of Eileithyia or Artemis Locheia, whose name might have been Penelope.[1223] In later times, the inhabitants of Mantineia may have identified the goddess with Odysseus' wife, for according to the local myth, she was expelled from Ithaca and finally settled at Mantineia, where she ended her days. Indeed, Pausanias was informed during his visit at Mantineia that the hill of Gortsouli was the tumulus which covered her tomb.[1224] He identified Ptolis, the settlement which preceded Mantineia, with another site further N. Indeed, Th. Karageorgha argues that it seems that there was no settlement on the hill, but perhaps the inhabitants lived in small villages in the plain and/or at the foot of the hill.[1225]

At **Pallantion** in Arcadia, on a terrace of the SE slopes of the hill of Ay. Ioannis, a rectangular cult building measuring 9,20 by 6,10m was excavated (**Building A**, Fig. 283).[1226] It consists of a socle of unworked stones which would have carried a mud brick superstructure. Remains of Corinthian roof tiles were associated with the period of use of this building. The entrance was at the SE corner (S extremity of the E wall). Towards the centre of the chamber a small structure which may have been an altar, rested upon a layer of ashes which apparently represents remains from animal sacrifices. E. Østby, on architectural grounds alone, tentatively suggested an early dating for the construction of the building, and compared it with the "late Geometric temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora" but rationally added that "since so early temples are not otherwise known in Arcadia, a date in the 8th century can hardly be proposed", though it may have been "one of the earliest temples in the region".[1227] Indeed, since no finds belonging to this period were associated with the edifice, one should remain cautious, especially since the dating of the so-called temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora which Østby uses as a parallel, has been challenged as well (see above, p. 155). Votive offerings of the 6th-4th c. came from the area around the "altar" (female figurines, certain weapons and bronze objects, as well as pillars which are regarded as aniconic images of the divinity), though the original excavator did not exclude an even earlier date for the construction of the edifice.[1228] Currently, Dr. Østby has reached the firm conclusion that Building A was constructed towards the end of the 7th. c. B.C.[1229]

[1219] *Id.*, in *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 105, and n. 32.
[1220] *Id.*, *AAA* 22 (1989) 117.
[1221] *Ibid.*, 106f.
[1222] *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 30-32.
[1223] *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις* 4: *Αχαϊκά-Αρκαδικά*, Athens 1980, 219f., n. 2, p. 221, n. 1.
[1224] VIII, 12, 5-7. M. Jost (*Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985, 134, 136f.) assumes that it could have been the sanctuary of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias, though she does not exclude the possibility that this was some other "rural" sanctuary located near to one of the villages prior to the synoecism, and remained in use even after the synoecism had been completed.
[1225] *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 108-110.
[1226] Excavations: Italian School, 1940 (G. Libertini). New investigations: Swedish Institute and Italian School, 1984 (E. Østby). Bibliography: G. Libertini, "Scavi in Arcadia", *ASAtene* N.S. 1/2 (1939/40) 225-230, esp. 227; E. Østby, *Papers of the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 1 (1991) 46; *id.*, "The Temples of Pallantion and Archaic Temple Architecture of Arcadia", in *Πρακτικά του Δ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Κόρινθος, 9-16 Σεπτ. 1990*, Β', Athens 1992/93 (*Πελοποννησιακά* 19, Παράρτημα) 65-75, esp. 65f. See also A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 717; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985, 198f. On the identification with ancient Pallantion see Pausanias VIII, 44, 5-6 and E. Meyer, *RE* 18, 3 (1949) 231-234 (s.v. Pallantion). Now see E. Østby, *ASAtene*, in press.
[1227] E. Østby, in *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 66. In the Greek summary of the same article at p. 71 one reads, however, that the temple dates "με κάποιες επιφυλάξεις στον 8ο π.Χ. αιώνα".
[1228] G. Libertini, *ASAtene* N.S. 1/2 (1939/40) 227.
[1229] p.c. April 8, 1996 and now E. Østby, *ASAtene*, in press.

THE CYCLADES

At **Ay. Irini (Kea)** the cult in the well known temple persisted from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age up to the Hellenistic period.[1230] There may have been a short break in the use of the area between the LH IIIC and PG periods.[1231] It should be emphasised that from LH IIIC times onwards only portions of the original building were reused.

Perhaps late in the LH IIIC period, though more probably in the PG period,[1232] a small rectangular chapel (**Building BB**, Figs. 284, 286), measuring internally *c.* 3,00 by 1,75m was built in the N corner of Room 6.[1233] The entrance was located in the middle of the SE short side and a bench was set along the long SW side. Another feature of the PG phase of the sanctuary is a roughly square stone structure (*c.* 0,90 by 1,10/1,20m & 0,65/0,50m high), located in the SE part of Room 3.[1234] The purpose of this structure (Structure C: Figs. 284, 288) is not known yet (altar? cult base? offering table?). **Room 1** of the LBA temple was also reused in the PG period (Fig. 287).[1235]

Room 1 was still being used during the Geometric period (Fig. 287).[1236] According to the preliminary reports the fewest sherds belonged to the 9th c.,[1237] but caution is recommended before accepting this statement as a fact, until the study of the EIA pottery recovered inside the temple is completed. In the 8th c., Room 1 was provided with a stone pavement and "some structure made of huge rough blocks stood in or above it".[1238] This structure had collapsed on top of the well-known reused head of a LM IB/LH II terracotta statue (Fig. 285).[1239] In association with this head, which stood *in situ* on a clay ring stand (Fig. 287), were found the lower part of the skirt of another LBA statue,[1240] a MG II kantharos and others of LG I date;[1241] the latest pottery associated with the head belongs to the years around 700 B.C.[1242]

[1230] Excavations: American School, 1961-67 (J.L. Caskey). Bibliography: J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 278-283, esp. 281f.; 33 (1964) 326-334, esp. 328, 330f., 332-334; 35 (1966) 367-371; 40 (1971) 122, 384-386; 41 (1972) 400f.; *id.*, "Recent Excavations in Keos", in *Atti e memorie del 1. congresso internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 27 Sett.-3 Ott., 1967*, Roma 1968, 72; *id.*, *Archaeology* 16 (1963) 284f.; 17 (1964) 277; M.E. Caskey, "The Temple at Ayia Irini, Kea: Evidence for the LH IIIC Phases", in *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, ed. J.A. McGillivray & R.L.N. Barber, Edinburgh 1984, 241-254; *id.*, "Ayia Irini, Kea: The Terracotta Statues and the Cult in the Temple", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 127-135; *id.*, *The Temple at Ayia Irini: The Statues, Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986; *id.*, "Ayia Irini: Temple Studies", in *Πρακτικὰ Διεθνοῦς Επιστημονικοῦ Συμποσίου: Κέα-Κύθνος: Ιστορικὲς και Αρχαιολογικὲς Έρευνες*, ed. L. Mendoni & A. Mazarakis Ainian (*Μελετήματα*), in press. See also Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 395; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 280f.; R. Eisner, "The Temple at Ayia Irini: Mythology and Archaeology", *GrRomByzSt* 13 (1972) 123-133; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 209f., 329f.; W. Ekschmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen* I, Mainz 1986, 183-190; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 509-512; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 73; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 146.

[1231] This is suggested by the fact that the LH IIIC levels appear to be immediately followed by PG levels. Yet, "some pieces are distinctly sub-Mycenaean in character" [M. Caskey, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 128].

[1232] p.c. by Mrs M.E. Caskey (June 26, 1986 and May 31, 1987). See also the sections in *Keos* II, 1 (1986) 13, fig. 5 (here Fig. 286) and *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, Edinburgh 1984, 252 and 242, fig. 2. Now see M. Caskey, in *Πρακτικὰ Διεθνοῦς Επιστημονικοῦ Συμποσίου: Κέα-Κύθνος* (*op.cit.*), n. 16, where it is mentioned that PG pottery was also found "at levels deeper than the floor of BB". The presence of some late LH IIIC finds is explained by assuming that "some Bronze Age objects were being treated with reverence" (*ibid.*).

[1233] M. Caskey, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 128; *id.*, in *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, ed. J.A. McGillivray & R.L.N. Barber, Edinburgh 1984, 252; J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 281.

[1234] J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 281, where however no precise dating is provided. The sections in *Keos* II, 1 (1986) 11, fig. 3 (here Fig. 288) and *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, Edinburgh 1984, 247, fig. 5 hint that it was built in PG times and that it may have still been used in Classical times.

[1235] J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 332-334.

[1236] *Ibid.*

[1237] *Ibid.* 335; see also Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 73.

[1238] J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 335.

[1239] Concerning the statues see M.E. Caskey, *Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986. On the head in particular *ibid.* 39-41 (it belongs to Statue 1-1). See also J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 328, 330f.; M.E. Caskey, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 128-130. The rest of the statue was discovered in the same room, but at a much deeper level, together with other LM IB/LH II statues: see section Fig. 287.

[1240] M.E. Caskey, *Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986, 39.

[1241] *Ibid.*, and *id.*, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 130.

[1242] M.E. Caskey, *Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986, 39 and *id.*, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 129.

Epigraphic evidence from *c.* 500 B.C. onwards proves that the divinity worshipped at Ay. Irini was Dionysos.[1243] The problem consists in determining whether Dionysos was worshipped already by the EIA. The preponderance of drinking vessels throughout the sanctuary's history (from MH times onwards),[1244] the association of kantharoi with the reused statue head, the possibility that the scoring of the chin of the female statue head may have been interpreted by the 8th c. worshippers as a beard,[1245] and the fact that the statue skirt was closed across the base, thus capable of holding a liquid,[1246] perhaps wine, are indications that at least by the 8th c. the divinity worshipped was indeed Dionysos. Whether the same divinity was worshipped in the LBA is a matter of speculation.[1247] It is true that the PG and Geometric levels in the temple lie directly on top of the LH IIIC deposits, which fact does not favour the hypothesis that the head was accidentally discovered in the Geometric period. It is more likely that this head, and perhaps a few more statue heads, were handed down from generation to generation. Yet, the fact alone that a female head was thought to represent a male divinity at least by the end of the Geometric period, would suggest "that there was a loss of memory here".[1248]

A rectangular edifice is located on the highest point of the fortified acropolis at **Ay. Andreas** on Siphnos (Figs. 293-294).[1249] It is not clear from the preliminary reports published whether it has been excavated or not. The orientation is NW-SE (the entrance was presumably located in the SE side). The building is *c.* 4,50m wide and the preserved length is *c.* 10,00m; judging by the conformation of the soil, the total length would not have exceeded *c.* 11,00m.[1250]

On the first plan published, one observes the absence of an internal division;[1251] in the subsequent plans, a cross wall dividing the building into two roughly equal compartments was added.[1252] The fact that this wall was drawn with a dotted line (Fig. 293) would indicate that it represents an hypothetical restoration by the excavator, which needs confirmation.

No details concerning the dating of the edifice have been published. The report simply mentions that it may date in the "historical" period.[1253] One is tempted to date the building in the LG period, when the settlement's prosperity was at its peak, though this obviously consists a pure assumption.

The prominent location of the edifice (on the summit of the acropolis) and the apparent absence of internal divisions (?) would suggest that this may have been a temple or a building serving communal functions.[1254]

The presumed chieftain's dwelling at **Zagora** on Andros (**Room H19** and its dependencies, Fig. 306) received its actual state plan during the second half of the 8th c. B.C. (*cf.* Fig. 307).[1255] Unit

[1243] *Ibid.*, and J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 332-334.
[1244] M.E. Caskey, *Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986, 39 and *id.*, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 130.
[1245] *Id.*, *Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986, 39 and *id.*, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 129f.
[1246] *Id.*, *Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986, 39.
[1247] *Ibid.*, 35-43; R. Eisner, *GrRomByzSt* 13 (1972) 123-133.
[1248] M.E. Caskey, *Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986, 40.
[1249] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1970 (V. Philippaki). Bibliography: V. Philippaki, *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 433; Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 81; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 507f. No description of the building has been presented yet. My own description is based on the ground plans published.
[1250] Of the building only the NW, S and a small section of the NE walls are preserved. It is not established whether the front was open or closed, though the latter possibility appears more likely.
[1251] V. Philippaki, *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 432, fig. 1.
[1252] *Id.*, *AAA* 6 (1973) fig. 1; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 193, fig. 1.
[1253] *Id.*, *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 433.
[1254] Snodgrass, *Archaeology* (1977) 24f., includes Ay. Andreas among those sites which did not possess a temple. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 82] examines the possibility that Building I in the W part of the settlement, near the fortification wall may have been a temple [*ΠΑΕ* (1980) 287f.; *Ἔργον* (1980) 39]; he retains the dwelling hypothesis as more probable, which indeed is the only conceivable function for this unit.
[1255] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1967, 1969, 1971 & 1974 (A. Cambitoglou). Room H19 and its dependencies were excavated in 1967 & 1969. Bibliography: A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971, esp. 18f., 30f.; *id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 79-106; *id.*, "Zagora, Andros: A Settlement of the Geometric Period", *Archaeology* 23 (1970) 303-309; *id.*, *AE* (1970) 154-233, esp. 175f., 192, 211-218; *id.*, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἀνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, *passim*; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1967) 103-111, esp. 108; (1969) 135-138; (1972) 251-273; (1974) 163-180; P.G. Themelis, "Ζαγορά. Πόλις ἡ νεκρόπολις;" *AE* (1975) 230-266; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 425f.; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 112f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 55f.; Coldstream, *GG*

H19, 21-23, 28-29 lies approximately in the middle of the plateau of the high promontory and gives onto the central open space of the settlement (Figs. 298-299). The residence consists of five rooms which flank on the N, E and W sides a courtyard (H21). The main room of the unit occupies the N side of the courtyard and is preceded by a porch, *c.* 3,50m deep, supported by two columns (Room H19). The room is roughly square (*c.* 7,80 X 6,60m: int. dim.) and is provided with a doorway in the middle of the S side. A "Π"-shaped bench, *c.* 0,60m high, occupies the N side and part of the W and E walls. The bench was built almost simultaneously with the laying of floor 2 (LG I). The E and W arms of the bench butt against the N arm, and therefore may represent a later addition. This bench was provided with twelve cavities which served for the positioning of storage vessels (pithos nests).[1256] In front of the W arm of the bench there was a bin-like structure lined with thick slabs and measuring *c.* 0,40 by 0,30m. A roughly square hearth (0,71 by 0,61m) lined with horizontal slabs occupies the centre of the room.[1257] Two wooden columns would have flanked the hearth in the W and E sides.[1258] A small square paving of stones was discovered in the SW corner of the room; one is tempted to identify this structure "as a solid base for a ladder leading to the roof or to an upper storey".[1259] Another roughly square structure was set against the E half of the S wall.[1260] On its surface pebbles were found.

Rooms H28 and H22 gave onto the roofed porch of the N part of Courtyard H21. Room H22 was provided with an axial hearth. Column bases were encountered in both rooms attesting that they were roofed. Rooms H23 and H29 are not entirely preserved (the S-SE part of these rooms is missing). Room H29 communicated through a doorway with Room H28. The location of the door of Room H23 can no longer be determined, though it has been suggested that it might have been situated in the S.[1261] Moreover, it is seems that originally there was a connecting doorway between this room and Room H22, apparently blocked when a doorway was pierced in the W wall of H22.[1262]

The excavation of the interior of H19 established the existence of four successive floor levels.[1263] Floors 4 and 3 were characterised by burnt patches and yielded mostly drinking vessels, such as skyphoi and kraters, but few storage or cooking vessels.[1264] The lowest (4) may have been a levelling fill and yielded MG II or LG I pottery; floor 3 was in use throughout the LG I period, though certain pieces were identified as MG II.[1265] Floor 2 contained pottery of the LG I period as well as certain MG II pieces, mostly drinking vessels, including numerous kraters, and a few of coarse ware.[1266] The top floor (1) of Room H19 yielded sherds of the very end of the Geometric period, two beads, eighteen spindle-whorls and one or two loomweights and six stone pounders.[1267] The vases (pithoi, chytrai, as well as kraters, skyphoi, kantharoi and one plate) indicate that storage, cooking, drinking and eating took place here and the remaining finds (including pyxid lids) suggest a considerable use of the space by women.[1268] Another interesting remark is that the two lower floors (4 and 3) contained greater quantities of animal bones and sea shells than the upper two (2 and 1).[1269] It

(1977) 305-308; Heilmeyer, *FGK* (1982) 92-94; *id.*, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 110; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 17f.; W. Ekschmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen* II, Mainz 1986, 11-25, esp. 19-23; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 814-819; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 109; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 64; M. Tiverios, *Gnomon* 63 (1991) 743; J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 153f.; M.K. Langdon, *From Pasture to Polis*, ed. M.K. Langdon, Columbia and London 1993, 36f.

[1256] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 80 and n. 12.

[1257] The hearth was associated with floor 2: *ibid.*, 86.

[1258] Only the eastern base was preserved (in fact the western post may have stood directly on the bedrock). The stone base was resting on top of floor 3 and therefore should be associated with floor 2: *ibid.*, 81, 86.

[1259] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971, 30. See also *id.*, *AE* (1970) 192.

[1260] 0,95 X 0,80 X 0,20m (height). The platform was built on the top floor (1).

[1261] A. Cambitoglou, *AE* (1970) 176.

[1262] *Ibid.*, 217; A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971, 19; *id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 90, 95.

[1263] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 81f.

[1264] *Ibid.*, 85.

[1265] See *ibid.*, 85.

[1266] *Ibid.*, 84f. The pottery from the two lower floors suggests that despite the fact that the walls of H19 butt onto those of H26-H27, H19 was presumably built slightly earlier than H26-H27.

[1267] *Ibid.*, 82-84.

[1268] *Ibid.*, 84.

[1269] *Ibid.*, 82.

therefore seems that Room H19 was an "all-purpose room".[1270] A change in the function of the room during its period of occupation is detectable by comparing the finds of the two lower floors with those above, though it seems more likely that the former were associated with an earlier structure, which seems to have been provided with a bench along the E wall.[1271] If this assumption is correct, one may assume that Room H19, as preserved today, was built early in LG I, around 760-750 B.C.[1272]

In the courtyard H21 four successive floors corresponding to those encountered in H19 were observed.[1273] The lower floor (4) yielded a SPG (or less likely LPG) amphora fragment and MG sherds. The second floor which bore traces of burning (3) included several MG II and early LG I skyphos and krater fragments, as well as animal bones. With this floor seems to be associated a stretch of wall which runs parallel to the W wall of Room H22; this wall may represent the E wall of the first phase of Room H22. Between floors 3 and 2 there was a layer of schist stones mixed with animal bones and MG II sherds, perhaps from a destroyed wall or roof. Just above followed floor 2 which contained mainly LG I sherds, though MG II were also present, as well as many animal bones, scraps of iron and schist pithos lids. The upper floor (1) contained mainly LG II pottery. The two upper floors were clearly related to the walls of Rooms H19, H22 and H28.

The situation in Room H22 was quite similar, though here five floors were recognised:[1274] The earlier floor (5) lay in places at a slightly lower level than the base of the walls but it was proven that it was associated with the walls. Beneath this floor there was a levelling fill which contained much pottery of the late MG II period (*c.* 775-760 B.C.). This fill indicates that there stood a house in this area before the construction of Room H22. The bench rested on top of floor 5 and therefore should be regarded contemporary or slightly later than the laying of the floor. The stone base for the wooden post roughly in the centre of the room was also associated with this level. Among the normal MG sherds, one should mention the discovery of a fragment from a relief pithos. Animal bones were also present. A fill separated the second floor (4) from the first. With floor 4 was associated the informal hearth at SE part of the room which contained numerous animal bones, an obsidian flake, a stone quern and pottery, mainly MG but also a few LG I sherds. Shapes include kraters and kantharoi. Numerous animal bones and pottery, mostly coarse (often incised), were also associated with floor 3. The decorated pottery dates for the most in the early part of the LG I period and shapes included kraters, skyphoi, jugs, plates, etc. The third floor (3) was covered with stones which belonged to the bench which was deliberately destroyed before the next floor (2) was laid. The central hearth was added when this floor was placed. With this floor it was possible to associate the door which was opened in the middle of the W wall of the room.[1275] These changes took place in the transition from LG I to LG II. Small fragments of animal bones were also found on floor 2. The fifth floor (1) represents the final period of use of the room. The two upper floors had been disturbed by ploughing and therefore it was not possible to separate clearly the finds belonging to each. The pottery belonged mostly to the LG II period and included only fine wares: there was a large number of plates (more than 10 were associated with the final floor), hydriai and numerous drinking vessels. Among the rare coarse finds was a tripod tray and three lids. The excavators are convinced that from a general purpose room (*cf.* the lower three floors) this compartment was turned into a dining room.

The slightly different alignment of the E walls of H22-H23 indicate that they were not built simultaneously. Five successive floor levels were encountered in Room H23. The lowest level (5) contained much MG pottery. Sherds dated in the transitional period between MG II and LG I were associated with the next floor (4). From floor 3 large quantities of sherds were recovered, animal bones, pithos fragments, and a few metal items such as a flat bronze sheet with three holes and a lead clamp. A fragment from a pyxis or plate joined with another from Room H22. This, according to the excavators, proves that there was a doorway in the party wall between the two rooms which was subsequently blocked. The two upper floors (2 and 1) had been disturbed but contained mainly LG

[1270] *Ibid.*, 87f.
[1271] *Ibid.*, 86f.
[1272] *Ibid.*, 86.
[1273] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971, 45-47; *id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 88f.
[1274] *Id.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971, 48; *id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 89-96.
[1275] *Id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 95.

pottery. The common feature of the pottery from all levels was the unusual number of fine kraters and also of skyphoi. Jugs, pixides, and incised coarse ware were also found. These finds indicate that the room was a reception hall of some sort.[1276]

Four floors were found during the excavation of Room H28.[1277] The lowest (4) and the levelling fill beneath it contained coarse ware as well as very fragmentary and worn pottery of the LG I period. It was assumed that this was an hypaethral area in use before the construction of the room. Floor 3 was associated with the walls of Room H28; to this period also belongs the doorway in the middle of the S wall of the room. Judging by the scarcity of sherds from this layer it was assumed that this was a short phase, belonging to the transitional period between LG Ib and LG IIa. The next floor (2), inferring from the finds, dates in the earlier part of the LG II period. Before the laying of the final floor (1) the S door was blocked, a new door was opened in the E wall and a bench was constructed along the N wall of the room. The pottery of the upper floor (1) belongs to the later part of the LG II period and consisted of both fine and coarse wares. A spindlewhorl and a piece of iron were also found.

Room H29 was only partly excavated and there is hardly any information concerning its function.[1278] Judging by the door which connects it with Room H28 it would have been an additional storeroom and/or the living quarters of the servants (?).

It seems then that the building under discussion was originally (during the MG II period) a free-standing complex comprising Rooms H19, H21, H22 and H23 (Phase 1, Fig. 307a). In the LG I period these rooms were partly or wholly dismantled in order to construct the adjoining houses, as well as three new separate units, H19/H21, H22-H23 and H28-H29, all turned towards the S (Phase 2, Fig. 307b).[1279] During the LG II period a door was pierced in the E wall of Room H22 and the bench was dismantled, a door was opened in the E wall of H28 and a bench was built against the N wall of this room. The doors in the party wall between Rooms H22-H23 and H28-H29 were blocked at the same period. Thus, the three previously independent units created now a single house centred around courtyard H21 (Phase 3, Fig. 307c). Room H28 served now as a supplementary storeroom of the house, while Room H22 became a dining room or reception hall. It is not clear whether Rooms H23 and H29 formed part of this house.[1280]

The temple of Athena in the temenos immediately to the SE of Unit H19 etc. was built in the second quarter of the 6th c., i.e. more than a century after the abandonment of the settlement (Figs. 308-309).[1281] However, it was established that the origins of the cult reach back to the last quarter of the 8th c. (LG II). Beneath the temple floor two underlying levels were observed: the bottom one comprised mainly LG II material and the fill underneath it yielded fragments of a LG I krater. The upper floor of the pre-temple floor also yielded very late LG sherds.[1282] Approximately 4,5 metres to the W of the Archaic temple a rough wall built of large local marble blocks and following a N-S direction has been interpreted as a **retaining wall** (it presents only one even face, towards the W) which would have supported the hypaethral temenos and may have served also as a peribolos.[1283] The rectangular altar inside the cella of the Archaic temple lay on the lower floor of the pre-temple period and therefore antedates the temple.[1284] A triangular pillar-like stone near the SE corner of the altar seems to be contemporary with the altar and could have served as a slaughtering stone.[1285] Therefore, it has been established that there was originally a sanctuary in the open air, contemporary with the late period of occupation of the settlement.

[1276] *Ibid.*, 96-100.
[1277] *Ibid.*, 100-104.
[1278] *Ibid.*, 104.
[1279] Therefore, in the LG I period, H22-H23 and H28-H29 were two-roomed houses with one room behind the other and entered from the S: *ibid.*, 156f.
[1280] *Ibid.*, 104-106, 157f.
[1281] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 239; *id.*, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἄνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 84. Schattner [*Hausmodelle* (1990) 105] erroneously still dates the temple in the 8th c. B.C.
[1282] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 170.
[1283] *Ibid.*, 173-175.
[1284] *Id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 168, 171; *id.*, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἄνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 83f.
[1285] *Id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 171, 175.

The main bulk of the material recovered from the various rooms of the settlement belongs to the second half of the 8th c. Yet, the discovery of earlier sherds in the deepest levels[1286] and also next to the fortification wall[1287] attests that the promontory may have been inhabited from as early as the last quarter of the 10th c. There is no indication however that the houses excavated were erected earlier than the beginning of the 8th c. B.C. (H19, H21, H22 and H23). The settlement was abandoned peacefully around 700 B.C., with the exception of the sanctuary which continued to be visited until at least the end of the 5th c. B.C. (the temple, Fig. 309, was built in the second quarter of the 6th c.).[1288] It should be stressed however that Room H19 caught fire when the roof collapsed over the floor and the hearth,[1289] a fact which could serve as an indication that the settlement was abandoned following some natural (?) disaster.

Due to its important dimensions, the possible presence of an upper storey above Room H19, the "Π"-shaped bench, the large hearth (also located in Room H19) and the finds recovered in various rooms, the excavators tentatively assumed in their first preliminary reports that the unit was the residence of an important person, perhaps the ruler.[1290] This hypothesis was also based on the prominent position of the complex inside the settlement and its relationship with the hypaethral sanctuary. In the 8th c., as stated previously, cult practices were held in the open air around a stone altar, located only a few metres to the SE of the presumed chieftain's dwelling (Fig. 306).[1291] As Professor Cambitoglou informed me, the excavators are today less sure that this was a chieftain's house.[1292] Indeed, during Phase 2 (LG I) Units H19/21 and H28/29 (Fig. 307b) were not more sumptuous than the neighbouring houses, H24/25/32 and H26/27 (*cf.* Figs. 305a, 307b, Table IIA:8), but while in the LG II period (Phase 3) the latter houses were segmented into smaller compartments (*cf.* Figs. 305b and 307c), House H19/21 expanded further and incorporated the neighbouring independent units, H28/29 and H22/23. In my opinion, the fact that since 1967, date of the discovery of this unit, more large houses were excavated, making this group of rooms less impressive, is not enough to cast serious doubts upon the chieftain dwelling theory.[1293] Indeed, Room H19 is apparently one of the few houses which may have been provided with an upper storey.[1294] It is also the only house which was provided with two hearths and a formal dining room.[1295] Moreover, it is the only large unit which gave directly onto the hypaethral cult area (Fig. 306).[1296] The character of the finds also suggests that this was the dwelling of a powerful and rich individual.[1297] The upper floor of Room H19 would have been the living quarters (personal opinion) and the ground floor an everyday room with additional storage facilities (note the numerous spindle whorls collected in this chamber, the concentration of animal bones in front of the W arm of the bench, the "Π"-shaped bench which was certainly not only confined to hold storage vessels,[1298] and the hearth).[1299] If one admits that this complex indeed served as the residence of the ruler of Zagora, its proximity to the hypaethral sanctuary and the altar cannot be a mere coincidence. In my opinion, it seems likely that the chieftain

[1286] A. Cambitoglou, *AE* (1970) 211-216, 228-232.
[1287] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 180; *id.*, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 20 and 103-108.
[1288] *Id.*, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 20, 82-84, 111.
[1289] *Id.*, *AE* (1970) 214.
[1290] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971, 30; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1967) 108; *id.*, *AE* (1970) 192, 233; *id.*, *Archaeology* 23 (1970) 306.
[1291] A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 83f.; *id.*, *AE* (1970) 178f.
[1292] Letter of April 10, 1985: "The excavations that followed the 1967 campaign brought to light other houses that made this one" (i.e. the house around courtyard H21) "look less impressive" and further on: "the house around courtyard H21 is, architecturally speaking, not very remarkable by comparison with other houses". Now see A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 79. *Contra* see M. Tiverios, *Gnomon* 63 (1991) 743.
[1293] In his letter of April 10, 1985, Professor Cambitoglou does not exclude this possibility: "Of course it could still be a chieftain's house; and one should consider also its proximity to the sanctuary".
[1294] Another possible instance of an upper storey: Rooms D1 and D3: A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971, 14.
[1295] *Id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 154.
[1296] *Ibid.*, 79 concerning the privileged position of this house due to its proximity with the sanctuary.
[1297] See above (description of floors) and also *AE* (1970) 192, 211-216, 217, 219, 225f.
[1298] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 154.
[1299] Note the discovery of pithos fragments on the bench, the presence of pithos "nests" in the bench and the bin-like structure E of the W arm of the bench.

of Zagora was in charge of the religious affairs of the small community and that certain religious ceremonies may have taken place in his house.[1300]

A Geometric settlement was recently located on the promontory of **Hypsile** (Fig. 296) at the W coast of the island of Andros, west of the village of Aprovatou, *c.* 15km N of Zagora. The promontory is flanked on either side by bays, as at Zagora. The high plateau on the summit of the hill was fortified (Figs. 295-296).[1301]

In the W side of the plateau a temple (Building B), tentatively dated in the 6th c. B.C. was excavated (Fig. 297).[1302] It faces towards the W, measures 10,20 by 7,15m, and consists of a roughly square cella and an open porch with two columns *in antis*. The cella was furnished with benches, tables and a base, perhaps for the cult image.

Beneath the porch of the Archaic temple traces of an earlier building were uncovered (**Building A**). The remains consist of two straight walls meeting at right angles which were parallel with the S and E walls of the porch.[1303] Three circular stone bases which were incorporated in the paving of Temple B may have originally belonged to Building A. Further N, in front and at a lower level of an altar of the Archaic phase, there was a burnt stratum which yielded sherds, mostly burnt, from c. the beginning of the 8th c. to the end of the 7th c.[1304] The excavator assumes that in the spot of the Archaic temple there had stood an earlier temple with an altar. The building technique of the two stretches of wall is similar to that of another wall which encloses the NE side of the Archaic temple. The excavator tentatively identifies the latter foundation as a temenos wall.

The precise dating of the earlier building has not been fixed yet. The sherds of the burnt stratum in the N part of the porch of the Archaic temple date from the early 8th c. to the end of the 7th c. (end of the Archaic period in the latest report). MG and Geometric pottery was also collected in the SE corner of the porch. According to the excavator, it seems that the early walls were built during the second half of the 8th c. B.C. The 6th c. temple was still in use in the Classical period. Yet, judging by the surface finds and a trial trench made outside the fortification wall, it appears that the part of the settlement which was situated outside the fortifications was deserted towards the end of the LG period.[1305] The sanctuary was in use from the 8th-5th c. B.C. The case of Hypsile brings to ones mind the similar instances of Zagora, Koukounaries and Emporio.

Since the excavations at Hypsile are still in progress, it would be premature to make speculations concerning the identity of the Geometric remains, though the position of the two early walls may perhaps suggest that Building A was roughly similar in plan and size with its successor (see my hypothetical restoration on Table IIA:14). It seems however an established fact that there had been a first cult building in use from at least the second half of the 8th c. to the end of the 7th,

[1300] Note the discovery of fragments of two "offering tables" in Room H22 and Courtyard H21: A. Cambitoglou, *AE* (1970) 215, 226 and pl. 71α. These however need not have been ritual utensils: *id.*, *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 36f.

[1301] It seems that the inhabited area extended also outside the fortifications, on successive terraces of the promontory.

[1302] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1981-82, 1992- (C. Televantou). Bibliography: C. Televantou, "Ενας νέος γεωμετρικός οικισμός στην 'Ανδρο", in *Γ' Αρχαιολογικό Συνέδριο Δελφών, Μάρτιος 1984* (abstracts only); *id.*, *ΑΔ* 37 (1982) Χρον., 353-356; *id.*, "Άνδρος. Ο Γεωμετρικός οικισμός της Υψηλής", in *Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993) 187-208; *id.*, "Andros e l'antico insediamento di Ipsili", in *Le Cicladi ed il Mondo Egeo. Seminario internazionale di Studi, Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata. Dipartimento di Storia, Roma, 19-21 Novembre 1992* (in press; a copy of the paper delivered by Dr. C. Televantou was distributed to the participants in the symposium). See also Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 492-494.

[1303] If the ground plan of the early temple was similar to that of the Archaic period, these two walls would have belonged to the S part of the porch. Indeed, the excavator notes that the S wall extends eastwards, beneath the cross-wall of the Archaic temple.

[1304] The bedrock bore traces of severe burning and in places was blackened by the action of the fire. For the chronology of the finds see C. Televantou, in *Le Cicladi ed il Mondo Egeo, Roma, 19-21 Novembre 1992* (in press). In an earlier repor [*Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993) 191], the finds were dated between the LG period and the end of the 6th c. B.C.

[1305] *ΑΔ* 37 (1982) Χρον., 356. During the campaign of 1991, however, evidence came to light, indicating that the acropolis at least was inhabited until the end of the Archaic period, and again from the Classical period onwards: see C. Televantou, *Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993) 192 n. 14 and *id.*, in *Le Cicladi ed il Mondo Egeo, Roma, 19-21 Novembre 1992* (in press).

and a second cult building in use throughout the 6th and 5th c. B.C. Future excavations will perhaps reveal the plan of the Geometric building, the extent of the sanctuary and the identity of the divinity worshipped, which seems to have been female.[1306]

A complex (Unit I-VI) was excavated on the E slope of Mount **Xobourgo** (Figs. 310-311), approximately in the centre of the island of Tenos.[1307] It consists of at least six compartments set in a row. The rooms are set along the outer face of the fortification wall of the acropolis, and follow a SW-NE direction.[1308] Rooms III, IV and V are divided into two parts: a rectangular compartment occupies the interior SW corner, giving to the remaining space the form of a "Γ". The exterior walls of each compartment are *c.* 0,50m thick; the interior dividing walls are narrower. The superstructure of the walls consisted of baked bricks, fragments of which can be seen in the excavated area even today.[1309] All rooms were roofed with Corinthian roof tiles.[1310] Many fragments are scattered at the site. Since however Rooms IV-VI probably date in the end of the 8th c. (see below), one may assume that these replaced an earlier roof of perishable materials. The fact that the N wall of Room III does not bond with the W wall of Room IV and the extreme thickness of the latter, imply that Rooms III, II and I were added at a later period to the complex.[1311] P.G. Themelis suggested that Room VI was also a later addition, but since the W extremity of the S wall of VI bonds with the SE corner of V, and the E wall of V is only 0,35m thick, suggesting a partition wall, Room VI must be contemporary with IV and V.[1312] The walls separating Rooms IV-V and V-VI, respectively, appear also to be additions to the original building, though some kind of partitions may have existed in the original structure but are no longer preserved.[1313] The rectangular compartment in the SW corner of Room IV consists of a square chamber to the N and a porch to the S (Room IV-a). The cobble paving which occupies the floor of this structure and the paving of the narrow terrace in front of it, belong to a later building phase.[1314] Professor Kourou informed me that the masonry dates this chamber to the Classical period, though she does not exclude that the Classical walls replaced earlier ones of the Archaic period, especially since the two thresholds in the S side of the room appear to belong to the original structure.[1315] Themelis suggested that the cross wall separating the "pronaos" from the "sekos" was a latter addition. Likewise, the square room in the SW corner of Unit V (Room V-a) seems to have replaced an earlier, larger one at the same location.[1316] The dimensions of the earlier room are similar to those of "naiskos" IV-a. To a subsequent building period may belong the

[1306] Among the finds associated with Temple B were a female terracotta figurine and a gold ring: see C. Televantou, *ΑΔ* 37 (1982) Χρον., 356 and *id.*, *Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993) 190.

[1307] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1952-53 (N. Kontoleon), 1995 (surface cleaning and study of the visible architectural remains by N. Kourou and E. Bournia). Bibliography: N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1952) 531-540; (1953) 258-267; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 10, 55; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 51; P.G. Themelis, *AE* (1975) 241-247; *id.*, *Grabbauten* (1976) 6-12; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 73f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 213; *id.*, *Deities in Aegean Art*, London 1977, 14; F. Schachermeyr, *Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der mykenischen Ära bis auf die dorier* (*Die Ägäische Frühzeit* 4) Wien 1980, 337; S. Lagouros, *Τουριστικός οδηγός Τήνου*, Athens 1983, 74f.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 802f.; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 169f.; W. Ekschmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen* II, Mainz 1986, 232-236; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 808-813; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 83f.; Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *Tinos Museum*, Athens 1988, 5-8. Professor Kourou read the final draft of this entry and has saved me from certain inaccuracies. The results of the recent investigations at Xobourgo will be published in *ΠΑΕ* (1995) [*cf. Έργον* (1995) 70].

[1308] The fortification wall is later than the architectural unit to its S but it may have replaced an earlier wall of the Geometric or Early Archaic period: Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 6. Portions of the wall in area A, Fig. 310, have now been securily dated to the EA period: N. Kourou, public lecture at the University of Athens, April 3, 1996.

[1309] Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 9.

[1310] *Ibid.*, and *id.*, *AE* (1975) 243.

[1311] Professor N. Kourou now suggests that these rooms were built in the Hellenistic period, while Room III-a may even be later (p.c. Febr. 24, 1996).

[1312] Professor Kourou confirms that the N wall of VI seems Archaic (p.c. Febr. 24, 1996).

[1313] p.c. by Professor Kourou, Febr. 24, 1996.

[1314] N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1953) 263. I may suggest that there was a similar terrace in front of Rooms V and VI. One might also assume that both terraces were roofed with some light material, such as reeds, and functioned as a common porch.

[1315] p.c. Febr. 24, 1996.

[1316] Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 9. Only the beginning of the room's inner walls survived.

retaining wall in Room V and the bench at its N side (both foundations overlay the circular depressions, in which large pithoi were placed). The smaller square room in Unit V (Room V-a) represents, according to Themelis, a middle building phase. I suggest that Room III may have been added at the same time,[1317] while Rooms II and I might be contemporary with the last phase. The fact that Room II (and consequently Room I as well) is later than III is suggested by the E extremity of the N wall of II, which does not bond with the NW corner of III. Moreover, the thickness of the partition wall between these rooms indicates that it was originally an exterior wall. In conclusion, it would now seem that only the two long walls of Rooms IV-VI belong to the initial building phase, and perhaps the W wall of IV.

The earliest dated piece is the lower part of a relief amphora of a first quarter of the 7th c., discovered in the NW corner of Room V (pit a).[1318] This fragment provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the first three units (IV-VI). The complex was gradually enlarged and received its final form by the Hellenistic period. Certain finds, such as the roof tiles suggest indeed that the building was still used during the late Classical and probably the Hellenistic periods.[1319]

Inside Room III fragments of two relief amphorae were found, one of which belongs to the last quarter of the 7th c. Room IV-a yielded certain vases and lamps. In the small room of Unit V several vases (mostly askoi) and clay protomes of a female divinity (dated in the middle of the 5th c.) were found. Along the rear wall of Room V sixteen round pits were carved in the rock, some of which contained fragments of large pithoi and relief amphorae. The three relief amphorae were found in pits a, b and h (or i), respectively. Of these, "a" is the earliest (first quarter of the 7th c.) while "b" has been ascribed to the last quarter of the 7th c. and is the latest of the three.[1320] Thus, a period of *c.* two generations separates the placing of "b" from that of "a". Moreover, the position of the second (h-l) and third (m-o) rows of pithoi (only the pits which served as nests for them were preserved) suggests that each time that a row of pithoi was placed, the others behind them were of no use any longer, since one could not reach them. Consequently, P.G. Themelis argues that the pithoi were funerary ash urns; first would have been placed row a-g, then row h-l and last row m-o. Amphora b was presumably placed during the second building phase, possibly at the same time as the latest row (m-o).[1321] A rectangular pit lined with schist slabs, discovered in Room IV contained ashes and was interpreted by Themelis as a cremation cist grave. The rectangular rooms in the corners of Units III-V and probably VI, would have served as shrines of chthonian deities. In that respect, N. Kontoleon may have suggested Demeter correctly, as the name of the divinity.

During the last building phase, there seems to have occurred certain radical transformations. Room V ceased to serve funerary purposes; most of the pithoi were removed, a retaining wall was built in the middle of the room in order to contain the new raised floor of the rear half of the building and a stone bench was placed against the N wall. Access to the raised part of the chamber was achieved by means of two steps at the W extremity of the retaining wall. Perhaps at the same moment, the cross wall in Room IV-a was constructed, thus gaining the form of a small temple with pronaos and sekos. It is hard to explain the reasons for all these changes; it is possible that one by one, each unit ceased to serve as a family grave, but continued to receive visitors, descendants of the buried persons. Remains to explain why the ash urns were removed. A possible explanation is that the ashes of the deceased were gathered together in cists, like the one found in Unit IV, in order to create more space for cult activities, or that the pithoi contained the residues from sacrifices performed in the honour of deceased ancestors (*cf.* the similar cases of Thermon and Eleusis). One should perhaps add that many more similar but less well preserved funerary buildings, most dated between the LG and late Classical/Hellenistic periods were excavated in the neighbourhood. All

[1317] A fragment of a relief amphora found in Room III dates in the last quarter of the 7th c. A similar date can be ascribed to a relief amphora discovered in Pit b of Room V. Since no pithoi were discovered in the small square rooms of the complex, one may assume that Pithos b was placed there during the second building phase, when the N wall of the square room was moved further S: see *ibid.*, 9.

[1318] N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1952) 536, fig. 7; J. Schäfer, *Studien zu den griechische Reliefpithoi des 8.-6. Jahrhunderts v.* Chr. *aus Kreta, Rhodes, Tenos und Boiotien*, Kallmunz 1957, 71: T 12.

[1319] Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 9; *id.*, *AE* (1975) 243.

[1320] Schäfer, *op.cit.*, 48: 4 and Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 10 and 11.

[1321] Themelis, *op.cit.*, 9.

these were located *extra muros*, a fact supporting their identification as funerary constructions.[1322]

Building Γ on Delos (Fig. 313) is oriented N-S and measures 7,95m in length and 3,55m in width.[1323] To the N, the monolithic threshold of the doorway has survived. The width of the walls varies from 0,65 to 0,70m. The superstructure must have been composed of mud bricks. To the S and W of the building, two stone foundations are often considered as a peribolos wall.[1324]

The date of the building is much disputed. Some scholars propose a date in the Mycenaean period, others in the Geometric.[1325] Building Γ follows a different orientation than the Mycenaean buildings in the area of the Artemision (Fig. 312). Its elongated plan and its free-standing position are characteristics of the Geometric period. Monolithic thresholds are a common feature of LG Cycladic cult buildings (*cf.* for instance Building K1 at Minoa and the temple of Athena at Koukounaries). The presence of a few Mycenaean sherds close to its foundations does not constitute sufficient proof that the building should be dated in the LBA.[1326] The position of the "Oikos of the Naxians" (90° regarding to Building Γ) indicates that the latter was perhaps still standing in the early 7th c., though not necessarily in use.[1327] Courbin compares Temple Γ with a segment of a Geometric or SG wall, found underneath the "Oikos of the Naxians", which is oriented in the same direction as Building Γ.[1328] A date in the first half of the 8th c. for the rectangular building seems a plausible solution. This hypothesis is solely based on the fact that the sanctuary flourished from the late 9th c. onwards.[1329] Its plan and free-standing position leave no doubt that this was a shrine, maybe dedicated to Apollo.[1330]

[1322] For further details see Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 4-23. H. Lauter criticises Themelis' theory [*Turkovuni* (1985) 169f.] and suggests that the building belonged to a large family or genos and would have served domestic and religious functions: according to the German scholar, Rooms II and III would have served as habitation quarters [*cf.* also Fusaro, *Architettura* (1982) 8], while Rooms IV and V would have been used for cult in honour of deceased members of the family or genos. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 84] identifies the complex as a farmstead or part of a village.

[1323] Excavations: French School, before 1940 (unknown excavator) and supplementary excavation in 1948 (H. Gallet de Santerre). Bibliography: R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu' à l' éviction des déliens (166 av. J.C.)* I: *Les monuments*, Paris 1944, 14-18, 102; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 91-93, 139; P. Courbin, *L' oikos des naxiens*, *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 14, n. 5 & 15, n. 4; Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 123; H. Gallet de Santerre, "L'oikos des naxiens à Délos était-il un temple?", *BCH* 108 (1984) 676, n. 37-38; P. Courbin, "Le temple archaïque de Délos", *BCH* 111 (1987) 64, n. 4. See also K. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom*, Bern 1949, 60; Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 44f.; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 148; B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 28f.; R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material", *OpAth* 8 (1968) 48; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 5; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult*, *AHom* III, V, 1974, 147; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion: Temples, Altars and Temenea*, Athens 1977, 25f.; C. Rolley, *Les trépieds à cuve clouée*, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 140f.; *id.*, "Rupture et continuité dans les âges obscurs. Y a-t-il des sanctuaires mycéniens?", *REG* 90 (1977) pp. xxvii-xxviii; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 215; A. Büsing-Kolbe, "Frühe griechische Türen", *JdI* 3 (1978) 74; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 332, 803; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 513-515; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 67; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 147-149; G. Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VI^e siècle av. J.C. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23-25 mai 1991*, ed. J. des Courtils & J.-Ch. Moretti, Paris 1993, 102f.

[1324] The current trend is to doubt that these walls belong to a peribolos wall: Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 123. B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 28 believes that they form part of the Archaic peribolos wall. See also P. Courbin, *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 15, n.4.

[1325] Vallois, Gallet de Santerre, Desborough, Mylonas, Bergquist, Hägg, Büsing-Kolbe, Van Leuven, Fagerström and others favour a Mycenaean date. Schefold, Rolley, Courbin and Gruben accept a date in the Geometric period; Drerup remains undecided. Building Γ was not included in B. Rutkowski's books, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Wroclaw 1972, and *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986.

[1326] H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 93; see also *BCH* 73 (1949) 561. Vallois (*L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos* I, Paris 1944, 14, n.4) mentions the discovery near the foundations of one Mycenaean, one Geometric and one Hellenistic sherds.

[1327] P. Courbin, *BCH* 111 (1987) 64, n. 4 suggests that it was in ruins by the time the Oikos was built.

[1328] *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 14 and n. 5.

[1329] C. Rolley, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 109-111; C. Rolley, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 131-146. The rise of the sanctuaries at Perachora and Delphi is also situated around 800, while at Olympia cult activities are first attested around 1000 B.C., or even earlier.

[1330] K. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom*, Bern 1949, 60; C. Rolley, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 141; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 139, though the last dates the building in the Mycenaean period; Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture* ... (*op.cit.*) 102f.

Below the pavement of the building known as the "**Oikos of the Naxians**" two parallel rows of eight cavities in the rock were found (Figs. 313-314, 316).[1331] In the bottom of several of these holes, flat stones were discovered. The holes are set at equal distances to the N and to the S of the internal axial colonnade of the oikos of the Naxians. Therefore, scholars assume that they betray the existence of an earlier building of similar plan, dimensions and orientation as the later oikos. P. Courbin eliminates the old theory according to which the walls of the "pre-oikos" were regarded to have been built of mud bricks which would have left no trace.[1332] Indeed, the French scholar maintains that these were simply the actual surviving walls and that only the colonnade was replaced (Fig. 314). Consequently, the plan of the building would have been rectangular, measuring 23,94m in length and 9,59m (at the E), 10,10m (at the W) in width. Courbin maintains that there were three doors: two in the middle of the small sides and one in the middle of the long N side. Yet, the W extremity of the building would have been cut from the rest by a cross wall, thus forming an opisthodomos. The only furnishing uncovered in the interior was a marble basin which was connected with a drain.

Until recently the "pre-oikos" was dated in the PG or Geometric period.[1333] P. Courbin, however, dates it in the 7th c., and more precisely in the second or third quarter of the century.[1334] His arguments for such a dating are the trapezoid plan, in use, according to Courbin, from the end of the 8th c. to the end of the 7th c., the thickness of the foundations, the choice of the material (granite for the walls and marble for the N door), the fact that the columns are sunk into the floor and lastly the double internal colonnade. On the other hand, R. Vallois mentions the presence of Geometric pottery in the "pre-oikos",[1335] and H. Gallet de Santerre, having consulted an unpublished report of Ch. Dugas, quoted the presence of several fragments of vessels bearing Geometric decoration.[1336] Courbin limits his comments to asserting that the Geometric sherds could be earlier than the construction of the "Oikos of the Naxians", which is of course possible.[1337]

Courbin argues that the "Oikos" was the first monumental temple of Apollo in the sanctuary.[1338] Gallet de Santerre in a more recent contribution clings to the old theory according to which the building would have been an *hestiatorion*.[1339] In my opinion, both scholars may be right:

[1331] Excavations: French School, 1877-80 (Th. Homolle); 1909 (Ch. Dugas). Bibliography: Ch. Dugas, *CRAI* (1910) 313; P. Courby, *BCH* 45 (1921) 233-238; R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu' à l' éviction des déliens (166 av. J.C.)* I: *Les monuments*, Paris 1944, 16, 18, 109, 115f.; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 215, 217, 193; P. Courbin, *RA* (1979) 182-185; P. Courbin, *L'oikos des naxiens. Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 12-41; Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 120-122; H. Gallet de Santerre, "L'oikos des naxiens à Délos était-il un temple?", *BCH* 108 (1984) 671-693; P. Courbin, "Le temple archaïque de Délos", *BCH* 111 (1987) 63-78, esp. 63-68. See also Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 19; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 412; C. Rolley, "Bronzes géométriques et orientaux à Délos", *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 523f.; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult, AHom* III, V, 1974, 142-148; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 215; Laurence, *GA* (1983) 116; A. Kalpaxis, "Die Pfostenlocher unter dem naxieroikos auf Delos: Spuren eines Vorgängerbaues oder eines Baugerüstes?", in *Forschungen und Funde. Festschrift B. Neutsch*, Innsbruck 1980, 237-242; *id.*, "Naxier-Oikos I und andere Baugerüste", *AA* (1990) 149-153; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 516-521; N. Kourou, in *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου "Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων", Φιλώτι 3-6 Σεπτ. 1992*, ed. J. Promponas & S. Psaras, Athens 1994, 269f.

[1332] According to an old theory, no longer accepted by scholars, a small segment of wall, 1,80m long, lying in the SE corner of the main room (Fig. 314, shaded), belonged to the "pre-oikos": R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos* I, Paris 1944, 18; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 215. Doubts expressed by Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 79; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 19; C. Rolley, *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973) 523 and of course P. Courbin, *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 13f.

[1333] R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos* I, Paris 1944, 109; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 217. See however Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 79: either Geometric or 7th c.; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 412: not before the 8th c., and possibly even after 750. Lawrence's early dating in the 10th c. (*Greek Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1973[3], 89f.) is now corrected by R.A. Tomlinson (*ibid.*, 1983[4], 116).

[1334] *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 32; see, however, more recently *BCH* 111 (1987) 64 where it is suggested that the "pre-oikos" may even be earlier than the Art. E.

[1335] R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos* I, Paris 1944, 18, 115.

[1336] *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 215.

[1337] *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 29, n. 1.

[1338] *Ibid.*, 32-41.

[1339] *BCH* 108 (1984) 671-693; R. Étienne, "Autels et sacrifices", in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 304.

the "Oikos" could have been the first monumental temple of Apollo, in which ritual meals would have been carried out.[1340]

Despite Courbin's detailed study, the questions of reconstruction, date and function of the building remain unclear. The technique which consists in placing the wooden columns inside holes dug in the rock is rather unusual for the 7th c. Rough parallels of a similar technique can be found at the "Heroön" of Lefkandi (10th c., Fig. 88) and perhaps Gyroulas on Naxos (LG).[1341] By observing the longitudinal section one realises that the original floor was much higher than the bottom of the holes. Such a method, though primitive, may be compared with the technique applied in the construction of the walls of the building, that is to say the presence of massive foundations below the surface of the earth. A. Kalpaxis maintains that these holes served for the placing of the two legs of a crane which was used to haul in position the columns of the axial colonnade.[1342] Courbin objects[1343] that such a machine was not required, for the columns were not monolithic as G. Kastner believed[1344] but composed of slender drums instead. Since however there seems to have been at least two building phases of the building, one imagines that originally the colonnade was wooden. In that case, could a crane to haul the tree trunks in position have been used? The answer is probably not, for the placing of the two legged derrick would require more work than that of the columns.[1345] Moreover, the recent discovery of three-aisled temples at Iria on Naxos and at Ephesos, speaks in favour of the traditional theory (*infra* pp. 189-191 and 205-207, respectively).

Further uncertainties concerning the original plan of the building exist. The presence of a door at the E from the very beginning cannot be proved,[1346] while the location of the marble basin is not proof enough for denying the existence of an entrance to the W.[1347] Consequently, the opisthodomos might be regarded as a prodomos (Fig. 315).[1348] Lastly, none of Courbin's arguments for the dating of the building in the third quarter of the 7th c. are conclusive.[1349] A date in the end of the 8th c. or the first half of the 7th c. B.C. is equally possible, especially when one compares the plan with the temples at Iria (Figs. 366-367), Tsikalario A2 (Fig. 340) and Ephesos (Fig. 424).[1350]

On Delos, the first (?) temple of Artemis (**Artemision E**, Figs. 317-318) consists of an almost square room which measures 9,60m in length and 8,60m in width.[1351] It is enclosed inside the

[1340] The second temple at Iria on Naxos, in use between *c.* 730 and 680 B.C., may have also served a similar function.

[1341] Concerning Lefkandi see J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 61-64, Tables 2-3. Regarding Gyroulas see *infra* p. 247. See also J.J. Coulton, "Post Holes and Post Bases in Early Greek Architecture", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 60-62.

[1342] *Forschungen und Funde. Festschrift B. Neutsch*, Innsbruck 1980, 237-242 and more recently *id.*, *AA* (1990) 149-153, followed by R. Étienne, "Autels et sacrifices", in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, Genève 1992, 303, n. 22.

[1343] *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 13, n. 2.

[1344] *JdI* 78 (1963) 177-182.

[1345] p.c. by Dr. Coulton, Nov. 26, 1987.

[1346] "Il ne reste rien de l'ancienne porte Est, mais l'actuel seuil Est étant postérieur au dallage, il a dû remplacer un seuil plus ancien" (P. Courbin, *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 25). We cannot exclude that at some moment it was decided to open a door through that wall. This door may be contemporary with the E *prostoon*.

[1347] The basin may have been covered with a slab which would have been removed when it was being used.

[1348] Truly, the presence of an opisthodomos without a prodomos is an unusual feature in Greek Architecture. *Cf.* H. Gallet de Santerre, *BCH* 108 (1984) 685.

[1349] The trapezoid plan does not constitute a serious argument. Thick walls or foundations are also encountered in the LG period or the early 7th c., for example at Iria, Samos, Gortyna, Emporio, Kalapodi, Asine, Eleusis etc. The choice of the material used for the construction of the walls (granite) is not a conclusive argument for a late dating of the building (*cf.* the Temple II at Iria, also built with granite). The fact that the columns were placed in holes does not help the dating, for this is a rare feature in the EA period. Lastly, the double interior colonnade is a feature encountered in cult buildings of the Geometric period in neighbouring Naxos (Tsikalario and Iria) and at Ephesos.

[1350] Recently, Courbin acknowledged that an earlier date than the one he upheld in *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, should not be ruled out [*BCH* 111 (1987) 64].

[1351] Excavations: French School, 1908-09 (F. Courby), 1928 (R. Vallois), 1946 (H. Gallet de Santerre and J. Tréheux). Bibliography: F. Courby, *BCH* 45 (1921) 208-210; R. Vallois, *BCH* 48 (1924) 428f.; *id.*, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu' à l' éviction des déliens (166 av. J.C.)* I: *Les monuments*, Paris 1944, 48f., 109, 118; H. Gallet de Santerre & J. Tréheux, "Rapport sur le dépôt égéen et géométrique de l'Artemision à Délos", *BCH* 71/72 (1947/48) 148-254; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 130, 253; P. Courbin, *L'oikos des naxiens*, *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 15, n.3; Ph.

Hellenistic Artemision, D, and it was entered through the E. Judging by the plan, the width of the walls was *c.* 0,50m. A wall, *c.* 1,00m wide runs parallel to the rear wall of the building. It has been systematically ignored by those scholars who have dealt with the temple. From the published plan it becomes apparent that this wall is considered contemporary with Artemision E (i.e. it is coloured in black, like building E). Yet, in the first report dealing with the building this wall is associated with Artemision D.[1352] For some reason, this wall was later assigned to Artemision E. Unfortunately, one never learns on what grounds this attribution was based. Therefore, I prefer to follow the opinion of the original excavator. The building is generally considered an "oikos", later provided with a porch. R. Vallois, however, mentions that he observed the beginning of an anta wall projecting from the SE corner of the building.[1353] This means that it may have been provided from the beginning with a porch. The important width of the building presupposes the existence of interior supports (two sets of posts?) and possibly of two (?) columns *in antis* in the facade (Fig. 318).[1354]

A deposit uncovered under the N extremity of the E foundation of the building provides a *terminus post quem* for its construction (*cf.* Fig. 317). It contained numerous rich objects dated from the Mycenaean period to the end of the 8th c. B.C.[1355] These were doubtless intentionally collected and deposited there immediately before the construction of the building. The problem consists in establishing whether the Mycenaean material betrays the existence of a LBA shrine in the same spot.[1356]

It is fairly well established by later evidence that Building D was the temple of Artemis. Therefore, its predecessor, Building E, was presumably also a temple of Artemis. The identity of the Mycenaean structure beneath the temple of Artemis known as Building Ac, is rather obscure. If the Mycenaean objects contained in the foundation deposit were originally concealed inside Room Ac, there is a good chance that it was a shrine, perhaps of domestic character. If on the other hand these objects were heirlooms, handed down from generation to generation, "Ac" should be regarded as one of the elements of the Mycenaean complex (*cf.* Fig. 312) and nothing more. Unfortunately, there is no way to confirm either hypothesis.

The first shrine of Hera, also on Delos (**Heraion 1**, Fig. 319), is situated on the NW slope of Mount Kynthos.[1357] It is enclosed inside the second Heraion of the end of the 6th c. Its plan is almost square and its dimensions very small.[1358] The entrance was to the S. The walls are *c.* 0,30m wide.

Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 154-156; H. Gallet de Santerre, *BCH* 111 (1987) 27-29. See also B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund 1967, 26-30; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 24; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 55f.; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 76f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 215; C. Rolley, *Les trépieds à cuve clouée*, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 142; *id.*, "Rupture et continuité dans les âges obscurs. Y a-t-il des sanctuaires mycéniens?", *REG* 90 (1977) p. xxvii; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 522-524; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 67f.; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 102; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 147-149; N. Kourou, in *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου "Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων", Φιλώτι 3-6 Σεπτ. 1992*, ed. J. Promponas & S. Psaras, Athens 1994, 268f.

[1352] F. Courby, *BCH* 45 (1921) pls. III-IV.

[1353] R. Vallois, *BCH* 48 (1924) 433. However, on the detailed plan of the facade in H. Gallet de Santerre & J. Tréheux, *BCH* 71/72 (1947/48) pl. 19, such a detail cannot be observed.

[1354] A comparison with the pre-oikos of the Naxians (Fig. 315), Temples II and III at Iria (Figs. 336-337) and Building A2 at Tsikalario (Fig. 340) would perhaps favour a restoration of a double interior colonnade.

[1355] H. Gallet de Santerre & J. Tréheux, *BCH* 71/72 (1947/48) 148-254. It is however possible that the building dates in the beginning of the 7th c. B.C. See for instance Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 102.

[1356] See Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 44f. and *id.*, *GDA* (1972) 279; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 148 and G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion: Temples, Altars and Temenea*, Athens 1977, 25f.

[1357] Excavations: French School, 1912 (P. Roussel). Bibliography: A. Plassart, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du mont Cynthe*, *Délos* XI, Paris 1928, 150-184; Ch. Dugas, *Les vases de l'Héraion*, *Délos* X, Paris 1928, 6f.; R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu' à l' éviction des déliens (166 av. J.C.)* I: *Les monuments*, Paris 1944, 79, 117; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 259f., 278f.; G. Daux, *BCH* 89 (1965) 996-999; Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 230f. See also H.G.G. Payne, *JHS* 48 (1928) 274; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 23; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 77; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 215, 321; A. Büsing-Kolbe, "Frühe griechische Türen", *JdI* 3 (1978) 73; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 48; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 525f.; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 69; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 124f.; J.V. O'Brien, *The Transformation of Hera*, Lanham 1993, 227-232, 234f.

[1358] N side: 3,40m; S: 2,85m; W: 2,77m; E: 2,87m. The oblique W wall results from a repair of the building. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 69] calls the structure "a permanent and elaborate box for the housing of votives".

Against the rear wall there was a bench, 0,91m wide, the surface of which was *c.* 0,20m higher than the floor level. Nine or ten cylindrical marble bases were discovered. Some were incorporated in the walls of the second Heraion, others were scattered on the temple terrace. They could belong to a peristyle consisting of 3 X 4 or 4 X 4 columns, which would have surrounded the chapel.

Several vases bear inscriptions dedicated to Hera, thus leaving no doubt as to the identity of the divinity worshipped. The temple abounded in offerings, the earliest of which are dated in the beginning of the 7th c.[1359] This early date, however, does not agree with the later date of the tiles and other elements from the building's roof recovered inside the chapel.[1360] Though it is possible that the roof was a later addition to the original building,[1361] one should also bear in mind that it has been suggested that the earliest offerings could be ascribed to an even earlier phase of the sanctuary, traces of which were uncovered in 1964.[1362]

To summarise, the so-called "Pre-oikos" of the Naxians and the first temple of Artemis (Art. E) were erected at about the same time, the "pre-oikos" perhaps being the later element in the sequence and their common feature is that they are both rather monumental structures, like Temple II at Iria.[1363] The main difference between the two Delian temples is in their proportions: 1:2,49 in the pre-oikos, 1:1,16 in the temple of Artemis. The proportion of Temple II at Iria are closer to those of the latter (1:1,53). The roughly square proportions of the cella of the temple of Artemis are repeated on a much smaller scale in the tiny chapel of Hera on Mt. Kynthos.

As mentioned previously, the settlement on the summit of the acropolis at **Koukounaries** was in its peak during the MG and LG periods.[1364] The Upper Plateau was abandoned around 700 B.C. and the inhabitants moved on the slopes of the same hill (Fig. 320),[1365] which may have been already partly settled by the LG period.[1366] The final peaceful abandonment of Koukounaries is placed around the middle of the century.

On the summit of the acropolis, immediately to the E of the apsidal wall of the PG period (Wall A), the remains of a large rectangular building were uncovered (**Building C**, Walls 1, 2 and 15, Figs. 321-322).[1367] Unfortunately, only the N half was preserved, while its S part has fallen down the

[1359] H.G.G. Payne, *JHS* 48 (1928) 274; Ch. Dugas, *Délos* X, Paris 1928, *passim*. The later offerings recovered inside the temple belong to the very end of the 6th c.

[1360] A. Plassart, *Délos* XI, Paris 1928, 152f.

[1361] *Cf.* similar instances at Perachora ("temple" of Hera Limenia), Asine (temple of Apollo Pythaeus), Halieis, Minoa (Building K). At Delos, the tiles may have been added to the structure when the W wall was repaired.

[1362] Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, 231; G. Daux, *BCH* 89 (1965) 996-999.

[1363] Courbin restores the "Pre-oikos" in a different manner than I do (*supra* p. 180f.).

[1364] Concerning the possible hiatus in the occupation of the site during the PG and MG periods see *supra* p. 82, n. 399. On SPG pottery D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1981) 290; (1983) 284; (1988) 201f. Concerning EG pottery in the sanctuary of Athena *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 234; (1989) 258.

[1365] Concerning the excavation of the Lower Settlement see D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 289; (1981) 287f.; (1982) 248-250; (1983) 280-293; (1984) 276-286; (1985) 108-126; (1986) 171-182, 200-205; (1987) 220-236; (1988) 191-202; (1989) 263-266; (1990) 209-223; (1991) 238-253.

[1366] For instance the earlier habitation levels in the so-called Middle Terrace yielded LG sherds, while a wall dated to the same period came to light in the Middle Plateau. The direction of this wall may indicate that it bordered a street which led from the sanctuary of Athena to the Upper Plateau (p.c. D. Schilardi, Dec. 28, 1995, dotted area on Fig. 320): *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 224 -see, however, p. 226-, (1988) 199, 200f. See also *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 281, 283, 285, 288-290, (1984) 284, (1985) 117, (1988) 193f., 200f., (1989) 263f., 266 where LG, Geometric and even PG pottery is occasionally mentioned in connection with the excavation of the houses of the Lower Plateau and the South Terrace, but the excavator concludes in each occasion that the construction and use of these houses belong to the SG and EA periods.

[1367] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1977-79, 1981-83 (D. Schilardi). Bibliography: D. Schilardi, *JFA* 2 (1975) 88-93; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 373 (Building C); (1978) 203 (Building L), 204f. (Building C), 209f.; (1979) 247f. (Buildings A, C and L); (1980) 284 (Building A); (1981) 288, 290-292 (Buildings A and C); (1982) 245-247 (Building B), 251f. (Buildings B and L); (1983) 276 (lower levels beneath Buildings B and C), 292; (1984) 269f., 299 (Building C); *id.*, "The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 173-183; *id.*, "L'insediamento di Koukounaries nell'isola Egea di Paro", in *Seminari anno 1990, CNR-IME*, Roma 1991, 39-44, esp. 42. See also Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 805; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 11, 36f.; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 20; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 609-613; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 113; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 75-79, esp. 76f.; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 152; D. Berranger, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Paros a l'époque archaïque*, Clermont-Ferrand 1992, 120-122, 151f.; J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993,

hill. It measures 13,70m in length, while the estimated width is *c.* 6,00m.[1368] The walls, built with local schist slabs, are 0,50m thick and preserved up to nine courses.[1369] There is no indication concerning the location of the entrance, though, judging by the available space it may have been located in the short E wall. No internal divisions were observed in the interior; the second upper floor was paved with schist slabs.[1370] Below the floor level, the scanty remains of an earlier building, originally interpreted as a drain, were excavated (**Building B**).[1371] These remains consist of a straight wall, 0,70m thick, preserved to a length of 6,00m (Wall 3). The beginning of the short W wall was also found (Wall 6). The length of the edifice could not have exceeded *c.* 12-13m, and its entrance, judging by the available space, may have faced W. Among the finds associated with Building B was a terracotta roof tile (!) and a loom weight.[1372] Building B follows the same orientation as its successor, Building C.

The pottery ascribed to the period of use of Building B belongs to the LG period.[1373] The construction of Building C is placed in the last quarter of the 8th c.,[1374] but it has been established that it remained in use until *c.* 670/660 B.C., for a fragment of a relief pithos of that date, depicting two struggling figures, probably warriors, was found on the last floor.[1375]

D. Schilardi originally suggested that Buildings A and C may have been temples or perhaps rulers' dwellings.[1376] No votive offerings were found in association with those buildings. This situation contrasts with the more recent discoveries made further to the SE, on a lower terrace ("Temple Terrace"), where a temple of *c.* 700 B.C. has been found and dedications to Athena abound (see below pp. 185-188 and Figs. 320, 324). Therefore, the new discoveries led the excavator to abandon the first assumption and furthermore to consider the possibility that Building L in the N extremity of the Upper Plateau may have been the ruler's house.[1377] The discovery of the sanctuary of Athena and the presence of cult activities there from PG times onwards and the construction of the temple some time around 700, do not favour the theory of a second cult centre at the site, especially since no votive material was found on the summit of the acropolis.[1378] The excavator therefore suggested that Building C would have been "the megaron of the aristocratic family which ruled on the acropolis".[1379] The earliest apsidal building, A, was presumably not a temple either. Yet, its considerable dimensions indicate that this was the most outstanding building on the high plateau in the early DA, possibly the ruler's house. Moreover, one could assume that the apsidal edifice was occupied until around the middle of the 8th c., at which moment it may have been replaced by

144-146. Professor Schilardi has read a draft of the sections dealing with Koukounaries and has made valuable comments.

[1368] A segment of a N-S wall (Wall 1) originally regarded as the extension of the W wall of the building (Wall 15), subsequently proved to date in the Mycenaean period: *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 269f.

[1369] At the E extremity of the N long wall (Wall 2) the foundation is lower since it is founded 0,15m higher than the rest of the same wall and consists of six stone courses: *ΠΑΕ* (1981) 292.

[1370] *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 373; (1978) 205. The second floor was laid 0,48m higher than the earlier one.

[1371] *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 373 and (1978) 204f. ("drain"); (1982) 247. Professor Schilardi does not exclude, however, that the wall of Building B was reused as the substructure of a drain when Building C was built (p.c. Dec. 28, 1995).

[1372] *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 247, fig. 153α.

[1373] *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 247.

[1374] *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 205.

[1375] D. Schilardi, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 179, fig. 8; *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 373 & pl. 185α; *Ἔργον* (1977) 152, fig. 98. J.R. Lenz [*Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 146 and n. 182 at p. 167] compares this fragment with a nearly identical sherd associated with the cult of the *archegetes*-king Anios at Delos, but adds that "this is only an interesting coincidence". On the cult of Anios see Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 218-220.

[1376] *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 175, 178.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 210; (1979) 247.

[1377] *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 252.

[1378] The possibility of a household cult in connection with a MG hearth found below the floor of a LG house of the acropolis (Building E, Trench E4) is discussed by Schilardi in *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 203f. and in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 175-177 and Morris, *Burial* (1987) 189. A clay phallus, spindle whorls, skyphoi, one-handled cups and oinochoai were discovered inside the hearth. Concerning the excavation reports of the overlying LG house see D. Schilardi, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 175, 177; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 372f.; (1978) 204; (1980) 285f.; (1983) 279.

[1379] *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 299. See also *id.*, in *Seminari anno 1990, CNR-IME*, Roma 1991, 42: "il palazzo di basileus".

Building B.[1380] This building in its turn, was succeeded towards the end of the 8th c. B.C. (around 720 B.C.) by Building C which may have been the new ruler's house. However, shortly afterwards (*c.* 710 B.C.), it seems that the buildings of the Upper Plateau were destroyed by an earthquake, but they were repaired and reoccupied for a short period, until *c.* 700 B.C.[1381] Building C was now the only edifice standing on the Upper Plateau, and, judging by the existence of a *"prytaneion"* near the sanctuary of Athena (p. 186, Figs. 323-324), which was built around 700 or a few years later and remained in use until the 4th c. B.C., one could suggest that its function was altered, serving now as a communal building (a sort of *"andron"*?).[1382] Around 670/660, Building C fell in ruins, while the final abandonment of the settlement on the lower terraces followed a few years later. The temple of Athena received votives until the beginning of the 4th c. B.C., thus recalling Zagora and Emporio and perhaps Hypsile. Remains to be clarified what precise function(s) Buildings B and C fulfilled.

A temple was recently excavated on a terrace of the SE slope of the hill of **Koukounaries** (Figs. 320, 324-325).[1383] It consists of a rectangular room measuring 9,50m in length and *c.* 6,40m in width.[1384] The walls, which are built with schist slabs, dressed in their visible face, are 0,50 wide.[1385] The entrance is located in the middle of the E wall. The door was provided with a monolithic threshold, 1,42m long. Two circular cavities in the NE and SE corners of the threshold prove that the door consisted of two wooden leaves attached to pivots. A marble circular base was discovered in the western part of the room. The base, which measures 0,31m in diameter was axially placed and evidently supported a wooden column. A second similar column base may be restored in the eastern part of the chamber. Along the inner face of the N, E and perhaps the S and W sides runs a bench of five courses of schist slabs, *c.* 0,45-0,52m wide which appears to be an addition of the 7th c. B.C.[1386] In the NW and SW corners the bedrock forms two outcrops which were incorporated into the edifice. This feature recalls the NW corner of Room K1 at Amorgos (*cf.* Fig. 349).

A stone structure (3) in contact with the W wall of the cella belongs to a repair, during the main period of use of the temple.[1387] Approximately in the centre of the cella a bin-like structure constructed with upright slabs was found (offering table?).[1388] To the S of this structure a wall following a N-S orientation was found. This wall is earlier than the schist structure.[1389] In various places of the cella schist slabs belonging to a paved floor of the 4th c. B.C. were found.[1390]

[1380] Dr. Schilardi (p.c. Sept. 21, 1984) informed me that the pottery associated with Building A dates the construction of the edifice, not its period of occupation. As for the function of Building B, very little can be said, due to its bad state of preservation.

[1381] p.c. by D. Schilardi, Dec. 28, 1995. See also *id.*, in *Seminari anno 1990, CNR-IME*, Roma 1991, 42.

[1382] This assumption is based on the fact that Building C does not appear to have been provided with internal divisions, despite its important dimensions. Moreover, soon after it was built, the Upper Plateau was abandoned [yet, a 7th c. wall in the NW corner of the plateau is mentioned in *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 248: Wall 1].

[1383] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1983-89 (D. Schilardi). Bibliography: D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 373f.; (1983) 293-296 (votive deposit); (1984) 286-293 (votive deposit) 286, 292-300 (temple); (1985) 117-126 ("House of the Seals"), 126-134 (temple), 135-143 (votive deposit); (1986) 179-182 ("House of the Seals"), 182-198 (temple and surroundings), 198-200 (votive deposit); (1987) 219, 227-231 ("House of the Seals"), 231-236 (area of temple); (1988) 185, 202-205 (temple), 205-207 (votive deposit); (1989) 257-259 (temple), 259-262 (votive deposit); *id.*, "The Temple of Athena at Koukounaries", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 41-48; *id.*, "Il culto ed il santuario di Athena a Koukounaries", in *Le Cicladi ed il Mondo Egeo. Seminario internazionale di Studi, Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata. Dipartimento di Storia, Roma, 19-21 Novembre 1992* (in press). See also Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 614-618; Morris, *Burial* (1987) 147, fig. 51.

[1384] For a description of the main features of the temple see *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 295-297.

[1385] Like the rest of the EIA buildings at Koukounaries, the superstructure of the walls was built of stone.

[1386] *ΠΑΕ* (1988) 205 for the dating of the N bench.

[1387] *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 186f. Structure 3 rests upon Layer 5 of Trench J, which is interpreted as a floor containing Early Cycladic, Late Mycenaean and Geometric sherds.

[1388] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 184f. The "bin" lies in Trench b and seems to be post-Geometric in date since the surrounding Layer 4 contained 4th c. sherds and the lower Layer 5 a kotyle of the ripe Corinthian period (625-575 B.C.). In *ΠΑΕ* (1988) 205 a "rectangular schist structure", presumably the so-called "bin" of the previous reports, is identified as an offering table and is assigned to the 7th c. B.C.

[1389] *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 185, 187 (S part of Trench b). Schilardi suggests that the wall belongs to an earlier building which was succeeded by the "Early Archaic" temple. This seems to be Wall 1, dated in the LH IIIC period.

[1390] *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 231; (1988) 205.

The area to the E of the temple was occupied by a roughly square temenos (7,00 X 7,32m), bordered on the N and E sides by a wall (Walls 1 and 2, respectively; Wall 6 at the SE extremity of the temenos is a retaining wall of the LG period[1391]). Against the middle part of the N wall there stood a rectangular platform, Structure 3, (1,58 X 0,80m) which may be tentatively identified with an altar of post-Geometric date.[1392] At a deeper level an earlier semicircular stone structure was found, identified with an earlier altar, in use before the construction of the temple and the construction of the temenos wall.[1393] In the same area a wall (3) and to the S, a "bin" of upright slabs came to light, the former presumably dating in the LG period.[1394] In a later report the structure with the raised slabs was tentatively identified as a cist grave, perhaps of the SMyc period.[1395] This dating appears unlikely since not a single fragment of SMyc pottery was found in this area. Ash layers, containing bones of small animals (goats, sheep, pigs) were encountered during the excavation of the hypaethral temenos.[1396] It seems, however, that the sanctuary extended further E, since traces of walls and votive offerings were also discovered in Square K13 (*cf.* Fig. 320).[1397]

Both temple and temenos rested upon a terrace. Houses of the first half of the 7th c. B.C. occupied the remaining space of the terrace, and also other terraces of the S slope of the hill (Fig. 320). An important building dubbed "**House of the Seals**" came to light a few metres to the N of the temple and seems to have had a public function (sort of *prytaneion* or Dining House, Fig. 323). The space between the "House of the Seals" and the temple was free of constructions and would have served the political and religious needs of the community (Fig. 324).[1398] A massive votive dump was excavated inside a rock cavity, just below the temple terrace (see below).

At first, the temple was believed to date in the EA period.[1399] During the 1985-87 campaigns, however, LG/SG sherds (*c.* 700 B.C.) were collected in close contact with the temple's walls.[1400] The successive floor levels inside the building date in the Archaic and Classical periods. The excavator assumes that the original floor was almost entirely destroyed.[1401] The dating of the temple around 700 B.C. is essentially supported by the discovery of pottery of the first quarter of the 7th c. in connection with the W retaining wall of the temple (Wall 2, Fig. 325), which wall appears to be later than the

[1391] *ΠΑΕ* (1989) 259.
[1392] *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 295. Preserved dim. 1,87 by 1,00m.
[1393] *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 193.
[1394] The wall is 0,60m wide and follows an E-W direction: see *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 234, Layer 8 which yielded LG IIa sherds.
[1395] *ΠΑΕ* (1989) 259. Dim. 1,20 by 0,80m. Disturbed, it contained a mixture of Early Cycladic and MG sherds and some terracotta tiles.
[1396] D. Schilardi, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 45; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 295.
[1397] *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 197f.; (1987) 236; (1988) 202f.; (1989) 261f.
[1398] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 182.
[1399] *Τα Νέα*, Sept. 28, 1984; *Έργον* (1984) 69 and 71f.; *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 297f.
[1400] *Έργον* (1985) 55; *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 128-131 (E of cella, inside temenos, Square J13/14, no. 2, trenches 2-3), 131-134 (W of temple, in connection with Retaining Wall 2, Square I/J 13/14, nos. 1-3) and D. Schilardi, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 45. In both areas, it became apparent that the underlying level of the temple's construction contained LG pottery, while the immediately overlying levels almost contemporary material (LG-SG). More precisely, in the temenos, Layer 6 in Square J13/14, no. 2, trench 2, yielded obsidian chips, which may have belonged to the tools which were used for the temple's construction and LG sherds [*ΠΑΕ* (1985) 129. Dr. Schilardi no longer holds this view (p.c. Dec. 28, 1995). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that there appears to have existed a workshop for the manufacture of obsidian tools at Koukounaries in the LG period: *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 117, 141. See however a similar layer inside the temple, overlying a 4th c. B.C. layer (!): *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 186], while layers 7-8 which continue beneath the E wall of the cella contained PG and Geometric material. From the same 6th level in Square J13/14, no. 2, trench 3, a LG sherd is noted, while the underlying layer, 7, yielded among others a PG sherd. On the other hand, in the area W of the temple, in Square I/J13/14, no. 1, Layers 5 and 6 which were formed after the construction of Retaining Wall 2 belong to the 8th c., like Layer 7 which antedates the construction of Wall 2. For similar observations in this area see *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 188-190, fig. 7 (Layer 8, upon which Retaining Wall 2 was built, contained pottery of the end of the Geometric period. The successive superimposed Layers 5-7 also included sherds which have been dated in the transitional period between the 8th and 7th c. B.C.) and *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 233 (Trench h: Wall 2 founded on top of Layer 6 and Layers 5 and 4 higher up which butt on the exterior face of the same wall, all contained pottery dated around 700 B.C.).
[1401] *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 187.

temple proper.[1402] It is puzzling that structures antedating the 6th c. floor were preserved (including some Mycenaean walls, described below) while undisturbed floors associated with these foundations were not. Moreover, the usual procedure was to lay a new floor on top of the earlier one. If the floor was removed, would not one expect the second one of the 6th c. to be removed also, since the temple was still in use in the 4th c. B.C.? A puzzling feature is that the exterior W face of the cella (Wall 1, Fig. 325) was well dressed,[1403] something which does not make sense if one assumes that it was not meant to be seen, since immediately after its construction, it was hidden behind Retaining Wall 2, unless one assumes that there was a danger that the W wall of the temple would collapse, and this would have dictated the construction of Retaining Wall 2. Thus, the questions related with the chronology of the construction of the temple at Koukounaries should remain for the time being open.

In the temenos more than ten layers were observed, indicating that the spot was used during the Early Cycladic, Late LH IIIC, PG, SPG, MG, LG, EA, Archaic and Classical periods.[1404] Fragmentary walls associated with Late LH IIIC pottery were also found beneath the northern part of the cella of the temple (Walls 1 and 2),[1405] while two more segments of walls were found beneath the later temenos (Walls 4 and 8).[1406] Schilardi assumes an uninterrupted use of the spot from Mycenaean to Geometric times,[1407] but this is not certain since SMyc sherds were not found,[1408] while EG pottery is nowhere specifically mentioned.[1409] However, since this was the only place in the lower terraces where PG and SPG pottery was found, it would not be unjustified to suggest that the area was devoted to cult practices since the beginning of the EIA, and perhaps even earlier.[1410] It may be interesting to note here that there is also evidence for cult practice during the PG period in connection with a cave at the NE slope of the hill which also contained a LH IIIB burial (*cf.* Fig. 320).[1411] D. Schilardi suggests a tomb cult but I. Morris remarks that "the worshippers may not even have known that the burial was there".[1412] To return to the question of the chronology of the temple of Athena, in the present state of research, a dating around 700 seems indeed likely, but it should not be altogether excluded that it may have been erected sometime during the first half of the 7th c., or even around the middle of the century (*cf.* also the chronology of the N bench, *supra* n. 1386), at which moment the houses of the S slopes of the hill were in the process of being abandoned. Whichever the issue of the question, the finds from the votive deposit prove that the temple and the "House of the Seals" continued to receive visitors until the end of the 4th c. (or even the 3rd c. B.C.[1413]), despite the fact that the settlement ceased to be inhabited from *c.* the middle of the 7th c. B.C. This situation recalls once more the cases of Zagora, Hypsile and Emporio.

Thanks to the discovery of inscribed dedications upon clay vessels it has been possible to establish that the divinity worshipped at the sanctuary was Athena,[1414] but it should be noted that Apollo was also worshipped here, though his temenos may have been located a few metres to the

[1402] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 134; (1986) 188-190; (1987) 233.
[1403] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 132.
[1404] For instance *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 190-192 (Trench e), 192-194 (Trench f).
[1405] *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 232: Layers 10 and 11 in Trenches i-e and Layer 6 in Trenches d-h (a circular slab 0,90m in diameter was partly embedded in the upper part of Layer 10). It is worth mentioning here that the overlying layers in the latter, 5 and 4, yielded exclusively Classical sherds (!), i.e., there is no fill between the Mycenaean and Classical levels in the area around the column base. One wall follows an E-W direction, another N-S. See also *ΠΑΕ* (1988) 204 where the E-W wall beneath the temenos is interpreted as a retaining wall, and to its S there were occupation layers [*ΠΑΕ* (1989) 257f.].
[1406] *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 235.
[1407] *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 195.
[1408] However, the Late LH IIIC pottery of Koukounaries may perhaps overlap with the SMyc "phase" (p.c. by D. Schilardi, Dec. 28, 1995). Moreover, some of the SPG sherds may perhaps date in the first half of the 9th c.
[1409] *ΠΑΕ* (1989) 258 where an EG/MG phase is for the first time mentioned in connection with the temenos, though no pottery is illustrated.
[1410] In *ΠΑΕ* (1988) 204 and in *Seminari anno 1990, CNR-IME*, Roma 1991, 43, the excavator examines also the possibility that the origins of the cult reach back to the LBA.
[1411] D. Schilardi, *JFA* 2 (1975) 91f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 289; (1986) 197, 203.
[1412] "Tomb Cult and the Greek Renaissance", *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 753.
[1413] *ΠΑΕ* (1988) 205. The redating of the final abandonment is perhaps based on the discovery of a fragment of a megarian bowl in the votive deposit: *ΠΑΕ* (1988) 206.
[1414] *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 294; (1984) 288; (1985) 137.

E.[1415] The interior of the temple was disturbed and no significant finds were recovered from undisturbed contexts. The main bulk of votive offerings was discovered in the votive deposit, S of the temple terrace. These objects would have once stood inside the temple and its temenos. It seems that we are not dealing with a stratified deposit formed by periodical cleanings of the sanctuary. Indeed, the fact that the material was not stratified but instead was found among fallen blocks from buildings' walls, indicates that the major part of the deposit was formed by the debris of a building of the higher terrace, i.e. the temple and its surroundings.[1416] The material consists of large quantities of pottery and lamps (including lekanai, amphorae, kylikes and miniature skyphoi), loom weights, terracotta figurines, the majority representing a seated female divinity wearing a polos. Most interesting are several clay plaques, pierced for suspension. Some bear decoration in relief or painted, while others combine both techniques. These plaques present a variety of subjects: Athena offering a libation, a figure wearing a helmet, and several others depicting a female divinity, snakes and horses. Metal offerings seem to be rare: the only item mentioned (with the exception of an arrowhead from the cella of the temple) is a bird figurine of bronze, presumably a pendant.[1417] The character and nature of the finds is similar to those from other sanctuaries of Athena (*cf.* Zagora and Emporio), though the lack of metal votives at Koukounaries, such as fibulae, pins and weapons, is worth noting. (N.B. At Zagora, arms are also absent from the votives).

Following recent excavations at **Grotta** on Naxos (Fig. 330), several funerary "enclosures" of the LPG period were uncovered in which religious activities in the honour of the deceased were presumably performed.[1418] The excavators are today convinced that the so-called "houses" of the beginning of the EIA excavated so far at Grotta are in fact funerary enclosures, meaning that the settlement was abandoned towards the end of the Mycenaean period and after a short break the area served as a burial ground of the new settlement which had been dislocated, somewhere nearby.[1419] Such "enclosures" were discovered S of the area previously excavated by Kontoleon (Fig. 330, no. 1a) and also next to the E part of the LH IIIC fortification wall (Mitropolis square, Fig. 330, no. 3).

In the first area (Fig. 331) a curvilinear wall (T10) bordered two or perhaps three cist graves which belong to the LPG period (Tombs 3-4).[1420] Another PG grave was found *c.* 3,00m to the NW. (Tomb 5).[1421] Two further LPG cist graves were enclosed beneath a structure (T15-T16), in one corner of which there was a square clay platform covered with pebbles (A).[1422] Partly on top of one of the two graves (Tomb 2) a LH IIIC hydria was discovered. This vase has been interpreted as a heirloom handed down from generation to generation and placed there as a *sema*.[1423] Another tomb

[1415] *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 200; (1988) 206f.; (1989) 261f. (three inscribed sherds mentioning the name of the god were found in the votive deposit and in Trench K13). The excavator dissociates these finds from the main sanctuary and assumes that in the E extremity of the terrace of the temple of Athena there would have been either a second building or an altar, dedicated to the worship of the god [*ΠΑΕ* (1988) 207].

[1416] *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 293; (1986) 199.

[1417] *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 293-296; (1985) 135-143; (1986) 198-200; (1987) 205-207; (1989) 259-262 and in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 41-48.

[1418] Excavations: Grotta, area S of Kontoleon's excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1980, 1982, 1984-85 (V. Lambrinoudakis). Mitropolis square: Greek Archaeological Society and Greek Archaeological Service, 1982-85 (V. Lambrinoudakis and Ph. Zapheiropoulou). Bibliography: Area S of Kontoleon's excavations: V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1980) 260; (1982) 255; (1984) 301-305; (1985) 144-148; *Έργον* (1985) 58-60. See also N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 186; (1961) 193; (1967) 115f., 118; (1971) 174. Mitropolis square: V. Lambrinoudakis & Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 260-262; (1983) 299-304; (1984) 330-339; (1985) 162-167, esp. 166f.; *Έργον* (1984) 74-79; (1985) 60-62; (1993) 63f. Concerning the entire excavated area: V. Lambrinoudakis, "Veneration of Ancestors in Geometric Naxos", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 235-246. See also Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 565-567; P. Blome, in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer- Forschung*, ed. J. Latacz, Stuttgart & Leipzig 1991, 53; in general about the earlier excavations see Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 150f. Concerning the project of preservation of the remains see V. Lambrinoudakis, "Προσπάθεια συστηματικής διαχείρισης αρχαιολογικών χώρων της Νάξου", *EEKM* 12 (1995) 458-461 and Ch. Kiosse, "Ένα αρχαιολογικό πάρκο στη βυθισμένη πόλη της Νάξου", *Ταχυδρόμος*, Dec. 15, 1988, 78-82.

[1419] V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 148 and *id.*, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 245.

[1420] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 213; (1985) 147.

[1421] N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 174.

[1422] V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 145-147.

[1423] V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 145, 147; *Έργον* (1985) 59f., fig. 66.

was discovered a few metres to the N. Tombs 1 and 2 were surrounded in the EG period by an enclosure (Walls 15 and 16), in the NE corner of which, and partly on top of Tomb 1, the clay platform was built. In the area immediately to the N of the EG structure several pyres and pits were noted. Further structures had been revealed in earlier years in the area to the NE of this assemblage (two curvilinear structures and one rectangular Π-shaped structure (Fig. 331, shaded). Lambrinoudakis suggested that these too could have served functions in connection with the cult of the dead.[1424] In the plot of the *Eirenodikeion*, a few metres to the E (Fig. 330, no. 2), Kontoleon excavated a "bothros" which contained the skeletons of three pigs and two piglets and pottery of the end of the LBA and of the PG period, and nearby, to the E, a hearth 1,20-1,30m in diameter associated with burnt animal bones and Mycenaean and Geometric sherds. Stratigraphical observations led the excavator to the conclusion that this cult (?) assemblage was formed after the abandonment of the Mycenaean buildings.[1425]

In the area of the **Mitropolis square** (Figs. 330, no. 3 and 332-333) something similar was observed: an adult grave of the EPG period was excavated partly within the Mycenaean ruins just E of the LH IIIC fortification wall. By the end of the 10th c. B.C. a rich cemetery was established in the same area. At the same time several rectangular "enclosures" were built in connection with the graves. Their form bring to one's mind the funerary buildings assembled by Themelis, i.e. ossuaries, one corner of which was reserved to the practice of ceremonies in the honour of the dead.[1426] In one of the Grotta "enclosures" a compartment set apart in one corner revealed a LPG cremation tomb surmounted by a stone boulder which evidently served as a *sema*.[1427] In connection with this grave a pit containing ashes was found; moreover several superimposed pyres were detected above the grave, attesting to the existence of cult practices in this spot throughout the Geometric period. Indeed, though no tombs later than the LPG period were discovered within the enclosures, these were remodelled during the EG and MG periods (Fig. 333). Inside the new enclosures several superimposed circular stone pavings were discovered in connection with the use of which whole smashed pots, a few metal votives, animal bones and sea shells were found. During the LG period more similar pavings were built, and fewer pyres were detected. In the same period a retaining wall was built in the E limit of the enclosures in order to contain a vast tumulus of mud bricks and earth, *c.* 20,00m in diameter, with which they were covered. It seems that this tumulus was visible until Roman times, as was the Mycenaean fortification wall. In view of the proximity of the later agora one concludes that the veneration of the remote ancestors persisted until that time.

V. Lambrinoudakis suggested that the enclosures at Grotta would have been hypaethral,[1428] but since it seems that the mud bricks which served to erect the tumulus came from the superstructure of the walls, P.G. Themelis proposed that at least portions of the structures may have been roofed, which is indeed possible.[1429]

The site of **Iria** is located *c.* three km S of the town of Naxos, in the middle of a fertile plain known as "Livadi" (Fig. 329). Four superimposed temples were discovered, the earliest dated around 800, the latest around 570 B.C.[1430] In 1991 evidence came to light that the site was also used in the

[1424] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 148.
[1425] N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1965) 171-173.
[1426] *Grabbauten* (1976) *passim*.
[1427] V. Lambrinoudakis & Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 334.
[1428] *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 271.
[1429] *Ibid.*
[1430] Excavations: University of Athens, 1982, 1986-95 (V. Lambrinoudakis, G. Gruben, E. Bournia and M. Korres). Bibliography: V. Lambrinoudakis & G. Gruben, *AA* (1987) 569-621, esp. 586, 601-603, 614f.; V. Lambrinoudakis, G. Gruben *et al.*, "Ανασκαφή αρχαίου ιερού στα Ύρια της Νάξου. Η έρευνα κατά τα έτη 1982, 1986 και 1987", *Αρχαιογνωσία* 5 (1987-88) 133-191; G. Gruben, "Die Inselionische Ordnung", in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VI^e siècle av. J.C. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23-25 mai 1991*, ed. J. des Courtils & J.-Ch. Moretti, Paris 1993, 97-109; V. Lambrinoudakis, "The Sanctuary of Iria on Naxos and the Birth of Monumental Greek Architecture", in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art. National Gallery of Art, Washington*, ed. D. Buitron-Oliver, Hanover & London 1991, 173-188; *id.*, "Έξι χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας στα Ύρια της Νάξου", *AE* (1992) 201-216, esp. 209ff. See also V. Lambrinoudakis, "Προσπάθεια συστηματικής διαχείρισης αρχαιολογικών χώρων της Νάξου", *EEKM* 12 (1995) 461-463; A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, Sept. 21-22, 1986.

LBA and one should not exclude that the origins of the cult go back to that period.[1431] A few PG sherds were also found on the site, but it is still too early to speak of continuity.[1432]

The first temple (brown temple or **Temple I**, Fig. 335), built around 800 B.C., was a rather small rectangular building measuring *c.* 9,50 by 5,00m.[1433] The entrance with its schist threshold was situated at the S. The walls were of mud bricks, resting on a substructure of stone. There is scanty evidence that there was an axial colonnade in the interior (*cf.* a base of sandstone near the entrance). In the interior, near the W wall, there may have been a wooden (;) offering table.[1434]

The walls were surrounded on the outside by a rough stone platform which protected the structure from the waters of the marsh.[1435] In the area towards the S there were two more retaining walls. The excavations revealed also a foundation sacrifice connected with the construction of the temple: a bull's skull on top of which an undecorated oinochoe, dated around 800 B.C. had been placed beneath the inner retaining wall, S-SE of the temple.[1436] The outer wall bordered the river bed and its construction can be placed shortly after 800 B.C. Between the two walls just mentioned, almost axially placed in relation to the longitudinal axis of the temple, a pyre with calcinated animal bones was found. This indicates that cult practice was concentrated outside the temple. The first cult building was destroyed during the LG IIa period.

The second temple was built in the third quarter of the 8th c. B.C. (around 730), replacing the earlier temple in the same spot (**Temple II**, Fig. 336).[1437] It measures 16,50 by 11,00m (internal width *c.* 10,00m) and was divided into four naves by three rows of columns (3 X 5 columns). The material used in the wall is granite and some marble blocks (especially at the corners).[1438] The W wall and the NW and SW corners are preserved (0,75m wide) but nothing remains of the E wall, which, however, may be restored on the basis of the position of the internal columns. Originally, it was thought that the front wall was slightly oblique and that it followed the line of the earlier S retaining wall, but today it appears more probable that it was set at right angles regarding the two long sides, and would have been situated further S, at exactly the same position as the front wall of Temple III (*cf.* Fig. 334 where both the earlier and current solutions are shown).[1439] The column bases were of marble. The aisles converge towards the back side, towards the focus of the cult which was situated between the 4th and 5th columns of the central nave: here there was evidence of a pyre with ashes and numerous animal bones. This *eschara* was in fact built on top of the earlier offering table. The floor was also strewn with numerous animal bones, both burnt and unburnt. These finds attest that ritual dining and sacrifices were performed inside the temple.[1440] A row of stones set on the floor of the building, alongside the W wall seems to have been a bench which may have run along the side and back (?) walls. The temple remained in use from *c.* 730-680 B.C.

The third temple (blue temple or **Temple III**, Fig. 337)[1441] was built around 680 and was now presumably divided into three naves (the W aisle is hypothetical).[1442] The N, E and W walls remained in the same place, but the cella was expanded towards the S, attaining a length of 17,00m. An Ionic (?) prostyle porch which consisted of four columns set on bases and a massive foundation conferred a

[1431] This assumption is based on the character of the Late Mycenaean finds, such as conical cups and stemmed kylikes [V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 215 and G. Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VI^e siècle av. J.C.*, ed. J. des Courtils & J.-Ch. Moretti, Paris 1993, 99]. The focus of the cult was situated beneath the subsequent *eschara*.

[1432] V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 215.

[1433] *Ibid.*, 213f.; Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture* ... (*op.cit.*) 99.

[1434] Two impressions in the floor, 0,10 X 0,10 X 0,11 (depth).

[1435] Concerning the swamp, V. Lambrinoudakis, public lecture, Athens, March 28, 1996. Originally it had been suggested that a stream flowed approximately 7,0m to the S.

[1436] V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 214.

[1437] *Ibid.*, 210f.; Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture* ... (*op.cit.*) 102.

[1438] For the frequent use of marble by the Naxian architects in the early Archaic period see G. Kokkorou-Alevra, *AE* (1992) 102f.

[1439] V. Lambrinoudakis, public lecture, Athens, March 28, 1996.

[1440] See V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 211.

[1441] *Id.*, *AE* (1992) 211f.; Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture* ... (*op.cit.*) 102.

[1442] V. Lambrinoudakis, in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, ed. D. Buitron-Oliver, Hanover & London 1991, 175.

monumental appearance to the entrance.[1443] The W wall is unusually thick for this period (*c.* 0,80m wide). The blocks were placed in two rows and were dressed. At the S the wall consists of two large blocks of granite which seem to belong to an anta. It seems that the walls would have been composed of stones up to their full height.[1444]

Three stone bases of the E colonnade were uncovered in the interior of the edifice. All three have the shape of a crude torus and bear a shallow depression 0,29m in diameter, indicating the lower diameter of the wooden columns. The first base, of marble, is 0,63m in diameter and 0,29m in thickness. At a distance 2.60-2,70m further to the N there is a second base of marble (0,60m in diam., 0,12m in height) set on a slab of gneiss. The base, however, is not in its original position since a layer of earth containing Geometric sherds separates the two stones. Another slab of marble, lies 3,50m to the W of the row of columns just described. No base was found in association with it. It is not clear yet whether this slab represents a second row of columns, for the intercolumnation in that case should have been *c.* 1,35m. Since, however, the intercolumnation of the two E columns is 2,60-2,70, one assumes that one further column once stood between them. If this is correct, the interior would have been divided into three naves: the middle aisle would have been 3,40m wide and the side aisles 2,40m.[1445] It seems that the roof in the 7th c. consisted of tiles.[1446]

The *eschara*, full of ashes, was now bordered with stone slabs, 0,30-0,40m high, and measured 2,90 by 1,75m. The column base next to the *eschara* was blackened due to its proximity to the fire. The *eschara* was presumably axially placed (depending how one restores the plan of the temple), and its width determined the width of the central nave.

According to the preliminary reports so far published, it seems that the third temple was built around 680;[1447] originally its construction had been placed in the transition between the 8th and 7th c. B.C. (*c.* 700 B.C.).[1448] It was destroyed in the third quarter of the 7th c.[1449] A votive deposit was discovered just to the N of the temple, containing offerings of the LG and 7th c. B.C. The deposit may indicate that for a brief period between the destruction of the third temple and the construction of the fourth, cult practice was confined to the open air.[1450]

The fourth prostyle temple (yellow or Temple IV) was divided into three naves and measured 28,33 by 13,50m. It was built in the beginning of the 6th c. and was destroyed in the third quarter of the 5th.

At **Tsikalario**, also on Naxos, several buildings are located inside a MG necropolis (Fig. 338) which consists of 40 to 50 circular tumuli, on a rocky plateau in the centre of the island.[1451] Here, we will be concerned with a rectangular building, situated at the northern end of the necropolis (Building A) and a complex of rooms, SW of the two southernmost tumuli, 10 and 13 (Unit B).[1452] A

[1443] The total length of the temple attained 19,70m. See V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 211, n. 19. Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture* ... (*op.cit.*) 104 does not mention the existence of a prostyle porch in his discussion of Temple III since it was detected in 1992.

[1444] V. Lambrinoudakis & G. Gruben, *AA* (1987) 603.

[1445] *Ibid. et al.*, *Αρχαιογνωσία* 5 (1987-88) 165. Lambrinoudakis currently seems to favour the hypothesis of a wider central nave and of two less wide side aisles (lectures at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Febr. 27, 1991 and at the Greek Archaeological Society, Jan. 23, 1992). However, in *AE* (1992) 211 he notes that the central nave would have been 1,40m less wide than those of the side.

[1446] V. Lambrinoudakis, G. Gruben *et al.*, *Αρχαιογνωσία* 5 (1987-88) 165.

[1447] V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 211.

[1448] *Id.* & G. Gruben, *AA* (1987) 601. This early date is maintained by Gruben, in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture* ... (*op.cit.*) 102.

[1449] V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 211.

[1450] *Ibid.*, 212f.

[1451] Concerning the date of the tombs see Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 92.

[1452] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1965 (Ph. Zapheiropoulou). Bibliography: Ph. Papadopoulou-Zapheiropoulou, *AΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 395f.; *id.*, "La necropoli geometrica di Tsikalario a Naxos", *Magna Graecia* 18: 5/6 (1983) 1-4; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 21, 51, 53; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 55; Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 24f., 40-42; *id.*, *AE* (1975) 240f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 92; P. Courbin, *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 30, n. 7, p. 33, n. 6, p. 35, n. 5; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 170-176; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 806f.; W. Ekschmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen* II, Mainz 1986, 46-50, esp. 50; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 796-801; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 73-75.

discussion of Building C (Fig. 339), which is located between Tumulus 6 and Building (?) 9, and that of a few other structures, which most probably served funerary and cult purposes can be found in P.G. Themelis' dissertation.[1453]

Building A (Fig. 340) is directed E-W and consists of a large rectangular room, preceded by a much smaller one, against its W short side. It seems that the latter is the result of a repair of the initial building;[1454] in that case one should reconstruct in the first building phase an open porch or a closed vestibule, for the entrance was at the W.[1455] The presence of a rectangular block at the extremity of the N anta, which occupies the entire width of the wall, favours, in my opinion, the first reconstruction (Fig. 341).[1456] The edifice measures *c.* 12,50m in length and 6,00m in width. The thickness of the walls is 0,50m. The excavator gave no details concerning the material used for the upper parts of the walls. The rocky surroundings may favour the hypothesis that these were built of stones up to their full height. The main room was provided with two parallel rows of supports for the roof: three pairs of square and circular stone bases were discovered, but most were moved from their original position. It should not be excluded that in the first building phase (A1) the columns may have been arranged in a different manner (Fig. 341), i.e. there could have existed two columns *in antis* in the porch, while the remaining four bases could have been axially placed in the rear chamber. Indeed, the width of *c.* 6,00m did not necessitate the placing of a double row of columns. However, comparisons with other roughly contemporary Naxian cult buildings, such as Temples II and III at Iria and the "Oikos of the Naxians" on Delos, suggest that at least during the second building phase (A2) the interior may have indeed been divided into three naves by two parallel rows of posts (Fig. 340). This shift in the planning of the building could perhaps be explained by the analogous developments in the major centre of the island.[1457]

Approximately in the centre of the room, a rectangular hearth, lined with slabs, was found. Along the rear wall, there was a burnt area in which charred grapes were identified. Both rooms preserved in places, traces of a floor paving.

A **complex** of rooms, marked **B** on the plan, lies *c.* 200m S of Building A, described above (Fig. 342). The western main group measures *c.* 18,00 X 15,00m. Since only few doorways have been identified, it is not possible to establish whether these rooms form one unit or several independent ones clustered together.[1458] E of the main complex lies a two-roomed building, preceded by a courtyard (Rooms 1-3). Along the E side of the main complex ran a street. Provisionally, I propose that Rooms 4-6 form a separate unit, entered through the E, while Rooms 7-13 constitute a second one, entered from the S. Furthermore, the fact that the walls of the latter do not seem to bond with the walls of the former, suggests that Rooms 7-13 constitute a later addition to the initial plan. The S part of Room 9 may have been an open air courtyard, for its floor consists of cobble paving. Rooms 4 and 9 were provided with central stone bases for wooden posts which supported the roof. In the SW corner of 4 there was a staircase which possibly led to an upper storey.[1459] Rooms 7 and 8

[1453] According to P.G. Themelis [*Grabbauten* (1976) 24f.], these structures were divided into two parts: one room would have served to contain the burials and the other would have served as a chthonian shrine. Building C presumably dates in post-Geometric times [Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *AΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 395].

[1454] This assumption is based on the observation that the W extremity of the long N wall seems to present a large anta block, while the S wall of the "porch" does not bond with the W wall of the main room (personal observation during a visit at the site, July 5, 1984; the edifice is today covered with earth, but portions of the walls are still visible).

[1455] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 21.

[1456] A similar technique may be observed in Building III at Antissa (Fig. 360) and in the small chapel at Vroulia (Fig. 391).

[1457] At Iria, Temple I was provided with an axial colonnade, while Temples II and III with four and three naves, respectively. However, if such an influence is postulated, one has to assume that the building phases at Tsikalario (A1-A2) are slightly later than those of Temples I-II at Iria, i.e. Building A1 should date some time after 800 B.C., while A2 cannot be earlier than *c.* 700 B.C.

[1458] According to Dr. Zapheiropoulou, there were three units, each composed of three or two rooms [*AΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 325.]. H. Lauter suggested that all rooms form one unit, for he was able to identify at least three doorways: one between Rooms 7 and 8, a second between 8 and 9 and a third between 11 and 12: *Turkovuni* (1985) 174f. & pl. 16:2-3.

[1459] H. Lauter suggests that these steps indicate a raised entrance [*Turkovuni* (1985) 175]. Ph. Zapheiropoulou favours the hypothesis of an upper storey (p.c., May 5, 1985).

were both provided with a central hearth and their floor was covered with a thick layer of burning.[1460] In the NW corner of 7, the protruding rock was shaped into a bench, which in the S extremity terminated in an omphalos-like protuberance. Finally, I should note that the thickness of the walls varies from 0,50 to 0,70m (to the S) and that the walls are often preserved to a height of *c.* 0,50m, indicating that these were composed of stones up to their total height.

The exact date of the architectural remains at Tsikalario remains uncertain until the final publication. It seems that the buildings were still occupied in the Archaic period, when the site was only occasionally used for burials. In her latest article, Ph. Zapheiropoulou suggests that these buildings were still in use in the Archaic period, when the site was only sporadically used for burials.[1461] Unfortunately, only coarse sherds were found inside the buildings, rendering a more precise dating impossible. It should not be excluded that these structures were erected in the late MG or in the LG period,[1462] though it cannot be determined whether they were built before or after the site ceased to serve as a burial ground.[1463] The comparison with the case of Grotta would perhaps favour the latter hypothesis, but for the time being the question has to remain open.

The function of the constructions described above is not easy to determine, especially since we do not know yet whether they were built while the necropolis was still in use. According to Drerup and other scholars, they represent a settlement, which should be related to the necropolis.[1464] Yet, one needs to explain why such a small settlement, suitable for just a few families, would have needed such an extensive cemetery (40-50 tumuli). It therefore seems that the settlement -or settlements- which made use of the burial ground, has -or have- not been discovered yet. P.G. Themelis suggested that all the architectural remains at Tsikalario should be identified as ossuaries, i.e. as roofed buildings where the deceased were placed.[1465] More recently, Ph. Zapheiropoulou[1466] and H. Lauter[1467] suggested that they represent cult buildings, in which religious ceremonies in honour of the deceased took place. While Building C conforms to the standard type of funerary edifice defined by Themelis,[1468] Buildings A and B do not. In my opinion, Building A may have been a shrine devoted to a chthonian divinity.[1469] I should mention here that carbonised fruits, like the grapes collected in the pyre close to the building's rear wall, were also encountered inside certain tumuli (for example, in Tumulus no. 6). The complex of rooms in the southern part of the cemetery would have also served to accommodate those who practised the funerary rites (individuals, cult associations and/or priests).[1470] Ceremonies related to the cult of the dead were most probably practised in certain rooms of the building (such as ritual dining perhaps in Rooms 7 and 8), while others may have served as repositories in which the utensils used in the ceremonies would have been kept.[1471]

[1460] Ph. Zapheiropoulou uses the phrase "ὑπό παχέως στρώματος" [*ΑΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 325]. One assumes that it would have consisted of ashes and of carbonised matter.

[1461] *Magna Graecia* 18: 5/6 (1983) 2. Circular Building 9 was presumably erected in the late Archaic period. Just to the W, a burial within an amphora, dated in the same period, was discovered. It is not clear whether Building 9 represents a tumulus or a roofed structure: *ibid.* and *ΑΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 395. Coldstream [*GG* (1977) 92] dates the pottery found within and around the tumuli in the MG period, i.e. between 820-750 but the excavator claims that the necropolis was in use throughout the MG and LG periods [*Magna Graecia* 18: 5/6 (1983) 2]. D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman (*Greek Burial Customs*, London 1971, 179) place the use of the cemetery in the 8th c.

[1462] p.c. by Dr. Ph. Zapheiropoulou (May 5, 1985).

[1463] *Ibid.*

[1464] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 51; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 92; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 22.

[1465] Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 40-42.

[1466] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *Magna Graecia* 18: 5/6 (1983) 2; p.c. May 5, 1985.

[1467] *Turkovuni* (1985) 175f.

[1468] *Grabbauten* (1976) *passim.*

[1469] P. Courbin (*Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 33, n. 6 and p. 35, n. 5) suggests that Building A may have been a temple; he bases however his identification on the fact that the plan of the edifice is slightly trapezoid, which in my opinion does not constitute proof of sanctity. It is however interesting to note that Naxian cult buildings of this period show a tendency towards the trapezium ("Oikos of the Naxians", Temple I at Iria).

[1470] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *Magna Grecia* 18: 5/6 (1983) 2.

[1471] The material collected inside the various rooms includes a base of a clay perirranterion, stone tools and sherds of large vessels.

The small fortified settlement at **Vathy Limenari** on Donousa (Fig. 343) had a short life:[1472] it was founded and abandoned during the MG period (from the last quarter of the 9th c. to the early 8th c. B.C.).[1473] The houses usually consist of two roughly rectangular rooms of approximately the same dimensions placed the one behind the other. Some are entered through the short side, others through the long side, depending on the configuration of the terrain. Two houses (X6 and X7) in the southern part of the site were according to the excavator slightly larger than the rest but it would be premature to try and associate them with the dwellings of the members of the upper social class of the small community.[1474] One of them (**X6**, Fig. 344) was triangular in plan and was built near the edge of the promontory (*c.* +30m above sea level) and measured 11,00 by 4,50m. The interior was divided in two roughly equal rooms by a cross wall 0,30m wide. A third roughly square room was set alongside the SW side of the triangular compartment.[1475] The other building (**X7**, Fig. 345) was at a lower level and was built in two building periods: originally it consisted of two rectangular rooms set together to form the shape of a "Γ";[1476] in a second stage two more rooms were added to the S and W of the original structure, one of which appears to have been an open air courtyard. To the E of the complex there was a fifth space with a bench and a hearth.[1477] The excavator tentatively suggests that the leaders of the small community, if any, may have occupied the southern part of the promontory: the houses in this area were more imposing and occupied the most conspicuous and safe part of the site, since they were situated at the opposite side of the gate of the fortification wall which was built, as at Zagora, across the neck of the promontory. However, if this assumption proves correct, one has to admit that there is no clear dividing line between the houses of the élite and those of ordinary people since the remaining houses of the settlement are roughly similar in shape and size.[1478]

An intriguing feature of the site is that among the finds there were numerous broken but almost complete vases. Moreover, on the crest of the promontory, along the W cliff to the W of House X1 and N of House X3, two enormous pyre deposits were found, one of which was 0,60-0,80m thick. Theses contained numerous animal bones, oyster shells and almost complete but broken vases[1479] and have been explained in various ways. Coldstream[1480] and Morris[1481] follow a cautious approach but seem to favour the idea that the remains represent human cremations. Fagerström suggests perpetual bonfires which on one hand would have served as communal hearths and on the other may have been intended to lure ships off course onto the dangerous coast of the

[1472] Concerning the fortification wall see Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *AAA* 4 (1971) 210-214; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 26 (1971) Χρον., 466.

[1473] Concerning the chronology see Ph. Zapheiropoulou, in *Ίδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 48, 52 and Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 91. The excavator assumes a peaceful abandonment but Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 72] suggests a violent destruction since several burnt strata were noted during the excavation of various rooms [*ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 426; 26 (1971) Χρον., 465]. If we add to this the fact that most of the finds were almost complete but broken vases, one could suggest that the site was indeed violently destroyed and the occupants of the houses had just the time to take with them only there valuable belongings.

[1474] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1969-71, 1973 (Ph. Zapheiropoulou). Bibliography: Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 22 (1967) Χρον., 466; 24 (1969) Χρον., 390-393; 25 (1970) Χρον., 426-428; 26 (1971) Χρον., 465-467; 28 (1973) Χρον., 544-547; *id.*, *AAA* 4 (1971) 210-214; 6 (1973) 256-258; *id.*, "Ο Γεωμετρικός οικισμός της Δονούσας", in *Ίδρυμα Ν. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 43-54; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 91f.; K. Fagerström, "Donousa-ett piratfäste från järnåldern?", *Medusa* 5 (1985) 9-15; *id.*, *GIAA* (1988) 69-72.

[1475] *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 391; 25 (1970) Χρον., 426.

[1476] The int. dim. of the northern room were 7,0 by 4,10m, those of the southern 6,00 by 3,50m. The S room was also furnished with a bench along the E side, the northern extremity of which had been laid out in order to contain a hearth.

[1477] *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 426-428.

[1478] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, in *Ίδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 51. However, Dr. Zapheiropoulou informed me in a private discussion (Apr. 5, 1985) that Building B is among the most important buildings excavated at this site. The edifice is divided into two equal compartments and measures 9,90 by 4,05m. Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 546, fig. 1 at p. 544. See also *id.*, *AAA* 6 (1973) 257f. and fig. 1 at p. 256.

[1479] *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 390f. The pyres were covered with a layer of earth and heaps of stones.

[1480] *GG* (1977) 91.

[1481] *Burial* (1987) 107.

island.[1482] However, the fact that these "pyres" are located within a densely inhabited area renders Fagerström's assumption untenable, unless one assumes that the deposit was dumped here and that the actual pyres were situated higher up, to the SE of House X1, which, judging by the plan, appears to have been free of constructions. One cannot exclude that these were sacrificial pyres or rubbish deposits.[1483] A small krater of unknown provenance appears to have had a religious purpose.[1484]

The pottery from Vathy Limenari suggests that the inhabitants were in contact not only with the neighbouring islands, especially Naxos, but also with the islands of the Dodecanese, such as Rhodes and Kos. The excavator assumes that Donousa was a trading post between Central Greece and Euboea on one hand and the Dodecanese on the other.[1485] Fagerström suggests a pirates' nest populated by Rhodian colonists.[1486]

Building K in **Minoa** on Amorgos lies on the summit of the fortified acropolis of the ancient town (+255m, Figs. 347, 349).[1487] The steep hill overlooks the bay of modern Katapola (Fig. 346), approximately in the middle of the NW coast of the island. The structure (Fig. 349) consists of a roughly square room (K1) which is preceded by a sort of porch or courtyard (K/A1) and is flanked to the N by a second, roughly square compartment (K2/K3). The unit is bordered to the E by a curved retaining wall.

Room K1 appears to have been the only roofed compartment of the unit;[1488] it forms a trapezium measuring 5,80 (N), 5,13 (S), 4,50 (W) and 4,95m (E). The width of the walls varies from 0,50-0,60m and the superstructure would have been composed of stones. The entrance was in the SE side and in a slightly off-centre position (towards the N) and consisted of a monolithic threshold. Against the SW part of the rear wall there was a stone bench, 1,40 by 0,50m and 0,45m high.

On the outside and parallel to the face of the front wall two stone foundations came to light.[1489] The uppermost of the two should be regarded as an addition to the original plan for its SW extremity rests upon the surface of the wall of the so-called porch. The lower stretch of wall projects below the foundation just described.[1490] Neither the function nor the precise dating of these two walls have been determined yet, though it should not be excluded that the shorter one represents a step leading from K/A1 to K1 and the longer one a bench.[1491]

Space K/A1 (the so-called porch) is bordered to the SW by a wall 2,32m long which is a continuation of the SW wall of K1. At the present state of research, neither the evaluation of the total height nor the function of this foundation can be established.[1492] Parallel to this wall, to the NE, a foundation 0,56m wide and at least 2,32m long has been tentatively interpreted as a bench (?).[1493]

[1482] *Medusa* 5 (1985) 9-15; *id.*, *GIAA* (1988) 70, 72.

[1483] Even Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 72, suggested that the "bonfires" "may well have had an additional function as communal hearths".

[1484] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, in *Ίδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 47.

[1485] *Ibid.*, 47-53, esp. 52; *id.*, "Πολιτιστικές σχέσεις Νάξου με Ρόδο", in *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου "Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων", Φιλώτι 3-6 Σεπτ. 1992*, ed. J. Promponas & S. Psaras, Athens 1994, esp. 231f.

[1486] K. Fagerström, *Medusa* 5 (1985) 9-15; *id.*, *GIAA* (1988) 72, 147f.

[1487] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1985-86, 1989-91 (L. Marangou; the author, together with V. Pappa and A. Blanas collaborated in the excavation). Bibliography: L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 374f.; (1985) 182-196; (1986) 212-218; (1989) 277; (1990) 259-265; (1991) 282-287; *Έργον* (1985) 67f.; (1986) 116-120; (1989) 110f.; (1990) 117f.; (1991) 96f.; *id.*, "Τειχισμένοι οικισμοί των Γεωμετρικών χρόνων (9ος-8ος π.Χ. αι.)", *ΠΑΑ* 63 (1988) 80-92; *id.*, "Η Μινώα της Αμοργού", *Μέντωρ* 3 (1989) 13f. See also Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 656-660. Professor Marangou has read an early draft of this entry and has made valuable comments.

[1488] Apart for the finds of the Hellenistic and Roman periods roof tiles were discovered in connection with Room K, belonging to the reuse of the area in late antiquity [*ΠΑΕ* (1985) 187, 196]. Moreover, it should be emphasised that no pyres were observed inside this room.

[1489] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 189; *Έργον* (1985) 67.

[1490] Length marked 1,40 on the plan, *Έργον* (1985) fig. 73.

[1491] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 189.

[1492] It should be emphasised, however, that the presence of numerous pyres in K/A1 and the location of the altar do not favour the assumption that the space to the NE of the anta wall was roofed [*ΠΑΕ* (1985) 189; *Έργον* (1985) 67].

[1493] *Ibid.*

Approximately in the middle of Space K/A1 and opposite the entrance of K1 there stood a large, roughly circular stone block, which in its turn lay on top of a smaller roughly cylindrical stone. These two blocks have been identified as altars (or offering tables), though at present it is not clear whether they represent a single altar or two distinct altar phases.[1494]

Space K2/K3 presumably represents an hypaethral terrace.[1495] During the 1986 excavation season it became apparent that in this area two building phases were present.[1496] The first phase consisted of Terrace K2 and the inner curved wall seen on the plan (*cf.* K/A2); in the second phase the terrace was enlarged towards the NE (K3) and a new curved retaining wall was built along the outer face of the earlier similar foundation. It is not clear yet from where access was gained to the terraces.

In K2 several stone "enclosures" were excavated, which contained pyres and metal votive offerings. The disturbed stratigraphy in this area does not permit further speculation for the time being.[1497]

The material recovered during the excavations of the summit belong to three distinct periods. The earliest pottery which came from the lowest layers seems to belong to the Sub-Neolithic and/or Early Cycladic period(s);[1498] the main bulk of the material, associated with the architectural remains, dates in the LG and EA (until the early 6th c. B.C.) periods.[1499] In the upper layers material of Hellenistic and Roman date was recovered, attesting a reuse of the area and of Room K1 (*cf.* also the discovery of roof tiles) in particular.[1500]

The various benches, the material recovered in connection with Unit K and the presence of numerous hypaethral pyres including animal bones and metal objects leave no doubt as to the religious character of the edifice. This is also supported by its prominent location on the highest point of the acropolis, and its relationship with a large cave-like opening in the rock immediately to the N, at a lower level.[1501] A second cave-like hollow of undetermined depth was located in 1991 just outside the curved peribolos wall, in Area K/A4. Among the early finds there were also sherds decorated in the LPG style.[1502]

The cult consisted of lighting pyres outside the roofed building (e.g. K1). Each contained ashes, charcoal, animal bones (often calcinated), sea shells, pumice, sea-pebbles, bronze and iron finds and sherds. Among the bones there were occasionally goats' horns. The metal items consist mainly of jewellery (pins, fibulae, earrings, fingerings and hair fasteners), weapons (arrow- and spearheads and perhaps a *mitra* (?) of bronze), fragmentary bronze vessels and decorated plaques, and iron knifes.[1503] It is still early to make guesses concerning the divinity (or perhaps the hero) that was worshipped on the summit of the acropolis of Minoa during the EIA. Nevertheless, the fact that the sanctuary was built roughly simultaneously with the fortification wall (Fig. 347), which incidentally is one of the earliest of the kind to be provided with rectangular towers (Fig. 348)[1504] proves that Unit K represents one of the elements of a communal large-scale building program. Professor Marangou examined the possibility that we are in the presence of the cult of a hero, perhaps of the "Hero-Ktistes" of Minoa, but added that the cult of a divinity is another possibility.[1505] Indeed, it is now established that in the Hellenistic period Dionysos Minoitis, mentioned in later

[1494] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 191.
[1495] This assumption is based: (1) in the presence of pyres in this area and (2) in the absence of traces belonging to a NW wall. See *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 192.
[1496] *Ἔργον* (1986) 117f.; *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 216.
[1497] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 192f.
[1498] *Ibid.*, 185f.
[1499] *Ibid.*, 186f., 193-195; *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 213, 216-218.
[1500] *Ἔργον* (1985) 67f.; *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 187.
[1501] *Ἔργον* (1985) 67f.; *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 196.
[1502] *Ἔργον* (1991) 97, fig. 146; *ΠΑΕ* (1991) 286f. and pls. 178f.
[1503] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 187, 189f., 192, 194, and figs. 4-8; (1986) 213.
[1504] Concerning the fortification wall see L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 328-334; (1984) 375-380; (1992) 189-191; *Ἔργον* (1995) 69 and *id.*, *ΠΑΑ* 63 (1988) 84f. As the architect A. Gounaris informed me, the scale on the plan in *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 192, fig. 2 has been illustrated wrongly due to a printing error (here Fig. 348, corrected). Section Δ-Δ in the same figure is also upside down.
[1505] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 196; *Ἔργον* (1986) 119f. [a statement not unequivocally repeated by L. Marangou in *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 218]; *id.*, *ΠΑΑ* 63 (1988) 87f.

inscriptions, was worshipped here and there are many possibilities that the origins of his cult reach back to the foundation of the sanctuary in the Geometric period.[1506]

THE EAST GREEK ISLANDS

It has been usual to date the complex shrine in the partly hellenized settlement at **Hephaistia** on Lemnos (Fig. 352, left) around the middle of the 8th c.,[1507] but as L. Beschi kindly informed me, it would now seem that it dates in the mid- or late 7th c. and that it forms part of a larger cult area.[1508] The actual temple was discovered further to the E-SE and dates in the second half of the 7th c. B.C.[1509]

At the **Kabeirion** on Lemnos, a rectangular room, measuring 13,50 by 6,40m was discovered beneath the Late Roman Telesterion, S of the Hellenistic Telesterion (Fig. 353, in Squares L-O/19-20 and Table VIIIA:7).[1510] This room was provided with mud brick benches along the two long walls; at the back there was a rectangular structure (perhaps an altar) and in front a raised semicircular paving bordered on either side by two steps. The entrance was at the N corner, though there was a second door next to the *adyton*, perhaps for the priest. L. Beschi dates the construction of the building around 700 B.C. and convincingly argues that that it should be identified as the first Telesterion in the sanctuary, destroyed by fire in the second half of the 6th c.[1511] Among the finds from the extensive votive deposit associated with the Archaic phase of the sanctuary there were SG local wares (G 2-3). Shapes included large and medium size oinochoai, kyathoi and skyphoi, cups, kantharoi and a few bucchero vases. It should be stressed, however, that the population of Lemnos during this period consisted basically of non-Greeks.[1512]

The ancient settlement near modern **Emporio** occupies the W slope of the hill of Prophetes Elias which lies immediately to the N of a natural harbour, in the SE part of the island of Chios (Fig. 368-370).[1513] The two most outstanding buildings of the settlement are the Lower Megaron (Figs. 374-375)[1514] and the **Megaron Hall** (Figs. 372-373).[1515] While the first is located among the other

[1506] A graffito on a Hellenistic vase bears the inscription [ΔΙΟΝ]ΥΣΩΙ [*Έργον* (1991) 97, fig. 151], while several kantharoi with a phallus-shaped spout for libations were found in 1990 and 1991 [*Έργον* (1990) 118, fig. 166; (1991) 97, fig. 150; *ΠΑΕ* (1991) 287, pl. 180στ].

[1507] See for instance A. di Vita, *ASAtene* 55 (1977) 345f., following the preliminary study of the material; the edifice was destroyed in the late 6th c. B.C.: *ASAtene* 57/58 (1979/80) 443.

[1508] Excavations: Italian School, 1929-30 (A. Adriani), 1977-83 (L. Beschi). Bibliography: Y. Bequignon, *BCH* 53 (1929) 514-517; G. Karo, *AA* (1930) 139-143; A. Di Vita, *ASAtene* 55 (1977) 344-348; 56 (1978) 438-440; 57/58 (1979/80) 442-446, 486-491; 62 (1981/84) 201-208; 64/65 (1986/87) 451; G. Messineo, *ASAtene* 66/67 (1988/89) 379-425 and Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 23.

[1509] A. Di Vita, *ASAtene* 57/58 (1979/80) 486-491; G. Messineo, *ASAtene* 66/67 (1988/89) 423f. See also L. Beschi, *Αρχαιολογία* 50 (1994) 36.

[1510] Excavations: Italian School, 1982- (L. Beschi). Bibliography: L. Beschi, "Το ιερό των Καβείρων στη Λήμνο", *Αρχαιολογία* 50 (1994) 31-37, esp. 36.

[1511] The destruction was perhaps due to the Persians who invaded the island in 512 B.C. (Herod. V, 26ff.).

[1512] The inhabitants of Lemnos in the beginning of the EIA were Tyrrenians. See Herod. V, 26ff., VI, 136ff. L. Beschi associates their arrival on Lemnos with the establishment of the cult of the Kabeiroi [*Αρχαιολογία* 50 (1994) 37].

[1513] The ancient town of Chios was beneath the modern capital of the island. The earliest finds there belong to the PG period: see A. Tsaravopoulos, *Χιακά Χρονικά* 16 (1984) 108; *id.*, "Η αρχαία πόλη της Χίου", *HOROS* 4 (1986) 126f. See also J. Boardman, "The Ancient City of Chios", *BSA* 49 (1954) 123-128.

[1514] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 40-42, fig. 18.

[1515] Excavations: British School, 1952-55 (J. Boardman). Bibliography: J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios, 1952-1955: Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 31-34; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 10; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 239f.; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 423f.; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 111; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 257, 306, 308, 310; M. Finley, *Atlas of Classical Archaeology*, London 1977, 146; H. Drerup, "Bürgergemeinschaft und Stadtentwicklung in Griechenland", in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum* (1978) 90; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London 1980[3], 31; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 52; P. Courbin, *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 33, n. 6; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 798f.; F. Kolb, *Die Stadt im Altertum*, München 1984, 70; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 36f.; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 17f.; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 108; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 544-546; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 109; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 86-88; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci*, Milano 1989, 41, 45; S. Hiller, in *Transizione* (1991) 130; J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 148-153.

houses of the slope (discussion on p. 85f.), the latter is situated inside the fortified acropolis. It was seemingly the unique edifice erected inside the citadel, since the temple of Athena (Fig. 371) was only built in the middle of the 6th. c. when the settlement was deserted.[1516] It faces S, opposite the entrance of the acropolis (Fig. 370). The building is 18,25m long. At the N it is 6,40m wide, and at the S, 6,85m. The walls are built with huge stones and their width varies from 0,60 to 1,00m. The superstructure was entirely composed of stones. The W wall is set against the fortification wall. The entrance was preceded by a porch with two columns *in antis*. The interior was provided with an axial colonnade.

The date of the building is not easy to establish. According to J. Boardman it was built towards the end of the 8th c., for in his opinion the "megaron" plan was the earliest to be used for the houses further down the hill.[1517] Moreover, its association with the fortification wall, presumably dated also around 700, would favour this dating. The settlement as a whole was abandoned shortly before the end of the 7th c., but the Megaron Hall may have lasted into the 6th c., for a "foot of a sixth-century wine jar" was found in it.[1518]

The Megaron Hall was most probably the house of the chieftain of Emporio.[1519] The main arguments in favour of such an interpretation are its isolated position inside the fortified acropolis, its dimensions and location opposite the main entrance of the circuit wall, and its proximity to the sanctuary (Table IX:a). The offerings in the neighbouring sanctuary are already present by the end of the 8th c.[1520] As at Zagora on Andros, the 6th c. temple incorporated in its cella an earlier altar of the 7th c. It therefore seems that during the existence of the settlement, the sanctuary was hypaethral and close the ruler's house. The absence of finds from the interior of the Megaron Hall is regrettable, for they may have allowed us to elucidate the exact function of the edifice. P. Courbin maintains that it was a temple and suggests that the offerings were transferred to the temple of Athena, when this was erected. His arguments are far from convincing,[1521] though it should be stressed that since the houses were abandoned towards the end of the 7th c., with the exception perhaps of the Megaron Hall, one is tempted to assume that around 600 the Megaron Hall ceased to serve as a chieftain's dwelling and that it fulfilled secondary functions related to the sanctuary, until the construction of the temple of Athena. On the other hand, Fagerström suggests that this building may have been an *andron*, i.e. "a hall of state, for gatherings and feasting, or the reception of envoys".[1522]

In the sanctuary by the harbour the earliest architectural remains are fragmentary walls α, β and γ (Fig. 382). **Walls α-β** are parallel, 4,00m apart and follow a NE-SW direction. A door 0,60m wide, subsequently blocked, was pierced in the southern part of Wall α. The space between the two walls presumably represents a path. A few metres to the S a small section of a Wall, γ, following a NW-SE direction, was associated with "fragments of what may be the earliest Geometric pottery on the site". The three walls were dated towards the end of Period I (i.e. around 700-690 B.C.)[1523] The earliest votives in this sanctuary also belong to the 9th c. B.C.[1524] According to J. Boardman, the senior divinity worshipped may have been Artemis, though Hera and Apollo were also attested.[1525] C. Morgan, on the other hand, suggests Hera as "the most likely candidate".[1526]

[1516] On the temple of Athena see J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 5-31 and figs. 5-6.
[1517] *Ibid.*, 37, 40. Snodgrass, *Archaeology* (1977) 23 must be wrong in dating the foundation of the settlement around 800 B.C.
[1518] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 34.
[1519] *Ibid.*, 34, 249, followed by the majority of scholars.
[1520] *Ibid.*, 5, 40.
[1521] *Délos* XXXIII, Paris 1980, 33, n. 6. His main arguments are the independent position of the building inside the acropolis and its trapezoidal plan. However, the building is not free-standing, as is the case of most Geometric temples and the slightly trapezoidal plan can hardly serve as an argument for sacredness.
[1522] *GIAA* (1988) 88.
[1523] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 53.
[1524] *Ibid.*, 61f., 101ff.
[1525] *Ibid.*, 62f.
[1526] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 232.

The first *hekatompedon* at **Samos** (Fig. 387) appears in every book dealing with early Greek temples and therefore it would be needless to proceed to a detailed description of the remains.[1527] The building measures 32,86m in length and 6,75m in width. Its walls would have consisted of a low stone socle which would have supported a mud brick superstructure. In the interior there was an axial wooden colonnade and at the entrance, which faced E, three wooden columns *in antis*. Against the rear wall, slightly off-centre to the N, stood the base for the cult image. Parallel to the outer faces of the S and W walls the scanty remains of a stylobate were unearthed. It is founded *c.* 0,25m higher than the stone socle of the cella and therefore was thought to be an addition to the original plan.[1528] In front of the temple there was a stone-built altar.

A. Mallwitz re-examined the evidence from the Geometric temple and its EA successor.[1529] The German scholar tried to understand why the architectural remains were attributed to two almost identical superimposed buildings, of which the earlier one preserved only its foundations and the later one only its superstructure. Very briefly I will present Mallwitz's essential points of reasoning. For convenience I will refer to the two *hekatompeda* as H1 and H2, respectively (Fig. 388).

As already mentioned we witness a strange situation: from H1 only the foundations were preserved and from H2 part of the superstructure which rests on a stone footing. The main argument for the existence of two different temples identical in size, shape, location and orientation, is that the remains attributed to H1 are separated from those of H2 by a layer of earth. This was observed at the W extremity of the S wall (Fig. 385).[1530] However, in the E part of the drawing which was made to illustrate this piece of evidence, one observes that the stones of H1 are in direct contact with those of H2 (+207 on Fig. 385). One can explain this situation as following: the area was excavated in 1911-12 and the trench was left open for 15 years before excavations were resumed. The lower stones visible on the drawing belong to a loose line of stones which runs along the outer face of the foundations of H1 (i.e. the "Umpackung" in Buschor's preliminary report).[1531] Therefore, the unstable and marshy subsoil and the sudden ups and downs of the underground waters could have been responsible for this "gap". The stones to the right-hand side of the drawing (i.e. to the E, at +207)

[1527] Excavations: German Institute, 1930-33 (E. Buschor). Bibliography: E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930) 10-20; E. Buschor & H. Schleif, *AM* 58 (1933) 146-168; R. Eilmann, *ibid.*, 142; D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1945[3], 105, footnote; W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 45f., 48; H. Walter, *AM* 72 (1957) 51; E. Buschor & O. Ziegenaus, *AM* 74 (1959) 2; H. Drerup, "Griechische Architektur zur Zeit Homers", *AA* (1964) 195f.; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 13f.; H. Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum Heraion von Samos*, München 1965, 35-40; *id.*, *Das Heraion von Samos: Ursprung und Wandel eines griechischen Heiligtums*, München & Zürich 1976, 41-53; *id.*, *Frühe samische Gefässe, Samos* V, Bonn 1968, 85-88; E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaic Greece*, London 1968, 29-34; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 240f.; J. Bouzek, *Homerisches Griechenland*, Praha 1969, 176; W.H. Schuchhardt, *Geschichte der griechishen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1971, 86-89; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 410-412; *id.*, *AG* (1980) 58f.; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 52-54; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 17-26; R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1976, 124f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 253f., 256, 327; J.J. Coulton, *Greek Architects at Work*, London 1977, 31f.; R. Martin, in *Architecture de l'antiquité*, ed. S. Lloyd, W. Muller & R. Martin, Paris 1980, 223; G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen*, München 1976[2], 325-331; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 52; E. Walter-Karydi, "Die Entstehung der griechischen Statuenbasis", *AntK* 23 (1980) 10-12; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 624-633; *id.*, "Osservazioni sull'architettura nella Grecia dei secoli VIII e VII a.C.", *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 86-91; H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos*, Athen 1981, 78-81; A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, ed. R.A. Tomlinson, Harmondsworth 1983[4], 118-120; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 801f.; D. Rupp, "Reflections on the Development of Altars in the Eighth Century B.C.", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 102, 104; H. Walter, "Zur Ringhalle des frühgriechishen Tempels", in *Symmicta Philologica Salisburgensia G. Pfligersdorfer sexagenario oblata*, ed. J. Dalfen, K. Forstner, M. Fussel & W. Speyer, Roma 1980, 265-271; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 21, 41; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 58f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 726-736; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 85f.; J. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100-480 B.C.*, Ithaca & London 1985, 74-77; H. Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum, dargestellt am Heraion von Samos*, Stuttgart 1990, 50-81 & 82ff.; H. Kienast, "Topographische Studien in Heraion von Samos", *AA* (1992) 174; J.V. O'Brien, *The Transformation of Hera*, Lanham 1993, 9-76, esp. 13-15, 40f.; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, "Zur Genesis und Entwicklung des Dipteros", *JdI* 109 (1994) 50, 52.

[1528] *Contra* see Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 86.

[1529] *Architektur* (1981) 624-633. *Cf.* also the same article in an abbreviated version in *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 86-91.

[1530] *AM* 50 (1930) 35, fig. 13, Beil. III, 2; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) pl. 0VIIb; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 627, figs. 24-25.

[1531] *AM* 55 (1930) 13.

would have remained in place, for they were protected by the overlying foundations of the Roman *monopteros*.[1532] Moreover, one should not overlook the fact that it was in this same spot that the foundation trench of the temple of Rhoikos was dug.[1533] Later, the area was once more disturbed in order to extract the latter's foundations and build the large new temple. It seems then that Buschor was mistaken in his interpretation of the situation. Indeed, one cannot easily understand how the second temple stood exactly on top of the foundations of its predecessor, if the latter was covered by a layer of earth, rendering it invisible. To all those observations one should add that no destruction layer was detected in H1 by the excavators.[1534]

The remains of the stylobate attributed to a second phase of H1 are problematic.[1535] Parallel and at a distance of 1,25m from the outer face of the S wall of H1 three long stones were found.[1536] The middle one bore a circular mark which was interpreted as the impression left by a stone base of a wooden column.[1537] However, the "stylobate" consists of one course of stones and is not wide enough to have been able to receive the base of the wooden column.[1538] Consequently, it is very difficult to imagine how it would have been able to support the pressure of the roof. Moreover, the circular trace was not used in the reconstruction of the *peristasis*.[1539] The only stone attributed to the stylobate of the facade lies 2,00m E from the building's front line. This stone can hardly belong to it, for it lies 0,32m deeper than the floor level inside the temple.[1540] In 1933 a section was published, without any commentary, where one observes that the rear wall of H1 is situated to the E of that of H2 (Fig. 386).[1541] Mallwitz remarks that it was impossible to dig a trench in this place authorising such an observation.[1542] The position of the rear wall of H1 is purely conjectural. This can be proven firstly because it is placed between two question marks and secondly because on the plan, one notes that it was drawn with an interrupted line. The reason for reconstructing the rear wall of H1 at that place was that the excavators wished to create an equal depth for the front and rear *pteron* of the temple (in the same year's report, the discovery of part of the W stylobate was added).[1543]

Mallwitz consequently suggests to move the rear wall of H1 underneath that of H2 and to explain the first as the foundations of the latter.[1544] Moreover, he interprets the "stylobate" as a pavement ("Steinpackung") which surrounded the temple in order to protect it from the damp and unstable soil, as well as from the underground waters. This was a technique often encountered in the Heraion.[1545] If one accepts Mallwitz's theory, one is forced to date the construction of the temple in the end of the 8th c. or the early part of the 7th c. The main reason for such a dating is that the

[1532] Concerning the location of the *monopteros* see H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos*, Athen 1981, 79, fig. 55 and H. Walter & A. Clemente, "Zum Monopteros im Heraion von Samos", *AM* 101 (1986) 137-147, Beil. 4.

[1533] H. Schleif, *AM* 58 (1933) 212.

[1534] H. Walter, *AM* 72 (1957) 51 attributed the destruction of the first temple to an inundation of the river Imbrasos. However, no solid proof confirming that theory was produced.

[1535] Most recently see the doubts expressed by H. Kienast in *AA* (1992) 174.

[1536] The wall of H1 at this point is 0,20m thicker than at the extremities, i.e. it is 0,80m wide. In the later reconstruction of the *peristasis* [*AM* 58 (1933) 152f., figs. 3-4] this exact portion of the stylobate was omitted, for the S *pteron* was drawn 1,50m wide (while in the middle of the S wall it was only 1,25m wide).

[1537] A cylindrical stone base, discovered in an ancient dump E of the temple, was attributed to this stylobate: see *AM* 55 (1930) 15, fig. 15 and Beil. III, 1.

[1538] It is inconceivable for a stylobate to be less wide than the diameter of the column which it supports! Even E. Buschor expressed doubts in *AM* 55 (1930) 16.

[1539] *AM* 58 (1933) 152f., figs. 3-4. Buschor stated that the "mark" would have been aligned exactly with the 7th base of the interior colonnade [*AM* 55 (1930) 15]. However, as Mallwitz calculated, the "mark" would have been 0,25m to the E of the interior base [*Architektur* (1981) 628, n. 135].

[1540] This base: +189 in *AM* 58 (1933) 153, fig. 4; the one to the N was attributed to H2, despite the fact that its surface is only 0,03m higher than the floor level of H1.

[1541] *AM* 58 (1933) Beil. XLVII, 3.

[1542] *Architektur* (1981) 628 and n. 138.

[1543] There is no point in describing here the way the excavators reconstructed the intercolumnations of the peristyle, for this was done in a purely conjectural manner.

[1544] *Architektur* (1981) 630; *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 89.

[1545] For example in "Treasuries" 1 and 2, the S stoa and Temple A: Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 630, n. 146-148.

dressed rectangular blocks of the walls cannot date before *c.* 700 B.C. The frieze depicting warriors and generally attributed to H2 also fits this dating.[1546]

According to Mallwitz, two building phases can be observed. During the first, the temple was provided with an axial wooden colonnade, a cult base for the cult image and a "Steinpackung" around its exterior walls. The initial floor in the interior was at the level of the lower course of stones of the superstructure (+221, Cellafussboden 1, Fig. 386). Altar VI, which is the first which may be qualified as monumental, should perhaps be considered as contemporary with the temple's first phase. Towards the end of the 7th c. the floor was raised: the cella was filled with a thick layer of black earth, which was evidently brought from the area of the altars.[1547] To this temple phase corresponds Altar VII (which was a renovation of Altar VI) and the pavement in front of the temple and also N of the altar. The latest sherds recovered below this pavement date in the end of the 7th c. During this renovation of the temple a new cult base was added, the axial colonnade was apparently suppressed, a stone platform was built along the inner faces of the walls and a peristyle was constructed.[1548]

Mallwitz's arguments, in my opinion, are convincing. Few points only require comments. The bad state of preservation of the building does not exclude that there was an axial colonnade in the second building period as well.[1549] The stone "platform" along the inner face of the S wall is generally interpreted as a base on which wooden posts, supporting the roof, would have stood. However, since the walls of the temple were built of stone reaching the roof, such a technique would not have been necessary. Furthermore, such timbers would not have needed a continuous base but independent bases, as is the case in numerous contemporary temples (Kalapodi Temple B, Halieis, Sparta etc.). I would suggest that this "platform", which in fact was 0,37m high, served as a bench (*cf.* Fig. 388).[1550] The level of the floor during the second building phase, as suggested by E. Walter-Karydi, must have been at the upper surface of the first cult base, i.e. at +254.[1551] Indeed, while the old base was provided with foundations, the second was not, for it rested upon the earlier base. Assuming that the "platform" was a bench of the second building phase, one should explain why it was necessary that it be provided with foundations, below the floor level. The only plausible answer to this problem is that in fact, the bench belongs to the first building phase, for it is founded only 0,15m higher that the original floor level. The slabs set along the rear wall of the temple perhaps belong to a third rearrangement of the interior and may represent a pavement, for a further similar slab was discovered E of the cult base (+274).[1552] At the same moment the bench along the S (and N?) wall would have fallen in disuse and would have formed part of the new paved floor.[1553] The earth used to raise the floor level would have again been brought from the neighbourhood of the altars.

Lastly, it should not be excluded that Altars VI and VII were contemporary with the second and third building phases, for it seems that Altar V could not have been erected before 660 B.C. Altar III, with its isodomic masonry may be connected with the first *hekatompedon*, while Altars IV and V, which represent simple enlargements of III, may have been contemporary with the period of use of

[1546] *AM* 58 (1933) 157, fig. 8, Beil. XLVIII, 4; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 631 and n. 153 for references.
[1547] Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 631 and n. 153. The first excavators believed that they had found the ash altar of Hera mentioned by Pausanias (V, 13, 8): see M. Schede, *AdhBerlin* 3 (1929) 12.
[1548] That the peristyle was an addition is proved by the fact that the two lowest courses of stones of the wall of H2 were covered by the pavement of the stylobate in the second phase (Fig. 386). One could interpret the remains as an enlargement of the initial "Steinpackung": Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 630, n. 149.
[1549] This thought also, crossed Mallwitz's mind: *Architektur* (1981) 633 and n. 162.
[1550] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 126, n. 149 was the only scholar to identify the "platform" as a bench but did not further develop his view. See also Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 35 and n. 136 concerning the height of the structure and a good illustration in H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos*, Athen 1981, 78, fig. 54.
[1551] *AntK* 23 (1980) 10-12 and a Greek version of the same article in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 181f.
[1552] Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 35. E. Walter-Karydi [*AntK* 23 (1980) 10-12] interprets these slabs as a cult bench. Such a bench, set between the rear wall of the temple and the cult base is inconceivable. Moreover, as Mallwitz observes, it would have rested on a packing of earth, which seems highly improbable: *cf. Architektur* (1981) 631, n. 152.
[1553] The upper surface of both features is almost at the same level (pavement: +277, bench: +274). The slab to the E of the cult base is also +274.

the first temple. These however are nothing more than speculations which cannot be confirmed unless the material connected with the various altar periods is fully published.

According, however, to the traditional view, H1 was built between 800 and 750 B.C., though certain scholars would prefer later dates, still within the 8th c. H. Walter published a group of twelve MG sherds discovered below the level of H1 (9th c.),[1554] but these pieces only provide a *terminus post quem* for its construction. E. Buschor, in his first report wrote that the material which dated the construction of the first temple still belonged to the 8th c.[1555] Further on, he mentions that between the foundations of H1 and H2 there were SG sherds as well.[1556] R. Hampe noted that SG sherds were found during new excavations among the foundations of H1, which would suggest that the building is later than originally suspected.[1557] There has been no confirmation of this statement yet. It is however significant that even before Mallwitz's article, scholars were gradually inclined to accept a low dating of the first *hekatompedon*.[1558] The fill which served to raise the first floor of the temple, yielded PC sherds.[1559] The latest pieces have been dated around 650,[1560] thus, providing a *terminus post quem* for the second building phase.

There is no need to comment on the fact that the sanctuary (including the temple) was dedicated to Hera.[1561] It has been often claimed that the cult was established in Late Mycenaean times and continued without a break into the EIA.[1562] Though the first part of this claim may be correct, there is not sufficient evidence in favour of uninterrupted continuity through the DA.[1563]

Some of the limestone rectangular **building models** discovered in the Heraion (Figs. 502-508) belong to the 8th c. Most represent one-room rectangular buildings with a doorway and a flat (Figs. 502-504) or pitched (Fig. 505) roof, and one model is apsidal (Fig. 507).[1564] These items therefore presumably represent the reduced models of the dwellings of the persons who dedicated them to Hera and not cult buildings.

One should mention here a small "suburban" shrine at **Vroulia** (Rhodes) which is sometimes dated around 700 (Fig. 391).[1565] In fact, it belongs well into the 7th c., as probably does the settlement (Fig. 390).[1566] The orderly town planning of the settlement in successive parallel rows can only be

[1554] *Samos* V, Bonn 1968, 85 ("Fundgruppe VIII").
[1555] *AM* 55 (1930) 13.
[1556] *Ibid.*, 34.
[1557] Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 52.
[1558] Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 242 suggested that the temple was built shortly after the middle of the 8th c. Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 412 expresses doubts concerning the high dating of the first *hekatompedon*. Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 25-26 was the only scholar to suggest that H1 and the first peristyle were contemporary and argued that they should be dated *c.* 725 B.C. Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 52 preferred a date towards the end of the 8th c. C. Bérard, *AntK* 25 (1982) 91 dates H1 at the earliest between 730-720. Incidentally, there is no mention of the peristyle by Kyrieleis (*Führer durch das Heraion von Samos*, Athen 1981, 79), where H1 is dated in the 8th c.
[1559] H. Eilmann, *AM* 58 (1933) 142.
[1560] H. Walter, *Samos* V, Bonn 1968, 87.
[1561] For a recent summary of the nature of the cult of Hera at Samos in the Archaic period see H. Kyrieleis, "The Heraion at Samos", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 125-153, with references to earlier literature.
[1562] D. Ohly, *AM* 65 (1940) 57-102; Desborough, *GDA* (1971) 282f., 367.
[1563] R.V. Nicholls, "Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity, *c.* 1200-700 B.C.", in *Auckland Classical Essays presented to E.M. Blaiklock*, ed. B.F. Harris, Auckland & Oxford 1970, 15 with references; B.C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin & New York 1974, 225.
[1564] H. Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum von Samos*, München 1965, 30; *id.*, *Das Heraion von Samos*, München 1976, 36; A. Büsing-Kolbe, *JdI* 3 (1978) 78f., fig. 3b-h; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 72; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 613; Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 40-74 (nos. 12 & 13 -pp. 43-45- date in the 8th c., no. 18 -p. 49f.- in the early 8th c., no. 27 -p. 65- in the second half of the 8th c. B.C., no. 23 -p. 57- in the beginning of the 7th c. The rest belong to the Archaic period).
[1565] K.F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, Berlin 1914, 8-12; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 64, 66; A.D. Brockmann, *Die griechische Ante*, Marburg 1968, 24, 150; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult*, *AHom* III, V, 1974, 135; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 83.
[1566] J. Boardman, *ClRev* 85 (1971) 144: "the (mis-) dating of one vase cannot affect the clear indication that the site was first occupied in the later seventh century" and W.-D. Heilmeyer, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 108f. Other scholars, however, still believe that Vroulia was founded around 700 B.C.: T. Melander, "Vroulia: Town Plan and Gate", in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, ed. S. Dietz, Copenhagen 1988, 83, who refers to Ch. Kardara, *Ροδιακή αγγειογραφία*, Athens 1963, 31.

compared with Gordion in Phrygia.[1567] Each house consists of a square room and occasionally of two. Some dwellings are also provided with a closed porch.[1568]

ASIA MINOR

E. Akurgal believes that there existed in the LG period a temple of Athena in **Old Smyrna**.[1569] Yet, as R.V. Nicholls[1570] and S. Morris[1571] correctly point out, the LG "podium" (Figs. 398-399) may have been part of a structure related to the city wall and the gate. The presence of an infant burial (y) in this area seems to confirm this point of view.[1572]

The earliest temple at Old Smyrna has scarcely left any traces (Figs. 398, 401).[1573] It stood on a massive platform (Temple Platform 1) which in fact represents an extension to the S of the Inner Defence Platform of the earlier NE gate fortifications (*cf.* Figs. 399-400). On the earlier plans published, only the outer face of the W retaining wall could be seen;[1574] the S retaining wall lies beneath the later platforms and therefore is not shown on these plans. As Dr. Nicholls informed me, the W and S retaining walls of Temple Platform 1 "are eventually straight and at right angles to each other, but they met in a wide sweeping curve" (*cf.* Fig. 398).[1575]

From the temple itself only a small segment of the footing for the N wall (*c.* 2,00m long) and the so called "Basis", a low raised area in the cobbling, seem to have been preserved.[1576] These rest on top of the cobbled flooring of the Inner Defence Platform. The N wall has been ascribed by E. Akurgal to the second temple, the S wall of which follows a slightly different orientation than this foundation.[1577] R.V. Nicholls may be right in assigning on the evidence of their orientation this stretch of wall and the "Basis" to the first temple.[1578]

The "Basis" is a slightly raised rectangular area, measuring 2,20 (N-S) by 1,50m (E-W). R.V. Nicholls suggests that a wooden cult image and base may have stood somewhere on it.[1579] According to the same scholar, whom I prefer to follow, if one assumes that the base was axially placed, one may restore the width of the temple to *c.* 8,00m.[1580] The oblique position of the Temple Platform in relation to the inner face of the fortification wall indicate that the length of the temple would not have exceeded 15,00m.

[1567] See K. DeVries, "Greeks and Phrygians in the Early Iron Age", in *From Athens to Gordion. The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for R.S. Young*, ed. K. DeVries, Philadelphia 1980, 33-49; *id.*, "The Gordion Excavation Seasons of 1969-1973 and Subsequent Research", *AJA* 94 (1990) 371-406, esp. 374, fig. 4, 376, fig. 7.

[1568] K.F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, Berlin 1914; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 51f.; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 426; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 113; H. Drerup, "Bürgergemeinschaft und Stadtentwicklung in Griechenland", in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum* (1978) 88, 90; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 55; Heilmeyer, *FGK* (1982) 94-96.

[1569] *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 63f., followed by S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 87.

[1570] Letter of March 23, 1986.

[1571] *AJA* 89 (1985) 177.

[1572] *Ibid.* and R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 77, fig. 21 "y" and p. 126.

[1573] Excavations: British School & University of Ankara, 1948-51 (J.M. Cook and E. Akurgal); Turkish excavations, 1966-71 (E. Akurgal). Bibliography: J.M. Cook, *JHS* 70 (1950) 12; 71 (1951) 248f.; 72 (1952) 104-106; R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 75-81; E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 63-125; R.V. Nicholls, "Early Monumental Architecture at Old Smyrna", in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, ed. D. Buitron-Oliver, Hanover & London 1991 (Studies *in the History of* Art 32) 151-171, esp. 151-154. Publication of the excavations forthcoming by J.M. Cook and R.V. Nicholls in *BSA* Suppl. See also S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 188, 86f. This entry was written before the publication of R.V. Nicholls latest article (1991) to which the reader may now refer. It was not judged necessary to make significant changes to this entry since Dr. Nicholls had handed me his manuscript sereral years ago [see Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 742-747].

[1574] R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) fig. 21 at p. 76 (centre, down of the plan, marked 9.19); E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, fig. 34 (in Square C2).

[1575] Letter by Dr. Nicholls of March 23, 1986 [henceforth quoted Nicholls (1986)].

[1576] E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, Squares B4 and B-C3, respectively.

[1577] *Ibid.*, 68f. & figs. 37-39.

[1578] Nicholls (1986) & p.c. of January 20, 1987 [henceforth quoted Nicholls (1987)].

[1579] *Ibid.*

[1580] *Ibid.*

According to R.V. Nicholls "the temple walls were doubtless stepped back from the edge of the platform, but, if they followed the indications of the platform walls, then we are dealing with a building with straight sides and with its west end round at the corners and straight in the middle" (Figs. 401-402).[1581]

Nicholls's hypothesis becomes more credible when one compares the temple plan with that of the so-called "Priestess's House" outside the SW corner of Temple Platform 1 (Fig. 398).[1582] This house, which was built approximately at the same moment as the first temple is described by R.V. Nicholls "as a sort of rectangle with slightly convex sides and with round rear corners".[1583] The width of this edifice is *c.* 6,00m and the length *c.* 8,50m. The entrance was presumably located in the S short side. Against the S part of the E wall there was a rectangular platform, which appears to have been a place for cooking (Fig. 402).[1584]

It is noteworthy that the "Priestess's House" was one of the two curvilinear houses of early 7th c. date unearthed at Old Smyrna (the remaining contemporary houses were all rectangular).[1585] In that respect the curved corners of the "Priestess's House" and of the first temple of Athena should not be regarded as a mere coincidence (provided that one restores curved rear corners in the latter).

Akurgal's dating of the various settlement and temple periods appear too low. Indeed, the curvilinear houses of Old Smyrna cannot be dated after *c.* 700 B.C., date at which the settlement was destroyed by an earthquake.[1586] The houses in Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, fig. 14 (here Fig. 408) should be dated in the third quarter of the 8th c. B.C., while those appearing in Akurgal's fig. 15 (Fig. 409) to the last quarter of the same century. The later houses in fig. 22a and those seen in fig. 19 belong to the post-earthquake period and should be dated in the early years of the 7th c.[1587]

According to the current opinion of R.V. Nicholls (p.c.) and the late J.M. Cook, the Inner Defence Platform was built *c.* 740 B.C. The first temple platform was built *c.* 690 B.C., the first temple phase spanning a period of *c.* six decades (but with its ramp modified towards the middle of the 7th c. B.C.). Lastly, the "Priestess's House" was erected also around 690 B.C. but was demolished around 670 B.C. when it was perhaps replaced by the so-called "Priest's House", which was a rectangular edifice.[1588]

It has been established thanks to the discovery of inscribed dedications that the divinity worshipped in the sanctuary was Athena.[1589] Among the dedications there were terracotta votive shields and lamps.[1590] The latter class of dedications led E. Akurgal to assume that Athena was also worshipped with the epithet Ergane, i.e. as the patroness of women's handicrafts.[1591] Yet, the lamps alone are not conclusive evidence that Athena was worshipped under this epithet. Indeed, one would expect to encounter among the votives numerous loom weights and spindle whorls, which does not appear to be the case.

[1581] Nicholls (1986).

[1582] J.M. Cook, *JHS* 72 (1952) 104 ("hairpin-shaped house of the 7th c.") and Nicholls (1986) & (1987). A not so accurate plan of the edifice had appeared in E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, folding plan in the back of the volume, Squares D-E/0-1 and in fig. 43. For a reduced plan of the same edifice *cf. BSA* 53/54 (1958/59), folding plan in the back of the volume, Squares XIV/E-F.

[1583] Nicholls (1986).

[1584] Nicholls (1987). The rectangular platform and the posts may be compared with the LG oval (?) house of Xeropolis/Lefkandi, where two similar structures were discovered [M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 14f. & 23f. For a restored plan see Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 17, fig. 11 and here Fig. 97]. Dr. Nicholls suggested to me that a row of posts resting on stone bases may have divided the interior into a porch and a main room (*cf.* Table IIB:3 and Fig. 402).

[1585] The only other instance is a house in Trench B (Fig. 410b). The edifice measures just *c.* 4,50m in length and seems to have been divided into a porch and a main chamber by a row of vertical posts (post holes were detected). LG pottery was collected in the footing of the edifice. Dr. Nicholls suggests that since the house remained in use well into the 7th c. B.C., it may have been built or rebuilt just after the earthquake of *c.* 700 [Nicholls (1986)].

[1586] See J.K. Anderson, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 138-142.

[1587] Nicholls (1986): the houses in Akurgal's fig. 14 were associated with pre-PC LG pottery, while those of fig. 15 with LG pottery which included the earliest PC pieces.

[1588] Nicholls (1986) and *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 77.

[1589] S. Sahin, in E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 129f.

[1590] E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 109, pls. 109b, c, d, 110 & 111.

[1591] *Ibid.*, 110f. See W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, 140f.

R.V. Nicholls has tentatively suggested that the foundation of the cult is related to the capture of Old Smyrna by the Ionians.[1592] This is implied by the location of the sanctuary next to the fortification wall and the NE Gate, which may have played an important role on that occasion. Moreover, the houses of the period which immediately followed the devastating earthquake were rectangular, comprising several rooms and were of a higher standard of construction compared to the humble curvilinear huts of the pre-earthquake period. R.V. Nicholls assumes that "a major social or political change may have occurred just before the earthquake" while he suggests that the chaotic jumble of curvilinear huts of the second half of the 8th c. may indicate the arrival of refugees (perhaps the displaced Colophonians who eventually seized the city). The earliest concentrations of votives belong to the last years of the 8th c. B.C. ; this indicates that the first great platform which was built around 740 B.C. was a purely military construction related to the fortification wall and the NE Gate. Towards the end of the 8th c. B.C. one of the staircases which led to the platform was converted into a ramp, perhaps, as Nicholls suggests, in order "to allow large sacrificial animals to be brought up on the platform".[1593] Thus, it is not impossible that the foundation of the cult of Athena was connected with the capture of Old Smyrna by the Ionians.[1594] This event should be placed in the last years of the 8th c. B.C.[1595] The devastating earthquake of *c.* 700 B.C. gave the newcomers' the opportunity to reconstruct the town and to erect a temple to Athena.

Apart from the Samian Heraion the other well preserved temple of the E Greek World is the first temple of Artemis at **Ephesos** (Figs. 423-424, Temple B), dated around the middle of the 8th c. B.C. This is the only certain instance of a temple of eastern Greece which was provided with a peristyle, perhaps the earliest associated with a religious structure. The temple lay beneath the marble temple of Croesus.[1596] The ruins were partly uncovered by D.G. Hogarth in 1904-05 but neither the chronology nor the complex building phases and details were understood.[1597] Following the recent excavations in the same spot the following sequence was observed.

A rectangular stone platform measuring 1,75 by 0,45m [*RA* (1991) 73] or 2,45 X 1,45m [*AnatSt* 40 (1990) 138],[1598] bordered on the two long sides by a pair of three columns (total 6). Certain details indicate that the base was added in the space between the columns.[1599] The function seems have been that of a base of the cult statue or that of an altar (however, very few animal bones were discovered in this context).

The cella is rectangular (10,80 X 6,20m, measured on the plan). The overall dimensions, including the peristyle were 8,40 by 13,50m. The entrance was turned towards the W. The walls, built entirely of stone, were preserved to a height of *c.* 2,00m. There were two wallings; the inner, 0,60m wide, is the earliest since it is founded at the level of the interior rectangular base; the outer,

[1592] Nicholls (1986) & (1987).
[1593] Nicholls (1986).
[1594] *Id.*, in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, ed. D. Buitron-Oliver, Hanover & London 1991, 153.
[1595] Herod., I, 143, 3 & 150. On this question see G.L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians*, New York 1966, 24, 36 & 47; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London 1980[3], 29; E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 27; J.M. Cook, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 13f.
[1596] Excavations: Austrian Institute, 1987- (A. Bammer). Bibliography: A. Bammer, *ÖJh* 58 (1988) 1ff.; *id.*, "A *Peripteros* of the Geometric Period in the Artemision of Ephesus", *AnatSt* 40 (1990) 137-160; *id.*, "Les sanctuaires des VIII[e] et VII[e] siècles à l'Artémision d'Ephèse", *RA* (1991) 63-84, esp. 72-73, 79; *id.*, "Les sanctuaires archaïques de l'Artémision d'Ephèse", in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 127-130; *id.*, "Fouilles à l'Artémision d'Ephèse (périodes géométrique et archaïque): Nouvelles données", *RA* (1993) 187-199, esp. 187. Note also the unpublished paper by the same author, entitled *Un périptère de la période géométrique à l'Artèmision d'Ephèse* which was delivered during the colloquium "Erétrie et le Monde Méditerranéen aux époques géométriques et archaïque", Université de Lausanne, 12-13 juin 1992. See also M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 95 (1991) 145f.; F. de Polignac, "Influence extérieure ou évolution interne?", in *Greece between East and West: 10th-8th Centuries B.C.*, ed. G. Kopcke & I. Tokumaru, Mainz 1992, 122-125; C. Morgan, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 33; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, "Zur Genesis und Entwicklung des Dipteros", *JdI* 109 (1994) 46f. Now see A. Bammer & U. Muss, *Das Artemision von Ephesos*, Mainz am Rhein 1996, 25-28.
[1597] D.G. Hogarth, ed., *Excavations at Ephesus*, London 1908.
[1598] My own measurements on the plan are 3,90 by 1,75m.
[1599] *RA* (1991) 73. Bammer notes the irregularity of the W side and the impression that the base fits awkwardly between the bases. According to Bammer, "the west edge (i.e. of the platform) had to be built outward at an angle to reach the bounding lines of columns" [*AnatSt* 40 (1990) 148].

0,60m high, 0,70-1,15m wide, enclosed the cella wall. It is founded *c.* 1,00m higher ("Flankenmauer") and was built when the rectangular base was no longer in use.[1600] The purpose of this wall was to protect the temple from flooding. When the outer wall was built, care was taken not to obstruct the entrance, since the floor level in the interior was not raised.

The cella is surrounded by a peristyle of 4 X 8 wooden columns. The preserved bases are of green schist and rest on the same level as the 6 interior columns. They are circular and 0,40-0,50m in diameter (most 0,42 or 0,45m). The wooden columns had a lower diameter of 0,43m, as the 6 in the interior. When the "Flankenmauer" was built, the *pteron* was also repaired and crudely hewn slabs of yellow limestone were set on top of the earlier green schist slabs.

The intriguing detail about Temple B is that the cella wall does not rest upon the paving which supports the column bases of the *pteron*, but at a higher level. Two burnt strata were detected beneath the cella wall. The bases of the peristyle rest on the lower stratum. The second stratum extends up to the upper surface of the bases and passes underneath the cella wall. This indicates that the cella wall is later than the interior and exterior columns. Bammer even suggests that the 6 interior columns belong to the initial structure which would have divided the original structure into three naves. The original temple presumably had thin walls and a peristyle of 4 X 8 columns (Fig. 425).[1601]

The *peripteros* underwent two additional repairs (phases 3 and 4). During the 3rd phase the *peristasis* was abandoned and a girdle wall was built to further reinforce the cella. In the 4th phase a small rectangular building replaced the *peripteros*. This structure seems to be contemporary to the temple of Croesus and the new structure should be identified with a naiskos inside the central courtyard of the temple.

A. Bammer restores the temple either with a *baldachin* (Fig. 426a) or with an *impluvium* (Fig. 426b). In the first case, which he favours, the roof would have covered the space between the cella wall and the columns of the *peristasis*, leaving the cella (with the exception of the space enclosed by the 6 interior columns) in the open air. In the second case, the roof would have extended up to the columns surrounding the rectangular base. The later tradition in Ionia (*cf.* Didyma) does not make the hypothesis of an open air court impossible, but if one accepts the excavator's theory of an even earlier temple phase with three naves (such as the "pre-oikos" of the Naxians or the temple of Iria at Naxos), one fails to understand why a roofed structure was converted to an hypaethral one soon after.

In my opinion, the building may have been entirely roofed and the interior divided into three naves. The central nave was blocked when the rectangular platform was built, presumably to support the new cult image which would have had monumental dimensions. Evidence for the cult statue was collected in a votive dump dated to the period which immediately preceded the construction of the Croesus temple. Several precious finds were discovered here, including bronze animal figurines and fibulae of the Geometric period. Phoenician objects, scarabs and Egyptianising objects of faience were also found. The main bulk consists of women's' jewellery of bronze, glass, crystal and more than 500 amber beads. Decorated bone and ivory objects were also common. Most of the finds from the hoard belong, according to Bammer, to the jewellery which adorned the cult statue (*xoanon*) of the *peripteros*.[1602] Bammer assumes that the amber beads which belonged to the necklace of the cult statue date in the Geometric period since they were associated with the Geometric bronzes. Since, however, this was a votive dump without stratigraphy, any chronological associations between categories of finds is unreliable. In my opinion, the construction of the rectangular platform, if identified as a base for a cult statue, indicates that the monumental cult statue was placed inside the temple during the 7th c. This does not imply that there had been no such statue in the 8th c., simply it would have been smaller, not necessitating a massive base for its support.

[1600] Fragments of the columns were incorporated in the new wall: *RA* (1991) 73.

[1601] Bammer notes that beneath the S cella wall some rough stones were discovered, belonging perhaps to the original structure, also dated in the 8th c. but in use for a short period only [*AnatSt* 40 (1990) 148]. Some stones of the flanking wall continue beneath the N cella wall, though in this case these could simply mean that the old cella wall was underpinned and not that they were integrated later into the flanking wall (*ibid.*).

[1602] A. Bammer, *AnatSt* 40 (1990) 150-153.

In a deep sounding between the rectangular base and the E wall of Temple B finds of the MG, PG, SMyc and Mycenaean periods were retrieved.[1603] The latest pottery discovered below the clay floor level of the temple is MG and provides a *terminus post quem* for its construction. Bammer dates the construction of the *peripteros* in the middle of the 8th c. A first destruction by flood occurred during the 7th c. which destroyed the rectangular base in the cella. The temple was repaired (addition of flanking wall) and remained in use throughout the 7th c. The building flooded once more and was consequently abandoned during the 7th c. B.C.[1604] It was replaced by Temple A, which Hogarth had dated earlier than Temple B.[1605]

A few metres to the W of Temple B, roughly in the centre of the sanctuary, the remains of a curved wall were discovered. This wall could belong to an apsidal building or to a monumental entrance and is earlier than Temple C.[1606] A second curved wall, associated with a floor, was found outside the SW corner of the temple of Croesus (Fig. 422b).[1607] This wall presumably belongs to an apsidal building facing towards the NW, but its date is uncertain.[1608] Further structures of the Geometric period were discovered in 1991 in the E part of the court. They were destroyed in the second half of the 7th c. B.C. by fire, probably caused by the Cimmerians.[1609] All these curvilinear buildings, now supplemented by the discovery of an oval house of the LG (?) period in 1988 (*supra* p. 109, Fig. 422a) indicate that curvilinear plans were common in Ephesos.[1610] The continuation of the research at Ephesos will undoubtedly clarify also the function of these edifices, which for the time being remains obscure.

CRETE

The structure excavated at Ay. Constantinos at **Praisos** (Figs. 430-431) consists of a rectangular courtyard (int. dim. *c.* 29,00 by 11,00m), delimited by a massive wall *c.* 1,00m in thickness, and a complex of small chambers, set in two rows along the NE long side of the courtyard (a-j).[1611] It is not established whether the court was flanked by similar groups of rooms in the W, S and E sides, though this, in my opinion, appears rather unlikely. Due to the downward slope towards the N-NE, Room "a" was at a lower level than the other rooms. The floor of these chambers was at the same level as the courtyard. Perhaps then, Room "a" was provided with an upper storey, the floor level of which would have been the same as that of the rooms to the S-SE. Rooms d-j had connecting doorways in the S extremity of the partition walls. The doorway between Rooms f and g was blocked at a later period. It is not known whether each room of this row communicated with the courtyard. Likewise, the doorways of the outer row of rooms (a-c) are not extant. In the N corner of Room b a rectangular enclosure, bordered by upright slabs, was found.[1612] In the NW corner of the courtyard two further rooms with connecting doors were excavated (k and l). These were also on ground level.[1613]

Scanty remains of a second edifice, built on top of the one described above, were observed, but neither a description nor a plan were provided by the excavators.[1614]

[1603] *RA* (1991) 73. See also A. Bammer, in *L'espace sacrificiel*, ed. R. Étienne & M.-Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 128. On the Mycenaean remains see *id.*, *ÖJh* 57 (1986/87) Beiblatt, 1ff.

[1604] *RA* (1991) 73. The flooding was due to the rise of the sea level in the late 8th and 7th c. (*ibid.*, 79).

[1605] Concerning the date of the *peripteros* see A. Bammer, *AnatSt* 40 (1990) 141f.

[1606] A. Bammer, *RA* (1993) 191, 194.

[1607] A. Bammer, *AnatSt* 32 (1982) 61; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 97.

[1608] Preserved length of building, 6,75m.

[1609] A. Bammer, *RA* (1993) 194.

[1610] M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 95 (1991) 145f. In the area of the Agora where this oval structure was found, the earliest building activities date around 700 B.C.: see M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 99 (1995) 239.

[1611] Excavations: British School, 1900 (R.C. Bosanquet and J.H. Marshall). Bibliography: R.C. Bosanquet & J.H. Marshall, *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 236-240; C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg 1929, 14f.; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 589f.; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 86-88; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 716-718.

[1612] Hayden, [*Cretan Architecture* (1981) 87] interprets this enclosure as a cupboard. One however is perplexed by the fact that several of the cups it contained rested on top of "burnt vegetal matter" and all presented "some signs of fire" [J.H. Marshall, *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 239]. Could it be that this structure was a hearth?

[1613] As in the case of Rooms d-j it is not known whether Rooms k and l communicated with the courtyard.

[1614] J.H. Marshall, *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 239.

The date of the building is vague. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by a burial excavated on top of Rooms g and h which contained "a small aryballos of early Corinthian fabric";[1615] the *terminus post quem* derives from the excavator's statement that "there was no trace of anything Mycenaean in the houses".[1616] R.C. Bosanquet notes that "some plain domestic wares of the Cretan "Dipylon" period was found in a basement room which also contained broken pithoi with ornamentation of sub-Mycenaean style".[1617] For these reasons, scholars generally ascribe the two buildings at Praisos in the PG or Geometric period.[1618]

The size and plan of the building are unparalleled. The large storage capacities of the earlier edifice (most rooms yielded pithoi)[1619] and the size of the courtyard have led scholars to identify the building with a farmstead or local "palace".[1620] Doubtless, the occupants of the building at Ay. Constantinos would have been wealthy individuals.

The ridge called **Vronda** (+421/427) in the area of Kavousi[1621] is located approximately one hour below the acropolis of the Kastro (Fig. 432).[1622] A small settlement occupies the summit (Fig. 434). Excavations have revealed five edifices, consisting of one to three or more rooms; stone foundations visible above ground level attest to the existence of a few more structures. The settlement was presumably abandoned at the end of the LM IIIC period (with the exception of Building E which continued to be used during the SMin and PG periods[1623]), and therefore should not have been discussed in this study. However, since some of its inhabitants appear to have moved up to the Kastro it appeared to me essential to deal with Vronda as well.

The largest edifice (**Building A**, Fig. 435) occupies the highest point of the summit and is surrounded by the remaining structures (Fig. 434). According to the excavators the edifice consisted of a single room, measuring *c.* 10,30 by 7,20m (int. dim.), entered through the S short side. Yet, a stretch of wall which runs parallel and to a distance of *c.* 3,00m N of the presumed rear wall of Building A might have formed part of the same structure.[1624] If this assumption is confirmed, the

[1615] *Ibid.*

[1616] *Ibid.*, 240.

[1617] *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 238.

[1618] C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur*, Augsburg 1929, 14f.; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 86 and n. 188 at p. 95; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 812. Renard [*Notes d'architecture* (1967) 589] suggests that the earlier building was erected in the SMin period and remodelled in the Geometric period. Drerup [*Baukunst* (1969) 36] does not rule out the possibility that the building may date in the Minoan period. It is hoped that the new investigations at Praisos undertaken by J. Whitley will clarify the date of the building, as well as its function: see J. Whitley, K. O'Conor & H. Mason, "Praisos III: A Report on the Architectural Survey Undertaken in 1992", *BSA* 90 (1995) 405-428 and also E. French, *AR* (1992/93) 77-79; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 70; J. Whitley, *AJA* 99 (1995) 339; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 812.

[1619] This is specifically mentioned for Rooms a and k: J.H. Marshall, *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 239. In the same report (pp. 238, 240) further pithos fragments are mentioned.

[1620] J.H. Marshall, *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 239 ("homestead"); Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 182 ("it is large enough to serve as a dwelling for a Dorian landowner and a family of serfs or apetairoi who worked the land and were attached to it"); N. Platon, *Zakros*, New York 1974, 47 (local "palace").

[1621] In general see K. Nowicki, "Topography of Refuge Settlement in Crete", *JbZMusMainz* 34:1 (1987) 213-234 and D.C. Haggis, "Intensive Survey, Traditional Settlement Patterns, and Dark Age Crete: The Case of Early Iron Age Kavousi", *JMA* 6 (1993) 131-174.

[1622] Excavations: American School, 1900 (H. Boyd); cleanings in 1978-81, 1983-84, excavations resumed from 1987-90 (W.D.E. Coulson, G.C. Gesell and L. Preston-Day). Bibliography: H. Boyd, *AJA* 5 (1901) 131f.; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 84; G.C. Gesell, W.D.E. Coulson & L. Preston-Day, *The Kavousi Project: Early Iron Age Remains in the Kavousi Area of East* Crete, Symposium July 12-13, 1985 at Kavousi and Ierapetra, Crete (abstracts); W.D.E. Coulson, L. Preston-Day & G.C. Gesell, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 389-412; 55 (1986) 354-387; 57 (1988) 279-298; 60 (1991) 145-167; 64 (1995) 67-92, 116f.; W. Coulson, "The Protogeometric Period at Kavousi", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A1, Chania 1990, 185-190; G.C. Gesell, "The Late Minoan IIIC Period at Kavousi (Ierapetras)", in *ibid.*, 317-332; L. Preston-Day, "Early Iron Age Architecture at Kavousi", in *ibid.*, A2, 173-178; W.E. Klippel & L.M. Snyder, "Dark-Age Fauna from Kavousi, Crete", *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 179-186; W.D.E. Coulson, *AJA* 95 (1991) 328. See also *AJA* 95 (1991) 291-293 and A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, March 18, 1990 and Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 594-597 & *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 106.

[1623] R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 67.

[1624] On the plan published by B. Hayden [*Cretan Architecture* (1981) fig. 52] one notes that the long walls of the room extend northwards. The rear chamber was at that time (*ibid.*, 84) identified with a possible porch, a fact which was proven wrong after the 1983-1984 investigations. See also L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986)

building would have measured *c.* 15,00m in length and would have comprised a large main room and a smaller rear chamber (Fig. 435).

The width of the stone socle varies from *c.* 0,60/0,70m (E and N walls) to *c.* more than a metre (W and S sides), suggesting perhaps the existence of an upper storey. The superstructure was apparently of mud bricks.[1625] In the SE corner of the room there was a roughly square enclosure or chamber, *c.* 3,50 by 2,50m (Room 9). This structure could be identified either with a built closet,[1626] or with a LG cist tomb.[1627]

In front (i.e. to the S) of Building A extends a paved courtyard, in the northern part of which a stone kernos was found.[1628] A complex of several chambers occupies the area to the NE of the courtyard (**Building B**).[1629] These rooms appear as dependencies of Building A.

The date of the pottery recovered at the settlement of Vronda ranges from the LM IIIC to the MPG periods.[1630] However, the majority of the buildings, including A and B, seem to have gone out of use at a late phase of LM IIIC or early in the SMin period; the only structure which seems to have been abandoned at a later period (MPG) is Building E.[1631] The excavators tentatively assume that when the site was abandoned, its inhabitants moved higher up to the Kastro.[1632] The abandoned settlement served as a burial ground during the 8th and early 7th c. B.C., perhaps of the inhabitants of the Kastro.[1633]

During the recent investigations no significant finds were made inside Building A for it had been already excavated by H. Boyd, several decades earlier. Boyd mentions the discovery of certain objects of iron, including a complete sword.[1634] Building B on the other hand yielded a considerable amount of material: pottery of fine quality, many drinking vessels, storage vessels etc.[1635] In Room B4, four animal skulls were found.[1636]

The location and size of the complex and the presence of fine pottery suggest that Building A served as the residence of the leader of the small community[1637] and Building B as his storerooms. The stone kernos in the courtyard and the animal skulls mentioned previously attest that certain religious ceremonies were held in the courtyard and perhaps inside the leader's dwelling also.[1638]

360, where the question is raised but left unanswered.

[1625] L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 385.

[1626] *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 84. Other interpretations however may be suggested: a storeroom, foundations of a staircase leading to an upper storey, or a raised platform, packed with earth.

[1627] G. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 298.

[1628] L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 365f.

[1629] *Ibid.*, 366-375.

[1630] *Ibid.*, 386f.

[1631] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 282, 297; *id.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 116f. where it is stated that the site was largely abandoned by the Subminoan period; A. Kalogeropoulou (*Καθημερινή*, March 18, 1990) who gives the details of a lecture offered by W. Coulson at the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic and Greek Art in Athens, notes that Vronda was abandoned in the EPG period.

[1632] L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 386f.; *id.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 116f. The cause of abandonment is not clear. In one edifice (D) there was evidence of a conflagration in LM IIIC, though no such evidence was recovered from the other buildings. It should be stressed, however, that the Kastro settlement was also inhabited in the LH IIIC period: W.D.E. Coulson, *AJA* 95 (1991) 328 and G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 117 and that the excavators leave open the questions "why the town was abandoned and where the inhabitants went": *ibid.*

[1633] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 116.

[1634] *AJA* 5 (1901) 132. According to L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 360 these objects possibly came from the closet (Room A9), though more recently it has been suggested that they belong to a tomb: G. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 298.

[1635] L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 366f.

[1636] *Ibid.*, 371: they belong to two cows and two pigs. Cattle and sheep or goats' horns were also found.

[1637] L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 366: "possibly it was the house of a prominent individual or served a public function". *Id.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 116: "Building A/B, which is unusual for its size and complexity, may have belonged to an important person or group". Also L. Preston-Day, in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A2, Chania 1990, 176. Point of view also shared by Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 180 and D.C. Haggis, *JMA* 6 (1993) 151.

[1638] This possibility is also examined by the excavators: L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 375, n. 47, L. Preston-Day, in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A1, Chania 1990, 176, n. 9 and A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, March 3, 1990.

However, as elsewhere in LM IIIC Crete, cult practices were not confined inside the ruler's dwelling: recent excavations of the adjacent house (**Building D**, Fig. 434) revealed in the central room (Room 1, dim. 7,40 X 5,00m) several animal terracotta figurines, and a bench in the SE corner, which suggest a household shrine.[1639] Moreover, a LM IIIC "public" shrine, **Building G** (Fig. 436), was identified in the SW side of the court in front of Unit A-B. This edifice and its surroundings yielded numerous of fragments of snake tubes (14 partly restored) and clay figurines of goddesses with upraised hands (from at least 17 statues), suggesting that when the site was abandoned the cult equipment was left in place, as at Karphi.[1640]

The **Kastro** settlement near **Kavousi** lies on one of the summits which constitute the Siteia Mountains (+815m; Fig. 432).[1641] The excavated portion of the settlement occupies six successive terraces on the peak (Fig. 438). Traces of walls and surface finds attest that the settlement extended down the E, S and W slopes of the hill.[1642] It is possible to identify at least six houses comprising from one to five rooms.[1643] Unlike Vronda, the houses on the Kastro were built entirely with stones.

Building 9-13 was apparently the largest house of the settlement (Fig. 439). It consists of three contiguous rooms (9-11; overall length *c.* 15,00m) and a second group of chambers (12E, 12W and perhaps 13) further E. The main entrance was most probably located in the W short side of Room 9. In the S extremity of the cross wall which divides Rooms 9 and 10 there was a door 0,80m wide. The N wall of Rooms 10 and 11 is no longer preserved but few stones of the E extremity of the N wall of Room 9 attest that it continued in that direction. Only the S section of the cross wall between Rooms 10 and 11 survives. The finished edge of this foundation proves that this entrance was also located off axis to the S and not in the middle of the cross wall, as Boyd believed. Threshold blocks in the middle of the E wall of Room 11 attest that this room communicated with the irregular bipartite compartment 12E-12W.[1644] Square Chamber 13 was provided with two antithetical doorways. Though there was no direct communication between this room and the adjacent compartment to the W, the architectural layout of the unit suggests that Room 13 may have been a dependency of the main structure.[1645] A further room appears to have existed between Room 13 and 51, further to the E. This became in the 7th c. an open air courtyard in which animals were apparently slaughtered.[1646]

[1639] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 71-73.

[1640] *Id.*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 289f.; 60 (1991) 161f.; 64 (1995) 78-80; G.C. Gesell, "The Shrine at Kavousi: Its Place in Minoan Religion", *AJA* 99 (1995) 335.

[1641] Excavations: American School, 1900 (H. Boyd); cleanings in 1982-83 (W.D.E. Coulson, G.C. Gesell and L. Preston-Day). Bibliography: H. Boyd, *AJA* 5 (1901) 137-143; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 588f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 41; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 84-86; G.C. Gesell, L.P. Day & W.D.E. Coulson, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 327-355, esp. 337-340 & 353; 57 (1988) 298-30; 60 (1991) 167-177; 64 (1995) 92-119; W. Coulson, "The Protogeometric Period at Kavousi", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A1, Chania 1990, 191-193; L. Preston-Day, "Early Iron Age Architecture at Kavousi", in *ibid.*, A2, 178-183; W.E. Klippel & L.M. Snyder, "Dark-Age Fauna from Kavousi, Crete", *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 179-186; W.D.E. Coulson, *AJA* 95 (1991) 328. See also *AJA* 95 (1991) 291-293, *AJA* 97 (1993) 351 and G.C. Gesell, L.P. Day & W.D.E. Coulson, in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, ed. J. & E. Myres & G. Cadogan, London 1992, 120-123. See also Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 598-601 & *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 106 and in general K. Nowicki, *JbZMusMainz* 34:1 (1987) 213-234.

[1642] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 329. Concerning the NW building see M.S. Mook, *The Northwest Building: Houses of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages on the Kastro at Kavousi, East Crete*, Ph.D. diss, Univ. of Minessota 1993; *id.*, "The Development of a Domestic Architectural Unit throughout the Early Iron Age: The Northwest Building on the Kastro, East Crete", *AJA* 99 (1995) 335f.

[1643] According to the excavators the houses were eight, the largest one consisting of four rooms (9-12W). In my opinion Room 12E belongs to the same unit and Room 13 may have been a dependency of the entire complex.

[1644] According to the excavators [G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 342] Room 12 may have been a shelter for animals. Despite the fact that this unit is discussed as a single structure, only its W room is considered as part of Building 9-11.

[1645] The presence of the doorways excludes in my opinion the possibility that the room served for habitation. Perhaps this was an open-air enclosure also for animals. Similar enclosures provided with two entrances still exist in Crete today.

[1646] G.C. Gesell, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 99. There were a lot of animal bones, mostly of cattle, some of which bore knife marks.

The bedrock in the S side of Room 11 was carved in order to receive a bench (for storage?) which consisted of an outer face of stones and an earth fill inside. An oblong platform of slabs (0,75 X 0,60m) lay in the N part of the chamber. A similar but much smaller structure was discovered in the SW corner of Room 3.

The pottery recovered during the old excavations and the initial recent cleanings and investigations on the site ranged from the LPG to the EO periods, i.e. from *c.* the early 9th c. to the early 7th c. B.C.[1647] Yet, the progress of the excavations proved that the site had been almost continuously occupied from the beginning of LM IIIC down to the mid-7th c. B.C.[1648] Judging by the amount of sherds collected during the recent investigations it seems that the settlement's main periods of prosperity fall within the limits of the LPG and LG-EO phases, while during the EG and MG periods it may have declined.

Building 9-13 was apparently the largest edifice on the summit. Moreover, as H. Boyd states, it yielded much fine pottery, mainly inside Room 11.[1649] This led several scholars to identify the complex with the house of the local ruler[1650] or at least with that of a powerful and prosperous individual.[1651] The platform and bench in Room 11 would suggest that the chamber served either as a kitchen or as a domestic shrine (depending in which manner one interprets these two structures). If the latter hypothesis is retained,[1652] one might argue that the shrine inside the house would have been used only by the members of the ruler's family.

Recent excavations, especially on the E slope of the peak, have revealed another important building (**Building A**) comprising four square or rectangular compartments in a row (**Rooms 41-44**, Fig. 437).[1653] The overall dimension were *c.* 20,00 by 6,00m. The southernmost room, 41 (5,00 by 2,70m), contained an informal hearth (burnt patch on the floor) in the E side. Room 42 was the largest (5,00 square metres). Along the E-W axis there were two stone bases which would have supported wooden posts for the roof, and between them a hearth; a raised stone bin for storage, carefully constructed with upright slabs (1,40 by 0,80m), occupied the NW corner. Through a door one could enter Room 43 (5,00 X 1,80m), which, unlike the rest, had a rough paving. A square oven with a domed pisé superstructure (?) occupied the SW corner. Room 44 was provided with an entrance in the E wall and therefore would have been the main hall through which one would pass on entering the house. The northern room, 45 (3,50m square), included three niches in the W wall, 0,70m above the level of the floor (0,40m high, 0,50m deep).

Originally, the building would have been a single complex but at a later stage the doors through which Room 44 communicated with 43 and 42 were blocked and an additional entrance was opened in the E wall of Room 45, suggesting that the house had been partitioned into smaller independent units. **Building B** (**Rooms 45-48**) which is built in contact with the N wall of A appears to represent a smaller (*c.* 12,00 by 4,00m) independent household,[1654] though one cannot exclude that this was an annexe of Building A or the residence of a family related to the one which dwelt in Building A. Here too, two building phases were discerned, one dated in the LG period, the other in the EO. The function of the rooms of this complex is not clear. As an unusual find one may mention

[1647] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 342-352 and 354f. Yet, the presence of a SMin-EPG grave in the vicinity of the settlement and a stirrup jar mentioned by Boyd had been taken as indications that the settlement "had been founded by the Early Protogeometric period" (*ibid.*, 354).

[1648] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 177; *id.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 117-119; W.D.E. Coulson, *AJA* 95 (1991) 328.

[1649] *AJA* 5 (1901) 138; G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 340 & 346.

[1650] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 41; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 112; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 278; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 180; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 30; L. Preston-Day, "Early Iron Age Architecture at Kavousi", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A1, Chania 1990, 180.

[1651] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 353.

[1652] One cannot help comparing Room 11 with the public shrine (Room 1) at Karphi (Fig. 463). For a reconstruction of the ground plan of this edifice see B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 166, fig. 242, here Fig. 464. Moreover, one would expect to encounter coarse vessels in a kitchen.

[1653] Excavations: American School, 1989-90 (W.D.E. Coulson, G. Gesell and L. Preston Day). Bibliography: G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 94-97.

[1654] *Ibid.*, 97.

a lead pendant of the mid-7th c. which has been compared with pendants of similar material from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.[1655]

The finds associated with Building A indicate that the first phase belongs to the LG period, the second in the EO. Room 43 yielded coarse pottery (mostly open shapes) and three stone tools, two querns and a grinding stone and therefore, if one takes into account the oven as well, it would have been a kitchen. Room 42 yielded few finds basically loomweights and stone tools, but there were also fragments belonging to three large pithoi, drinking vessels and other open vases. The hearth and the fact that it communicates with the kitchen, Room 43, suggest perhaps a dining room. Loomweights and a few stone tools were also found in Room 44, while no significant finds came from Room 45. The care of construction of Room 42 has led the excavators to the tentative assumption that Building A "may have been the residence of an important member of the Kastro community".[1656] Domestic shrines, may have existed at Kastro in Rooms 11, 47 and perhaps in the southern room of a structure adjacent to the W of Room 8, where fragments of unusual Geometric female terracotta figurines were discovered.[1657] The excavators also discuss the possibility that Room 42 had some kind of cultic significance but conclude that this was nothing more than a domestic dining room.[1658] One should also note that a cupule offering table of stone was found in Room 1.[1659] Public religious ceremonies would have been held in the open air, and presumably in a "suburban" sanctuary which was partly excavated by H. Boyd at "Plaï tou Kastrou", close to the settlement.[1660]

One should also bear in mind the existence of the rural shrine at **Pachlitsani Agriada** near **Kavousi** (Fig. 433) which presumably received visitors from Kastro and perhaps a few from Vronda. Excavations there revealed a small chapel dated in the beginning of the EIA.[1661] The building faces S and measures 4,50 by *c.* 3,50m. Only the E part of the building survived, the rest was destroyed by the workmen who accidentally discovered it. Fortunately, the plan can be reconstructed with certainty, thanks to the nature of the terrain and the traces left on the soil. Against the E wall there was a bench, 0,40m wide and 0,30m high.[1662] On it were standing a cylindrical idol, a female figurine and a vase. The rest of the idols was found by the workmen and therefore we do not know their original position, except of one, representing a pregnant woman, discovered in front of the entrance. All the idols represent naked women holding either their breasts or their belly. One figurine represents a pregnant woman. A cylindrical clay base and the feet of a female figure may belong to a cult statue of the divinity.[1663] The remaining figurines were evidently dedications offered to the goddess, which appears to have been Eileithyia.[1664]

The date of construction of the building is not easy to establish. It is based on the style of the earliest idols which is difficult to date, for it follows the LM III tradition. The earliest figurine may be PG,[1665] but in certain backward areas of Crete, this style persisted for very long.[1666] The rest of the idols are dated in the Geometric and Archaic periods. Most scholars accept that the cult was installed

[1655] *Ibid.*, 97, n. 69 and fig. 10 at p. 98.
[1656] *Ibid.*, 97.
[1657] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 300, pl. 83d-f.
[1658] *Id.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 96, n. 68.
[1659] H. Boyd, *AJA* 5 (1901) 141-143 and fig. 7; Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 59.
[1660] *AJA* 5 (1901) 149 & pl. V: traces of walls, a deposit of burnt earth and terracotta animal figurines were discovered. See also G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 354. Concerning the courtyard and its function *ibid.*, 330 and 353f.
[1661] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1950-51 (S. Alexiou). Bibliography: N. Platon, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 5 (1951) 442f.; S. Alexiou, "Ιερόν παρά το Καβούσι Ιεράπετρας", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 10 (1956) 7-19; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 577; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 8; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 285, 374; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 48f.; Gesell, *Minoan House Cult* (1972) 183; *id.*, *Cult* (1985) 57; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 148; A. Lebessi, in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, Crete 1987, 144, fig. 7; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 592f.
[1662] Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 577 mentions by error that the bench was set against the rear wall. It seems that she was unaware of the principal publication in *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 10 (1956) 7-19 and relied on the provisional report which was the source of this misunderstanding [*Κρητικά Χρονικά* 5 (1951) 442f.].
[1663] S. Alexiou, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 10 (1956) 11, no. 6, p. 17 and pl. Γ, 1.
[1664] *Ibid.*, 17.
[1665] *Ibid.*, 10f., n. 1.
[1666] *Ibid.*, 13.

in the PG period,[1667] while a few propose the turn from the 8th to the 7th c., which seems more unlikely.[1668]

Building U16-17 was the largest and most outstanding edifice of the so-called Upper Settlement, which occupies the small area on the summit of **Vrokastro** hill (+313m: Figs. 444-446).[1669] A more extensive portion of the settlement was excavated in 1912 on the N slope of the hill, at some distance below the summit (Figs. 443, 450).[1670]

Building U16-17 consists of a large rectangular chamber (17) and a small room (16).[1671] Rooms 12-13 to the W of Room 17 may have been annexes of the same edifice.[1672] The plan of the building recalls that of Building A at Vronda (*cf.* Fig. 435), the only main difference being that the house at Vrokastro seems to have been entered through the E long side.[1673] Both buildings consist of a large room and a smaller chamber; a square enclosure or room occupies the SE corner of the main chamber in both sites; the W wall of the two buildings is wider than the other corresponding long wall.

As noted previously, the entrance of the edifice was presumably located in the middle of the E wall of Room 17. The corridor which leads to this door (24-25 on the plan Fig. 445) is at a higher level than the floor inside Rooms 17. The two alternative explanations are that either a ladder led through a hatchway to the floor of the chamber, or that the edifice was provided with an upper storey and therefore access was gained to this storey first; a ladder or staircase would have led in that case to the basement. B. Hayden favours the former hypothesis, though she does point out that "the massive western wall of Room U17 is suggestive of a second floor, but it also served as a terrace against the western drop" (*cf.* Fig. 449).[1674]

The pottery which was recovered during the early excavations ranges from LM IIIC times to the end of the Geometric period.[1675] In the absence of stratified deposits it is no longer easy to determine whether all structures were erected simultaneously or whether the final plan represents a gradual expansion of the settlement, though the latter appears more likely.[1676]

[1667] N. Platon, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 5 (1951) 443; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 577; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 285; A. Lebessi, in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, Crete 1987, 144; Professor Alexiou informed me (p.c. April 11, 1984) that he maintains that the building was erected in the PG period.

[1668] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 8, followed by Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 49.

[1669] Excavations: American School, 1910 (E.H. Hall). New investigations, 1981-82 (B. Hayden). Bibliography: E.H. Hall, *Excavations in Eastern Crete: Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 86-116; B. Hayden, "New Plans of the Early Iron Age Settlement of Vrokastro", *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 367-387; *id.*, "Work Continues at Vrokastro", *Expedition* 25 (1983) 12-20; *id.*, "Terracotta Figures, Figurines, and Vase Attachments from Vrokastro, Crete", *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 103-144; *id.*, "The Vrokastro Survey Project, 1986-1989", *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 293-353, esp. 326-329, 336; *id.*, in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, ed. J. & E. Myres & G. Cadogan, London 1992, 186-291. See also E. Heinrich, *AA* (1958) 126-129; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 587f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 43f.; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 371f.; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 111f.; Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 185f.; *id.*, *GDA* (1972) 117, 235f.; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 8; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 277f.; Schachermeyr, *Creta* (1979) 262f.; Kanta, *LM III* Crete (1980) 133; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 78-83; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 29; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 802-805; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 106, 109; K. Nowicki, *JbZMusMainz* 34 (1987) 213-234; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 28/29 (1988/89) 115.

[1670] Concerning the Lower Settlement see E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 116-122 and B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) esp. 378-384, figs. 6-7. The N end of the Lower Settlement was bordered by a massive terrace wall which would have served defensive purposes as well.

[1671] Overall dimensions 12,00 (N-S) by 6,50m (E-W).

[1672] B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 377.

[1673] Hayden does not clearly state whether she imagines a door in the N short side. Since however she regards Room 16 as an anteroom (*ibid.*), one suspects that she does. In my opinion, the N winds do not favour the hypothesis of a northern entrance. Moreover, she suggests that there might have been a third entrance in the long W side, "approached via a terraced path flanking the west wall". Three entrances for a single building would have been too much.

[1674] B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 377.

[1675] *Ibid.*, 367, n. 1 for references.

[1676] B. Hayden, in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, ed. J. & E. Myres & G. Cadogan, London 1992, 288 noted that no building remains were associated with the LM IIIC-SMin sherds and that the EIA occupation of the site starts in the PG period. K. Nowicki [*JbZMusMainz* 34 (1987) 214] remarks that the Upper Settlement existed by the LM IIIC period and gradually spread towards the lower slopes to the N.

An important concentration of votive offerings was found inside Room 17;[1677] a second substantial group of votives was discovered in Room 11, to the SW of Room 17, which B. Hayden identifies, together with Rooms 8-8a, with a public shrine.[1678] It is significant that fragments of the same horse figurine (Fig. 448) were collected from both areas.[1679] Votive objects were also encountered inside Rooms 13, 9, 8, 6, 21, 25, 26 and 27, which encircle Room 17.[1680] The dating of the terracotta votives from Vrokastro is not easy to establish, though it would seem that the majority dates in the PG and Geometric periods.[1681] B. Hayden suggests that Rooms 8, 8a, 9, 11, 17, 34 and perhaps 1 were "possible public or private shrines".[1682] Yet, Building U16-17 was the largest edifice of the Upper Settlement and perhaps also provided with an upper storey. The prominent location of the edifice (it looks downwards, towards the Lower Settlement and the sea) and its similarity with the leader's dwelling at Vronda suggest in my opinion that it was the residence of the local ruler.[1683] One may further conjecture that the ruler's dwelling was initially a partly free-standing unit which would have comprised a domestic shrine which would have contained the majority of the votive offerings recovered from the summit. The disregarded votive material would have been periodically swept outside, while gradually, the free space on the summit would have been occupied by new structures, some of which perhaps included a domestic shrine. The buildings of the summit perhaps served as dwellings of the members or followers of the leading family. The fortified[1684] Lower Settlement may have been inhabited by those members of the community who did not belong to this social group.

A rather unusual building is located on the SW slope of the mountain ridge of **Karakovilia** (Figs. 441-442), also at **Vrokastro**.[1685] Its dimensions are modest: 5,25m in length and 4,35m width. Its exact location and orientation remain unknown, for these were not reported by E. Hall. The stone foundation is 0,60m wide and its smooth surface suggests that the superstructure would have been composed of mud bricks. The edifice was provided with two symmetrical doors on the short sides. Each of the doorjambs, either of mud brick or of wood, rested on a flat stone block.[1686]

This small shrine is unique due to the two antithetical entrances (Fig. 442). One could seek the explanation of this unusual feature in the chthonic function of the edifice: the worshippers would have entered through one door and would have left through the other. We should note however that antithetical doorways are encountered in several dwellings at Karphi and in one room at Kastro (Kavousi).[1687]

From the interior of the building a fragment belonging to an Attic or Atticizing krater, dated in the MG II period, was collected.[1688] Therefore, the building should be dated in the first half of the

[1677] B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 109f.

[1678] *Ibid.*, 109.

[1679] E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 108f.; B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 105, 128f. This led N.V. Sekunda to suggest that "it seems likely that they" (i.e. the votives) come from a single shrine, the offerings at which had been thrown out into neighbouring areas": "A Bronze Horse-Frontlet from Vrokastro, Crete", *BSA* 77 (1982) 252.

[1680] Concerning these finds see Hall, *op.cit.*, 90-116 and B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 103-144. Space 11 is regarded by G. Gesell [*Minoan House Cult* (1972) 186] as a bench sanctuary but in my opinion the architectural layout suggests a passage similar to Corridor 24-25. See also Sekunda, *op.cit.*, 252: "the deposit found in Room 11 may represent a "dump" of votive objects cleared out of the shrine into an ancillary room at the same time".

[1681] B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 142f. (chronology), 126 (bovines), 131-133 (horses), 136-142 (human figures).

[1682] *Ibid.*, 144.

[1683] View also shared by B. Hayden [*Cretan Architecture* (1981) 180] but not borne out in her latest article [*Hesperia* 60 (1991) 109f., 143f.].

[1684] B. Hayden, *AA* (1988) 8.

[1685] Excavations: American School, 1910-12 (E. Hall). Bibliography: E. Hall, *Excavations in Eastern Crete: Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 170-172; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 577f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 9; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 372; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 48f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 102; A. Büsing-Kolbe, "Frühe griechische Türen", *JdI* 3 (1978) 73; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 812; Gesell, *Minoan House Cult* (1972) 187; *id.*, *Cult* (1985) 59; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 806f.; B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 110f.

[1686] E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, pl. XXIII, 2; A. Büsing-Kolbe, *JdI* 3 (1978) 73.

[1687] *Cf.* Room 2 at Karphi (Fig. 461) and Room 13 at Kastro Kavousi (Fig. 439).

[1688] J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 258; *id.*, *GG* (1977) 102. See also Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 130.

8th c.[1689] A clay tripod offering table, also comes from the interior of the building.[1690] In the immediate vicinity, one human and two animal clay figurines were discovered (a horse and a duck).[1691] The location of the building close to the well known Geometric bone enclosures,[1692] implies that it served either as a temple devoted to a chthonian divinity or as a shrine where cults were practised in honour of the deceased.[1693]

On the hill of **Thylakas**, in the Mirabello area, a peak sanctuary was excavated (Fig. 451).[1694] On the small plateau on the summit of the hill (+521m above sea level) numerous votive offerings were found, ranging in date between the Minoan period and the 3rd c. B.C. The material belongs for the most part to the Geometric and Archaic periods,[1695] but it seems practically certain that the cult may have originated in the Bronze Age.[1696] Just to the S of the summit, on the slopes of the hill, a small oikos building oriented towards the E was excavated. It measures 2,50m in length and 2,00m in width. The door was only 0,40m wide (width of wall not stated). It was preceded by a courtyard which was supported by a retaining wall 3,00m long. No finds are mentioned in connection to the edifice and therefore its date remains unknown, though it could belong to the Geometric period. Sakellarakis suggests that the chapel belongs to the Minoan period and that it was perhaps reused in the Iron Age.[1697] A concentration of stones in the E edge of the summit was identified with an altar, but no finds were associated with it, not even animal bones. The finds from the neighbouring votive deposit included vases (especially small), numerous terracotta figurines of men and women and bovines. Phalli (*cf.* Minoa, p. 197, n. 1506), a torso of Dionysos (?) and a possible satyr are also mentioned. Reinach suggested that the sanctuary was dedicated to a rustic divinity of fertility.

An enigmatic building was discovered in front of the Hellenistic temple of Aphrodite and Ares at **Olous** at Sta Lenika (Fig. 452).[1698] The building measures 4,75m in width and the orientation is NE-SW. The preserved length attains *c.* 9,00m. The thickness of the walls varies from 0,50 to 0,70m. A trapezoid altar/hearth, *c.* 2,05 by 1,20m was found outside, *c.* 2,00m from the presumed entrance. Two elongated stones set against the outer face of the NW wall, to the N of the entrance, may represent in my opinion a bench 2,60m long and 0,40m wide. If one accepts that the altar/hearth and door were located in the middle of the NW wall, the entire length of the building would have been 11,25m. A circular flat stone discovered to the W of the altar/hearth was interpreted as a base for a wooden column, which with the aid of four more hypothetical columns might have supported a porch. The majority of the scholars accept this reconstruction. Consequently, the hypothetical

[1689] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 9 suggests a dating in the second half of the 8th c., but no proof supporting this assumption was presented.
[1690] E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 172, fig. 105.
[1691] B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 110f., 129, 133 terracottas nos. 2, 31 (?), 34 or 35 of her catalogue.
[1692] E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 154-169, 175 & 180.
[1693] Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 59; B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 111.
[1694] Excavations: French School, 1910 (A. Reinach). Bibliography: A. Reinach, *RA* 21 (1913) 278-300; C. Davaras, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 647f.; J. Sakellarakis, *AAA* 3 (1970) 252-259. See also B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 98, no. 32.
[1695] C. Davaras, *AΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 647f.
[1696] P. Faure, *BCH* 91 (1967) 122, 129; J. Sakellarakis, *AAA* 3 (1970) 252-259.
[1697] *AAA* 3 (1970) 255.
[1698] Excavations: French School, 1937-38 (J. Bousquet and H. Van Effenterre). Bibliography: P. Lemerle, *BCH* 61 (1937) 474f.; 62 (1938) 482; J. Bousquet, "Le temple d'Aphrodite et d'Arès à Sta Lenikà", *BCH* 62 (1938) 386-408, esp. 387, 392f.; P. Jamot, *CRAI* (1938) 182f.; H. Van Effenterre, *REA* 44 (1942) 33; [see also *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 21 (1969) 7-48]; R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos* I: *Les monuments*, Paris 1944, 122, n. 3; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 60f.; H. Drerup, "Zur Entstehung der griechischen Tempelringhalle", in *Festschrift für F. Matz*, Mainz 1962, 36; *id.*, "Prostas und Pastashaus", in *MarbWPr* (1967) 11f.; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 21f.; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 576; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult*, *AHom* III, V, 1974, 134; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 328; C. Krause, "Grundformen des griechischen Pastashäuses", *AA* (1977) 167; C. Tiré & H. Van Effenterre, *Guide des fouilles françaises en Crète*, Paris 1978², 97; J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 248, n. 120; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 611; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 150; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 614; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 22; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 687-689; A. Lebessi, *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, Crete 1987, 144; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 28/29 (1988/89) 121. Unfortunately, neither J. Bousquet (letter of Nov. 2, 1984), nor H. Van Effenterre (letter of Febr. 2, 1985) were able to help me to elucidate the problems, since all the documents of the excavation appear to have been lost during the war.

"Pfostenhalle" became a primitive "pastas", the predecessor of the "pastas" of the Hellenistic temple.[1699] More recently, A. Mallwitz expressed doubts about the validity of this theory, for indeed, there is not enough evidence for reconstructing a porch in front of the EIA temple.[1700]

Establishing the date of the building is also a problem not easy to solve. According to the excavators, inside the altar/hearth "PG" sherds were collected,[1701] while the cella was simply qualified as "Géométrique".[1702] Moreover, we are informed that the early building stood until *c.* 150 B.C., date that the second temple was constructed. The main problem consists in determining the date of construction of the building. The term "PG" is too vague; since the PG style in Crete lasted until *c.* 820 B.C., the sherds discovered in the altar/hearth could be dated towards the end of the 9th c. or even in the 8th c. The question whether the cella was contemporary with the altar/hearth or later must remain unanswered. It may be significant that the twin hearth discovered outside Temple B2 at Kommos (see Fig. 485, N of Altar U) belongs to the last years of the 8th c. Moreover, since no finds of the Archaic-Hellenistic periods were reported to have been discovered inside the building, one assumes that the edifice lay in a ruined condition until *c.* the middle of the second century B.C., at which time the new temple was erected.

The building has been identified as the "Old Aphrodision", mentioned in a late inscription from Lato.[1703] It seems that the finds in and around the sanctuary confirm this view, though they were never described or illustrated. In the second century B.C., under Roman influence, the new temple was dedicated both to Aphrodite and Ares, a fact which can be observed in its bipartite division.

Unlike the other Cretan EIA cult buildings reviewed in this section the entrance is located in the middle of the long side, facing an exterior hearth. The closest geographical parallel is the Early Orientalizing temple at Afrati (ancient Arkades) which was also entered through one long side (*infra* p. 224, Fig. 474).[1704]

The well-known temple of Apollo Delphinios at **Dreros** (Fig. 454) is directed approximately N-S and measures 10,80/90 by 7,20m.[1705] The width of the walls is 0,68-0,70m except to the N, where it attains 1,10/20m. Marinatos believed that the difference of thickness implied the existence of a bench along the outer face of the N wall (Fig. 455).[1706] The entrance was most probably located in the middle of the N side. A terrace, 1,20/30m wide extended in front of the facade, which was thought to have been roofed, thus forming a porch. The reconstruction (Fig. 458) was based on the

[1699] Drerup, *MarbWPr* (1967) 11f. and C. Krause, *AA* (1977) 167.
[1700] *Architektur* (1981) 611f.
[1701] P. Lemerle, *BCH* 61 (1937) 475.
[1702] J. Bousquet, *BCH* 62 (1938) 387.
[1703] P. Lemerle, *BCH* 61 (1937) 474 (*Inscr.Cret.* I, Lato, no. 5 and 18).
[1704] A. Lebessi, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 415-418; 25 (1970) Χρον., 455-458; *id.*, in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 87-95.
[1705] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1935 (S. Marinatos). Bibliography: S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1935) 203-210; *id.*, *CRAI* (1935) 478-484; *id.*, "Le temple géométrique de Dréros", *BCH* 60 (1936) 214-285; *id.*, *AA* (1936) 215-222; Ch. Picard, *CRAI* (1935) 484-489; E. Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 40 (1936) 267-270; H. Megaw, *JHS* 56 (1936) 152; Ch. Picard, *RA* 7 (1936) 116f.; P. Demargne & H. Van Effenterre, *BCH* 61 (1937) 5-32; W. Deonna, "Les cornes gauches des autels de Dréros et de Délos", *REA* 42 (1940) 111-126; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 61-63; W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 46; R.W. Hutchinson, *Prehistoric Crete*, Baltimore 1962, 322, 332, 334-346; H. Drerup, "Griechische Architektur zur Zeit Homers", *AA* (1964) 201f.; J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, New York 1965, 318; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 572-576; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 5-7; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 235-237; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 285; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult, AHom* III, V, 1974, 134; P. Demargne, *Naissance de l'art grec*, Paris 1974, 253; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 49f.; K. Davaras, *Guide to Cretan Antiquities*, Park Ridge 1976, 75; I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, esp. 13-20 and 39-42; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 279f., 321; C. Tiré & H. Van Effenterre, *Guide des fouilles françaises en Crète*, Paris 1978[2], 93-96; G. Roux, *BCH* 103 (1979) 125; R. Martin, in *Architecture de l'antiquité*, ed. S. Lloyd, W. Muller & R. Martin, Paris 1980, 224; Hampe & Simon, *Millénaire* (1980) 51; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 613f.; A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, ed. R.A. Tomlinson, Harmondsworth 1983[4], 122; Gesell, *Minoan House Cult* (1972) 182; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 150; Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 57; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 33; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 48f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 529-534; B. Alroth, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 200; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 28/29 (1988/89) 116f.; H. Van Effenterre, in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, ed. J. & E. Myres & G. Cadogan, London 1992, 86-90.
[1706] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 6 does not agree with the excavator. He proposes instead that this was an additional wall which served as a buttress against the pressure of the terrace wall.

small clay model from Perachora (i.e. a pair of twin columns, *cf.* Fig. 499f) and is purely hypothetical. Access to the terrace was obtained by means of a flight of steps, parallel to it, which led to the SW corner of the agora (Fig. 453).

Inside the building a rectangular *eschara* lined with stones and containing ashes was found.[1707] To the N, the cylindrical base of a wooden column lay *in situ*. It is reasonable to assume the existence of a further column to the S of the hearth. In the SW corner there was a stone bench, 1,34m long, 0,76m wide and 0,95m high.[1708] Next to the bench there was a hollow rectangular structure which contained numerous goats' horns (its dimensions are roughly similar to those of the bench, except for the height which is 0,35/40m: Fig. 458b). Marinatos compared this "altar" with the "Keraton" at Delos, mentioned by Plutarch, around which Theseus had once danced.[1709] He also believed that the three statuettes of hammered bronze, representing Apollo, Leto and Artemis must have stood on the "keraton".[1710] In front of the altar, fragments of a stone table for offerings were collected.

Strictly speaking, the temple was not a free-standing construction. A triangular space (A), formed by a terrace wall and the W wall of the temple, was probably roofed. An additional square room or space was created by the prolongation to the W and N walls of the temple (B).

The majority of the finds from the interior of the temple belong to the 7th c., though few sherds around the *eschara* may be dated in the second half of the 8th c.[1711] The three bronze statuettes were usually dated in the 7th c. or in the years around 700.[1712] Today, following the stylistic study by I. Beyer and their resemblance to a bronze statuette discovered at Afrati in 1971 (*infra* p. 224), scholars are prepared to accept a dating in the second half of the 8th c.[1713] Thus, temple and statues would be contemporary. The dependencies of the temple (A-C) revealed numerous vases and sherds of the LG period, clay idols and metal objects.

The architectural features and the nature of the finds leave no doubt that this was a temple. Goats' horns are often connected with the cult of Apollo[1714] and support the identification of the three bronze statuettes with Apollo, Artemis and Leto. The epithet Delphinios appears in a Hellenistic inscription of Dreros.

Several years ago, I. Beyer came up with some interesting new ideas (Figs. 456-457).[1715] According to him, the terrace and the two rooms (A, B and C on Fig. 456) as well as the temple itself constitute one architectural unit. Beyer demonstrated that the steps continued further W than Marinatos believed. Room B would have been formed by the prolongation of the W wall of the temple (according to Marinatos, Room B had an open facade). Beyer believes that the stones of the W extremity of the N wall do not belong to the building for they are loose and not perfectly aligned. Therefore, he argues that the entrance to the temple was located there. Another door, situated in the N extremity of the W wall would have permitted access to the triangular room, A. The roof was reconstructed according to the mosaic of the town of Knossos.[1716] To the N, four wooden posts would have supported the roof of the porch.

There are certain points in Beyer's study which deserve discussion. Indeed, it is not at all certain that the door of the temple was located off axis. It is not easy to admit that the stones of the W

[1707] Dimensions of the *eschara*: 1,47 X 0,94m. The height of the slabs is 0,24-25m.

[1708] On the bench, smashed pots, fragments of terracottas, a bronze gorgoneion of the 6th c. and few remains of bones and ashes were collected. On the floor, in front of the bench, there were numerous animal bones, certain goats' horns, pieces of charcoal and black earth.

[1709] *Theseus*, 21: "Ἐχόρευσε δέ περί τόν Κερατῶνα βωμόν ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένων εὐωνύμων ἁπάντων".

[1710] The statuettes were not found *in situ*. The peasants who discovered them maintained that they were standing in an upright position over the "altar". In my opinion, the three bronzes must have stood on the cult bench: see I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, pl. 7:1 (here Fig. 457b).

[1711] S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1935) 209; *id.*, *BCH* 60 (1936) 228.

[1712] J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*, London 1978, 11 & fig. 16. See also I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, n. 39 & 41 for further references.

[1713] Beyer, *op.cit.*, 18-20. See also J.N. Coldstream, *AJA* 85 (1981) 346. On the bronze statue from Afrati see A. Lebessi, in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 87-95.

[1714] Goats' horns were also found in the temple of Apollo at Porto Cheli (p. 163).

[1715] Beyer, *op.cit.*, 13-20, 39-42.

[1716] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* I, London 1921, figs. 223, 226.

extremity of the N wall have nothing to do with the temple. Marinatos had noted that a modern lime kiln was built on this spot, having most probably disturbed the joints of the stones (Fig. 454).[1717] The fact that the stones in this portion of the wall are not well lined is not difficult to understand if one accepts that the surviving stones there belong to a kind of *euthynteria*.[1718] Since no Cretan Geometric temple has provided evidence for a non axial entrance, we may assume that Dreros was no exception to the rule. A central door seems a reasonable assumption.[1719] Beyer's argument supporting his reconstruction of Room B lies in the presence of a stone (ST. 1 on Fig. 454) which projects from the temple's facade. This stone however belongs to what I called *euthynteria* and therefore may have been covered with earth. It is more probable that Room B presented a bipartite entrance on either side of a central pillar (ST. 3 on Fig. 454 and Fig. 456), a feature also encountered at the temple at Kommos (Figs. 488-491) and in the enigmatic building at Phaistos (Figs. 483-484). On the other hand, the German scholar's suggestion that the triangular room, A, communicated with the temple, seems correct. Furthermore, his reconstruction of an interior bench against the temple's N wall looks accurate. There is no doubt that the temple's roof was flat, but Beyer goes too far in his graphic reconstruction (Fig. 457b). One should imagine a simpler opening through which the smoke from the hearth could escape (Fig. 460).[1720] Lastly, there is no evidence that there was a porch supported by wooden columns. I would suggest alternatively, that there was a simple open-air terrace which facilitated the access to the temple (Figs. 459-460).

The **Temple** at **Karphi** (Room 1 and its dependencies, Fig. 463) is well known and there is no need to proceed in a detailed description.[1721] A bench for the positioning of the terracotta statues with upraised arms was set against the narrow S side of Room 1, and in the opposite side of the same room there was a rectangular raised structure, presumably an altar. The adjoining rooms were storerooms for the cultic equipment. It is usually thought that this was a shrine open to the sky, though B. Rutkowski suggests that it was probably roofed (Fig. 464).[1722]

At the same site, two units, the "Great House" (Unit 8-9, 11-18) and Unit 135-144 (so-called Eastern Block) (Fig. 461), may have been rulers' dwellings.[1723] Both buildings belong to the part of the settlement located on the W slopes of the Mikre Koprana peak (*cf.* Fig. 462).

Unit 8-9, 11-18 (**Great House**, Fig. 465) occupies the most sheltered position within the eastern part of the central part of the settlement. Originally, the house would have consisted of Room 9; gradually, more compartments were added to the original nucleus. In its final form the unit

[1717] *BCH* 60 (1936) 220.

[1718] The level +124 which appears on one of these stones (Fig. 454) was also that of the floor level inside the temple. See also S. Marinatos, *BCH* 60 (1936) 222.

[1719] Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 614, n. 74.

[1720] *Ibid.* and n. 75. One, however, should also ask whether a lantern for the evacuation of the smoke was really necessary.

[1721] Excavations: British School, 1939 (J. Pendlebury and other members of the British School at Athens). Bibliography: J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 75f.; B. Rutkowski, "The temple at Karphi", *SMEA* 26 (1987) 257-279.

[1722] *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 167 and *id.*, *SMEA* 26 (1987) 257-279.

[1723] Excavations: British School, 1939 (J. Pendlebury and others). Bibliography: J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, "Karphi. A City of Refuge of the Early Iron Age in Crete", *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 77-78 (Unit 8-9, 11-18), 70-72 (Unit 135-144); in general on Karphi see *ibid.*, 56-145; M. Seiradaki, "Pottery from Karphi", *BSA* 55 (1960) 1-37; Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 172-176; *id.*, *GDA* (1972) 57-63, 120-129; Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 585-587; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 371; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 38-41; L.V. Watrous, "Aegean Settlement and Transhumance", in *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 2 (1977) 2-6, esp. p. 3; *id.*, "Lasithi: A History of Settlement on a Highland Plain in Crete", *Hesperia* Suppl. 18 (1982) 19f., 46; F. Schachermeyr, *Kreta zur Zeit der Wanderungen von Ausgang der minoischen Ära bis zur dorisierung der Insel (Die Ägäische Frühzeit* 3) Wien 1979, 256-262; Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 121; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 73-78, 148f.; Heilmeyer, *FGK* (1982) 87f.; *id.*, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 109; Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 79-82; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 26-28; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 585-587; K. Nowicki, *JbZMusMainz* 34:1 (1987) 213-234, esp. 222ff.; *id.*, "The History and Setting of the Town at Karphi", *SMEA* 28 (1987) 235-256; *id.*, "History, Topography and Economy at Karphi", in *Forschungen zur Ägäischen Vorgeschichte. Das Ende der mykenischen Welt*, ed. E. Thomas, Köln 1987, 25-32; A. Lebessi, in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, Crete 1987, 137-140; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 28/29 (1988/89) 117f.; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 156-158; G. Cadogan, in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, ed. J. & E. Myres & G. Cadogan, London 1992, 116-119.

consisted of a porch (Room 8) which communicated with the main chamber (Room 9) through a doorway with a raised threshold. The roof of Room 9 was supported by two wooden columns (a stone base was found at the W end of the room, while a depression at the E end marks the position of the second column). With the aid of a ladder and a raised hatch one could ascend to Room 14 which seems to have been a storeroom. Access to Room 11 was gained through a second doorway in the W wall of the main chamber. The small Rooms 12 and 13 communicated with Room 11 by means of a trapdoor through the roof. Spaces 15-17 were presumably hypaethral and 18 an unroofed yard. It is not certain, however, whether the open-air spaces formed part of the same architectural unit and it has been suggested that 16-17 served as a major public shrine, since fragments from clay statues of Goddesses with upraised hands were found there (*cf.* Table IX:k).[1724]

The second important unit (**Building 135-144**, Fig. 466) is located in the area dubbed by the excavators "Eastern Block" and like the "Great House" occupies a prominent position inside the settlement.[1725] The structure consists of three main buildings sharing party walls (compare with Building A at Smari, Fig. 470). The largest of the three, 138-140, is a tripartite oikos measuring *c.* 14,00m in length by 6,50m in width. The central building, 137/141, appears to have been a bipartite oikos (137 N and 137 S: 10,00 X 5,5m), preceded by an open air courtyard (141). The westernmost room, 136, is a roughly square oikos (6,50m N-S and 7,00m E-W), preceded by a courtyard (135). According to the excavators, Room 142 which blocks the access to Buildings 137/141 and 138-140 would have been built at the same moment as the rest of the unit.[1726] This in my opinion is rather unlikely and I prefer to regard it as a fairly late addition to the original plan, at which moment courtyard 135 was roofed with light materials.[1727]

In the centre of each main room of the three buildings (136, 137 N, 139), black earth mixed with charcoal indicates the presence of a hearth.[1728] Against the E wall of Room 139, near the SE corner, there was a paved area bordered to the N and S by upright slabs. The function of this structure is uncertain (closet? pithos stand?). In the same corner of the room, there was a cupboard in the thickness of the cross wall.

As the remaining houses at Karphi, Units 8-9/11-18 and 135-143 were erected in the LM IIIC period and peacefully deserted, together with the rest of the settlement during the SMin or perhaps in the early PG period (early 10th c. B.C.).[1729] Unit 135-143 follows the same lines of orientation as the so-called "Barracks" (Rooms 2-7, 134, 145) which were considered as one of the earliest elements of the settlement.[1730] The early dating of Unit 135-143 is supported by the comparison with Building A and its dependencies at Smari (*cf.* Fig. 470).

Due to its sheltered position and the size and elaboration of the plan, the "Great House" was regarded by the excavators as a possible candidate of a ruler's house.[1731] On the other hand, no precise function was given by the excavators to the second important free-standing complex, Unit 135-143. C. Laviosa suggested that Unit 137-141 may have been a shrine,[1732] but there is no evidence pointing

[1724] *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 78f., 95; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 151; Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 45, 79-82; R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 11, 36, fig. 6 on p. 12.

[1725] *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 70: "The builders of these houses were clearly fortunate in finding a suitable site". See also *ibid.*, pl. XV, 2: in fact, the unit commands over the entire settlement.

[1726] *Ibid.*, 70: "There is no sign of any later additions".

[1727] *Ibid.*, 71.

[1728] These traces were interpreted by C. Laviosa ["La casa TM III a Festos: osservazioni sull'architettura cretesi di età micenea", in *Antichita Cretesi. Studi in onore di D. Levi* 1, *CdA* 12 (1983) 87] as charred remains of wooden posts, but this is unlikely for there was no trace of a violent destruction by fire at Karphi [*BSA* 38 (1937/38) 136].

[1729] M. Seiradaki, *BSA* 55 (1960) 30; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 120-129. L.V. Watrous [*Hesperia* Suppl. 18 (1982) 4] states that "Mrs. Seiradaki has related to me that she remembers several sherds from Karphi decorated with compass-drawn circles, presumably to be identified as Protogeometric, and so the occupation of the site may continue for a certain period in the 10th c. B.C.". For a summary of the views concerning the date of Karphi see R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 36. The inhabitants seem to have moved to the site of Papoura lower down [J.D.S. Pendlebury & M.B. Money-Coutts, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 141]. See also K. Nowicki, *JbZMusMainz* 34:1 (1987) 214, 219-221, 225.

[1730] *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 73, 135, 137.

[1731] *Ibid.*, 77.

[1732] *CdA* 12 (1983) 87. *Contra* see also Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 152.

towards this direction (*cf.* the character of the finds). In my opinion, like the "Great House", it may have also been the residence of a powerful family. Indeed, when considered as a whole, Unit 135-143 looks much more impressive than the "Great House".[1733] A hint in favour of this suggestion is perhaps provided by the discovery of a fragment of a leg of a bronze tripod inside Room 137 (Fig. 467),[1734] which could well be regarded as a rich possession of the owner of the house (*infra* p. 274f.). Moreover, this complex of rooms opens into a large free space which may have functioned as a primitive agora.[1735] The presence of two important architectural units at the site makes more sense provided one follows the excavators' assumption that Karphi was inhabited by "a Minoan population under the rule of a small caste of non-Minoan origin, probably Achaeans".[1736] However, no firm conclusions can be reached concerning the precise function of both units since only one fifth of the entire settlement has been excavated,[1737] while the hypothesis that the "Great House" was a ruler's dwelling has been challenged.[1738]

Building A-B at **Smari** (Figs. 470-471) lies on the highest summit of the hill Prophetes Elias (+592m), known as "Troulli tis Korfis".[1739] The hill is located at a distance of *c.* 1700m E of Smari, a small village to the SE of Herakleion. The architectural remains of the EIA were built over the ruins of a MM II complex, which may have been a peak sanctuary, though this has not been proven yet.[1740] Several EIA walls are in fact resting upon Minoan foundations. The main unit which was excavated (Building A) does not appear to have been free-standing, for several walls abut perpendicularly on its outer walls. The architectural complex was surrounded by a massive fortification wall, which was apparently provided with an entrance in the S/SE side.[1741]

Building A (Fig. 471) roughly follows an E-W orientation, the entrance facing E. It consists of three rooms: an open porch, a main chamber (Room 1) and a smaller rear compartment (Room 2). The overall exterior dimensions are 17,80m in length and 7,60m in width. The rear chamber was less wide than the two others (6,50m), thus recalling the plan of so-called Temple B at Prinias (Fig. 477). The walls were entirely built of stones of medium size, slightly dressed on their visible face. Slightly smaller stones were used for the construction of the walls of the rear room.[1742] The width of the walls is not the same everywhere: 0,60m in the rear compartment, 0,80m in the porch and 0,70-0,80m in the central room (except for the N wall, which is built with larger blocks and attains a width of 1,10m).

The entrance in the E wall is slightly off-centre and presents an opening of 1,18m. Access to the rear chamber was gained through a door, 0,75m wide, located in the S end of the party wall between this room and the central hall.

The porch is *c.* 4,00m deep and was perhaps roofless: this according to the excavator is suggested by the use of huge blocks in the E extremity of the S anta and also because the floor there is sloping from W to E (kind of access ramp). A roof of light material remains however a possibility.

[1733] In her recent study A. Lebessi identifies House 140/148/149 as the house of the Dorian ruler of the settlement, while the occupant of the "Great House" would have been of Minoan origin and would have been assigned with other responsibilities, possibly in connection with the cult performed in the so-called "Temple" (in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, Crete 1987, 139).

[1734] *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 72, no. 638, 117f. & pl. XXIX, 2.

[1735] T. Melander, in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, ed. S. Dietz, Copenhagen 1988, 85.

[1736] *Ibid.*, 139. See also Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 172f. and *id.*, *GDA* (1972) 129. According to Lebessi, however, Karphi would have been populated by Minoans (western quarter) and Dorians (eastern quarter): see *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, Crete 1987, 139.

[1737] Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 156.

[1738] K. Nowicki, in *Forschungen zur Ägäischen Vorgeschichte. Das Ende der mykenischen Welt*, ed. E. Thomas, Köln 1987, 29.

[1739] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1978-79, 1983, 1985 (D. Chatzi-Valianou). Bibliography: D. Chatzi-Valianou, *AAA* 13 (1980) 44-55; *id.*, *Lyktos* 1 (1984) 9-32; *id.*, "Ανασκαφή στην κορυφή του Προφήτη Ηλία Σμαρίου πεδιάδος", in *Συντήρηση μνημείων-Τεχνικές ανασκαφών*, Voroi 1989, 89-122; G. Touchais, *BCH* 106 (1982) 622; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1981/82) 55; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 15, 17; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 737-741; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 109; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 28/29 (1988/89) 123.

[1740] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *Συντήρηση μνημείων...*, Voroi 1989, 89.

[1741] The peribolos wall is post-Minoan since the SW corner of the wall is built on top of MM walls: *ibid.*

[1742] *Ibid.*, 91.

The excavation of the central room revealed several interesting features. A stone bench, 0,60-0,70m wide (except at the section S of the main door, were it is 0,45m wide) and 0,30m high runs along all four sides of the room. In places, as for instance in the SE corner, the slabs of the bench bond with the exterior walls of the edifice, thus proving that the bench was part of the original structure. Traces belonging to a paving of slabs were observed in various places. Approximately in the middle of the room a circular column base, 0,43m in diameter, was uncovered. The base had evidently moved from its initial place for it was discovered upside-down. Its surface preserved signs of burning, a fact which suggests that the edifice perished in a conflagration. Just W of the column base a hearth was detected; it consists of a layer of burnt red earth (1,20 by 1,50m and 0,10-0,15m thick) which was enclosed by stones in the long sides and by two upright slabs in the short sides. Judging by charcoal fragments and the traces of burning, present in all three rooms, it is more than probable that the edifice was destroyed by fire.

Building B has not been fully excavated yet (*cf.* Fig. 470).[1743] A rectangular room, similar in dimensions with the central room of Building A, was set in contact with the S side of Room 1 of Building A. A bench along the N and W walls of the same room was partly revealed. In contact with the S wall of the rear room of Building A a second elongated room, entered from the S, was found. It appears that this compartment forms part of Building B. A large amount of bones belonging to a large animal had been placed with care in the NE corner of this room, almost in contact with the S wall of Building A (Fig. 472).[1744]

It is not possible yet to establish the precise date of construction of Buildings A and B. Since both structures yielded SMin-LG pottery, the excavator originally assumed that the edifices was erected in the SMin period or in the beginning of the first millennium B.C.[1745] In the more detailed second report, the excavator leaves the question of the upper chronological limit unanswered, for, as she states, the pottery has not been examined yet.[1746] Fortunately, it has been possible to establish that the entire complex was destroyed and abandoned in the middle of the 7th c. B.C.[1747] Indeed, 7th c. sherds were collected inside the hearth of Building A, while the majority of the pottery consists of fragments of large vessels decorated in relief, dated in the Geometric and EA periods.[1748] The pottery from the rear room was LG.[1749] In my opinion, the architectural layout, which recalls Building 138-140 and its annexes at Karphi (Fig. 466), and the plan of the edifice which can be compared with "Temple B" at Prinias (Fig. 477; probably much earlier than Temple A: see *infra* p. 225) suggest a date of construction in the early years of the first millennium.

The first hypothesis that the site should be identified with a peak sanctuary, the origins of which go back to Minoan times, was not corroborated by the finds. The excavator also suggested that Smari may have been a site of refuge; the latter hypothesis is retained as more plausible, but it is not excluded that the site would have been a cult place or the seat of the local ruler.[1750] In the latest publication, the excavator has concluded that the site was presumably the seat of the local ruler.[1751] The few votive objects recovered during the excavation belong to the MM II-LM I layers.[1752] The pottery from both prehistoric and EIA layers is of normal household use. The fragments found inside Building A mostly come from large vessels, especially from relief-pithoi for storage. Small undecorated pots were also present. Moreover, the existence of the fortification wall weakens even more the "peak sanctuary" hypothesis.[1753]

[1743] *Ibid.*, 92.
[1744] *Ibid.*, 92, fig. 9 and pl. 18.
[1745] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *AAA* 13 (1980) 44, 51, 53.
[1746] *Id.*, *Lyktos* I (1984) 30 & n. 9.
[1747] *Id.*, *Συντήρηση μνημείων-Τεχνικές ανασκαφών*, Voroi 1989, 89.
[1748] *Id.*, *Lyktos* I (1984) 21, 30; concerning the sherds collected inside the hearth see p. 18.
[1749] *Id.*, *Συντήρηση μνημείων...*, Voroi 1989, 91.
[1750] *Id.*, *Lyktos* I (1984) 31f.
[1751] *Συντήρηση μνημείων...*, Voroi 1989, 89 & p.c. by the excavator, Oct. 26, 1984.
[1752] *Id.*, *Lyktos* I (1984) 31-33, pl. 13 Θ-K.
[1753] The wall had a double function: on one hand it served to contain the earth of the small plateau and on the other it served for defensive purposes (max. height *c.* 4,50m). The wall was at first thought to date in the MM II period and that it was presumably repaired and reused in the EIA (see *ibid.*, 32-37). It is today ascertained that the wall dates in the EIA: D. Chatzi-Valianou, *Συντήρηση μνημείων...*, Voroi 1989, 89.

In my opinion, the location and dimensions of the edifice, in addition to the bench and hearth, are strong indications favouring the identification of Building A as a ruler's dwelling which may have served communal functions. The numerous animal bones which were mainly scattered inside the main room and the S part of the porch[1754] attest that banquets implicating a large number of participants were practised inside the central chamber. The litter following each feast would have been periodically swept outside. This could explain why the largest concentration of animal bones mixed with ashes was encountered in the SW part of the porch. Unfortunately, the character of the finds does not help one to determine the exact nature of these meals, though I suspect that on certain occasions these would have been of a religious nature (*infra* p. 296).

The rural sanctuary at **Kato Syme** was established in the Old Palace period (MM IIB) and was continuously used until the 3rd c. A.D. (Fig. 468).[1755] Roofed structures, the exact function of which has not been determined yet, existed throughout the sanctuary's existence. Here I will discuss the structures assigned to the LM IIIC-Geometric periods.[1756]

The so-called West Room (**Building Q**) discovered in Trenches Θ-I/50-51 seems roughly square and dates in the LM IIIC period.[1757] Immediately to the W another structure was excavated. This edifice, of obscure plan as yet (**Building L**, consisting of two parallel walls in Trenches H-Θ/50), was constructed late in the LM IIIC phase or, more probably, in the SMin period and remained in use until the PG period,[1758] at which time a rectangular altar was built *c.* 7,50m further to the E (Trench K/50).[1759] The altar (Fig. 469) was initially a rectangular structure, measuring *c.* 4,00 by 1,40m.[1760] To the E of the altar there was a bench which occupied the NW corner of the reused Room U1 of the Old Palace period (Trench Λ/50). A PG hypaethral hearth was excavated SW of the altar, in Trench I/52.[1761]

During the LG period a new altar was built against the E side of the old one; the new altar was roughly square (2,70 by 2,20m) and was approached via a step along its E side. In the centre of its core the LG-EA altar was pierced with a rectangular bothros which contained a few animal bones and sherds.[1762] A. Lebessi tentatively assumed that the square altar mainly served for the pouring of libations.[1763] Judging however by the nature of the deposits until the end of the 6th c. B.C. (i.e.

[1754] *Ibid.*, 19 & 30. Numerous animal bones were also contained in the prehistoric layer.

[1755] A. Lebessi, *AE* (1981) 1-24 and *id.* & P. Muhly, *National Geographic Research* 3 (1987) 102-113 for a synopsis of the various phases of the sanctuary. Concerning the new evidence for the origins of the sanctuary see A. Lebessi, & P. Muhly, "Aspects of Minoan Cult. Sacred Enclosures. The Evidence from the Syme Sanctuary", *AA* (1990) 315-336; *id.*, & J.-P. Olivier, "An Hieroglyphic Inscription from the Syme Sanctuary, Crete (SY Hf 01)", *Kadmos* 34 (1995) 63-77.

[1756] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1972-93 (A. Lebessi). Bibliography: A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1973) 193; (1974) 223f.; (1977) 417; *Ἔργον* (1985) 73 and pl. 86. In general on the sanctuary at Kato Syme see A. Lebessi, "Η συνέχεια της Κρητομυκηναϊκής θρησκειας: επιβιώσεις και αναβιώσεις", *AE* (1981) 1-24 with earlier references. See also *id.*, *Σύμη* I: *Χάλκινα κρητικά τορεύματα*, Athens 1985; *id.*, "A Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme in Crete", *Expedition* 18 (1976) 1-13; A. Lebessi & P. Muhly, "The Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme, Crete", *National Geographic Research* 3 (1987) 102-113; *id.*, in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, ed. J. & E. Myres & G. Cadogan, London 1992, 268-271; A. Kanta, "Cult Continuity and the Evidence of Pottery at the Sanctuary of Syme Viannou, Crete", in *Transizione* (1991) 479-505. See also A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* from 1972 onwards. Other studies: Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 588-591; B. Bergquist, "The Archaeology of Sacrifice: Minoan-Mycenaean versus Greek", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 21-34.

[1757] A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1973) 193; (1977) 417; *id.*, *AE* (1981) 14.

[1758] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 417; *id.*, *AE* (1981) 14; *Ἔργον* (1985) 73 and pl. 86. In the earlier plans Building L appears to present a tripartite division. In the more recent ones, however, the N wall of Building L has been attributed to Building S (third Neopalatial phase), like the W wall of Building Q: see *Ἔργον* (1987) fig. 163; (1988) 150, fig. 122.

[1759] Concerning the two successive altar phases at Kato Syme see A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1972) 194-196; (1974) 222-224; (1975) 325; (1991) 325; *id.*, *AAA* 6 (1973) 104f.; *id.*, *AE* (1981) 9f., 12. However, the exact date of the construction of the altar cannot be determined: see *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1991) 325.

[1760] The stone structure is approximately 0,50m high.

[1761] A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 402f., pl. ΠΓ (Square Ψ, pl. 221β) concerning the bench in Room 1 of Building U, *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 416f. concerning the PG hearth.

[1762] The bothros measures 0,55 by 0,73m and is 0,50m deep.

[1763] A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1972) 196.

extensive layers of black greasy earth containing ash, animal bones and votive offerings), one assumes that the successive altars at Kato Syme were used for burnt sacrifices as well.[1764]

A straight wall running in an E-W direction just N of the altars was presumably erected towards the end of the 8th c. or the beginning of the 7th c. (**Building J**).[1765] The wall is preserved to a length of *c.* 5,50m and is *c.* 1,00m wide. Roof tiles of a very primitive type were associated with this foundation.[1766] Along the S face of the wall one observes a row of stones which could represent either a bench, *c.* 0,35-0,40m wide, or a footing.[1767]

The nature of the finds and later inscribed dedications prove that from the beginning of the first millennium onwards the divinities worshipped were Hermes and Aphrodite.[1768] Cult practice was carried out in the open air and consisted of large scale sacrifices, followed by ritual meals. It is not known yet what precise functions the buildings of the LH IIIC-EA periods fulfilled.

The cult at the well-known "**Spring Chamber**" shrine to the S of the palace of **Knossos**, by the Caravanserai, was established in the 16th c. and continued down to the SMin period (11th c. B.C.).[1769] Among the finds, there was a cylindrical hut model with a goddess with upraised hands inside (Fig. 511).[1770]

To the SW limit of modern **Knossos**, in the Vlachakis plot, the remains of a **hero shrine**, perhaps dedicated to Glaukos, was partly excavated (Fig. 473). The numerous votives date from the late Archaic through the late Hellenistic periods. At a deeper level there were three walls enclosing a floor and a hearth, perhaps Geometric or more likely Orientalizing in date. The W wall was in fact earlier than the floor, since it had been cut back to receive this floor. According to the excavators, there was no evidence that the building served for religious purposes (in the more detailed report the ruins are in fact identified as a house).[1771]

In this section one could mention the PG B square **building model** of **Chaniale Teke** (Fig. 510) which could represent a cult building or a house with central hearth and *opaion*, as well as a bench along the rear wall.[1772]

[1764] B. Bergquist suggested that the EIA deposits at Kato Syme "need not derive from actual burnt-animal sacrifice but may rather constitute human litter, i.e. the refuse from the worshippers' sacral meals" and assumes that the altar in question was a "cooking-pit" or "barbecue- site" in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 21-34]. Though I agree with Professor Bergquist that large-scale holocausts were not carried out at Kato Syme [indeed, as Dr. A. Lebessi pointed out during the discussion of Professor Bergquist's paper (*ibid.*, 34], the animal bones at the site are not burnt), one may safely assume that a portion of the victims sacrificed was burned upon the altar. The meat of the victims would have been roasted above simple hearths, like the one of PG date uncovered SW of the altar: *ΠΑΕ* (1977) 416f. and here Fig. 469, down, left.

[1765] As Dr. A. Lebessi informed me (p.c. April 8, 1996), the date of this wall in the years around 700 is not ascertained yet.

[1766] A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 223f.

[1767] The stones appear to butt on the S face of the wall, except from the easternmost which seems to pass beneath the wall (Fig. 469). The surface of this row of stones is *c.* 0,20m lower than the preserved surface of the E-W wall.

[1768] A. Lebessi, *AE* (1981) 1-14. See also *id.*, "Οι λόγοι της ακτινοβολίας ενός κρητικού ιερού", *Μέντωρ* 18 (1991) 160-165. In the Minoan period the worship was addressed to a goddess of nature and her male consort. Whether they were already called Aphrodite and Hermes matters little. The important fact is that there is no break in cult practice at Kato Syme during the transition from the LBA to the EIA and that the ritual was the same during both eras (sacrifices followed by ritual meals); *id.*, *AE* (1981) 14-24 and Bergquist, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 21-34.

[1769] Excavations: British School, 1924 (A. Evans). Bibliography: A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* II, London 1928, 123f., 136f.; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 116, 284f., 373.

[1770] Evans, *op.cit.*, 128-133; R. Hägg, *OpAth* 18 (1990) 106, no. 10; R. Merserau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 37-39, no. 18, with full bibliography. The model dates presumably to the SMin period, though a dating in the LM IIIC period cannot be ruled out. A dating in the PG period [S. Alexiou, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 4 (1950) 450] seems unjustified.

[1771] Excavations: British School, 1976 (P. Callaghan). Bibliography: H.W. Catling, *AR* (1976/77) 19f.; P. Callaghan, "KRS 1976: Excavations at a Shrine of Glaukos, Knossos", *BSA* 73 (1978) 1-30, esp. 1; apparently not discussed in Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995).

[1772] T.J. Dunbabin, *JHS* 64 (1944) 86f.; R.W. Hutchinson, *BSA* 49 (1954) 220f.; J. Boardman, *BSA* 62 (1967) 64-66; H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang Roms*, Heidelberg 1959, 50, pl. 20:5-5a; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 71f.; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 112, pl. 112, fig. 265; Mallwitz, *Architektur* (1981) 614.

Excavations at **Afrati** (ancient Arkades), on the SE slopes of Prophetes Elias hill, brought to light an "urban", it seems, sanctuary of the EIA (Fig. 474).[1773] The earliest evidence for cult practice dates in the PG B period (9th c. B.C.), when cult practices, including animal sacrifice, were held in the open air, in a paved area. The second building period belongs to the 8th c. B.C.,[1774] during which the sanctuary consisted of at least three roughly square rooms set side by side and a courtyard open to the sky towards the S. This court was bordered at the W and S by a peribolos wall (Walls T11 and T16). The paved area seems to have continued to be used until the end of the 8th c. It is there, to the E of Walls T4 and T9 that the small bronze male statuette mentioned earlier (p. 217) was found.[1775] During the third building period, presumably in the 7th c., a rectangular oikos was constructed, measuring *c.* 12,00 X 6,50m and provided with a continuous bench along the interior walls. The entrance was initially in the middle of the S wall (T4) but subsequently it was blocked and a new door was opened, probably at the E. In the NW corner there were goats' horns. Among the votive offerings which escaped from the illegal diggers, there were several bronze weapons. Among the finds that were stolen and ended in various private collections, there were a corslet and several *mitrai* of bronze, one of which was inscribed.[1776] It has been suggested that the divinity worshipped may have been Athena,[1777] but the excavator has not reached a conclusion yet (p.c., April 8, 1996).

"**Temple B**" at **Prinias** (ancient Rhizenia) (Fig. 477) faces E and its overall dimensions are *c.* 18,50 by 6,50m.[1778] The walls which were 0,50-0,60m wide would have been built entirely with stone (in places they are preserved to a height of 0,80-0,95m). These rest on a stone footing which projects a few centimetres from the line of the wall, on the inside as well as on the outside.

The edifice is divided into a shallow porch, a large central chamber (int. dim.: *c.* 8,50 X 4,50m) and a smaller square rear room. The N wall of this last room is set back regarding the N side of the remaining two chambers, thus recalling Building A at Smari (Fig. 471). Moreover, as in the case of Temple A at Prinias, the long sides of the porch and main chamber converge towards the entrance. The anteroom had a closed front pierced with an axial doorway. The entrances in the E and W walls of the central room were also axially placed.[1779]

In the middle of the main room there was a large rectangular hearth (2,75 by 0,90/1,00m) lined with stones. The soil inside had been reddened by the fire; it seems that ashes and animal bones were found inside the hearth, though this is not specified in Pernier's description of the hearth.[1780] Against the E side of the hearth lay a stone slab (0,67 by 0,32m) while against the W one a round base surmounted by a truncated cone of stone were found.[1781] It has been suggested that this

[1773] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1969-70 (A. Lebessi). Bibliography: A. Lebessi, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 415-418; 25 (1970) Χρον., 455-460; *id.*, in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 87-95. See also Gesell, *Minoan House Cult* (1973) 181f.; *id.*, *Cult* (1985) 57; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 218, 293. On the excavations of the settlement see D. Levi, *ASAtene* 10/12 (1927/29) 38-57, esp. 38ff.; M.A. Rizzo, in *Creta Antica. Cento anni di archeologia italiana, 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, 257-263.

[1774] A trefoil oinochoe of the 8th c. was found in a recess of Wall 8: *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 417.

[1775] Lebessi, in *Στήλη* (*op.cit.*) 87-95.

[1776] *Id.*, *ΑΔ* 20 (1965) Χρον., 54, pl. 697α-β.

[1777] A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 28/29 (1988/89) 114.

[1778] Excavations: Italian School, 1907-08 (L. Pernier). Bibliography: L. Pernier, *BdA* 1 (1907) 28-30; 2 (1908) 441-462, esp. 457-462; *id.*, "Templi arcaici sulla Patela di Prinias", *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 18-111; G. Rizza, "Gli scavi di Prinias e il problema delle origini dell'arte greca", in *Un decenio di ricerche archeologiche* (*La ricerca scientifica* 100) Roma 1978, 85-137, esp. 92-97; *id.*, "Prinias nelle fasi geometrica e orientalizzante", *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 45-51, esp. 47f.; *id.*, in *Creta Antica. Cento anni di archeologia italiana, 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, 234; M.A. Rizza, in *ibid.*, 228-230; G. Rizza, "Prinias. La città archaica sulla Patella", in *Transizione* (1991) 331-347, esp. 336. See also C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur*, Augsburg 1929, 63f.; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 72; I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 77, n. 2 (selected bibliography concerning Temple A), 22-24 (earlier structures than Temple A); Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 719-725.

[1779] The E and W thresholds were monolithic; that connecting the anteroom with the central chamber consisted of several slabs. A semicircular block with a square hole, placed against the NW corner of the eastern threshold, belongs to the base of the wooden door jamb. A similar base should be restored on the other side of the entrance (*cf.* two similar bases on either side of the doorway connecting the pronaos and the cella of Temple A).

[1780] *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 42. See however *ibid.*, 75 where Pernier notes that "nei recinti sacrificiali" (i.e. of both temples) "si conservano, fra la cenere, minute schegge di ossa d'animali bruciate"; see also M.A. Rizzo in *Creta Antica. Cento anni di archaeologia italiana, 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, 228.

[1781] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 41, fig. 15.

enigmatic structure, which surely could not have been a column base, represents an altar[1782] or "a sacred omphalos, or some sort of a fetish".[1783] It should not be excluded however that it served some utilitarian function in connection with the hearth and the slab in the opposite end.

In the NW corner of the same room a round stone basin lay *in situ*. Next to it there was a stone slab (1,00 by 0,65m) which due to its slight inclination towards the basin was interpreted by Pernier as a slaughtering stone from which the blood of the victims would have flowed into it.[1784] Yet, it should not be totally ruled out that the slab, whose inclination may be accidental, served some other purpose.

The pottery from the interior consisted mainly of relief pithoi, similar to those recovered inside Temple A.[1785] Judging by its sculptured decoration, Temple A is traditionally dated in the last quarter of the 7th c. B.C.[1786] Until recently, it was generally assumed that "Temple B" is contemporary or even later chronologically than Temple A. The main argument in favour of this hypothesis was the existence of the rear room of "Temple B", which room was believed to represent a more developed stage in temple architecture, especially regarding the plan of Temple A.[1787]

Following the more recent Italian excavations at Prinias, the chronology of Temple B has been reconsidered. Indeed, an extensive excavation was carried out in the area E of the two temples which revealed a group of rooms, doubtless ordinary houses (Fig. 476).[1788] These rooms follow exactly the same orientation as "Temple B". The earliest material connected with the period of use of the houses belongs to the late SMin and PG periods. The excavators assume that "Temple B" may be contemporary with the early phase of this complex of rooms. Temple A's construction should perhaps be connected with a reorganisation of the area in the last quarter of the 7th c. B.C.[1789]

The high re-dating of "Temple B" is further strengthened in my opinion by three additional remarks: (1) The tripartite division of the edifice may now be compared with Buildings 138-140 at Karphi (Fig. 466) and A at Smari (Fig. 471), both presumably in use during the SMin and PG periods (*cf.* Table X:44-46). (2) The buildings excavated by Pernier around and partly beneath Temple A also follow the same lines of orientation as "Temple B". The date of these walls is uncertain, though they are traditionally dated in the end of the LBA.[1790] (3) The extension towards the E of the N wall of "Temple B" seems to represent an addition to the original plan. The concave curve of this foundation suggests that it was added some time after the erection of Temple A and probably served as a retaining wall due to the declivity of the soil from NW to SE.[1791]

The identification of the building as a temple is far from being sure and becomes even more uncertain when one accepts that it may have been erected in the SMin or PG period.[1792] Certain additional details should be presented in order to understand better the function of "Temple B": (1) The recent excavations proved that between Temples A and B and the houses further E there was an

[1782] *Ibid.*, 42 & 92.
[1783] C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 64.
[1784] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 42 & 92.
[1785] *Ibid.*, 29.
[1786] With the exception of I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 32-37, who dates the temple and the sculptures in the early 7th c. B.C.
[1787] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 47.
[1788] G. Rizza, *La ricerca scientifica* 100 (1978) 95-97; *id.*, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 45-48; *id.*, in *Creta Antica*, Roma 1984, 234; *id.*, in *Transizione* (1991) 331-347, esp. 335-344.
[1789] G. Rizza, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 47f.; *id.*, in *Creta Antica*, Roma 1984, 234.
[1790] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 47; I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 22-24. Beyer believes that the foundations to the E and N of Temple A represent additions to the original plan (*cf.* his pl. 11:2). This is unlikely for the voluminous sculptured blocks, which belong to the original planning of the building, lay only 0,30-0,40m deeper than the modern surface of the soil [L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 19-22]. Moreover, no floor was detected above these blocks. Pernier clearly states that the NE corner of the pronaos of Temple A rests on top of an earlier wall, which is founded on the bedrock (*ibid.*, 47).
[1791] There exists a confusion concerning the dating of this wall: Pernier mentions at first that it predates the erection of Temple B [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) 36] and then maintains that it post-dates it (*ibid.*, 92). See also Beyer, *op.cit.*, 23. In my opinion, the fact that this wall follows closely the lines imposed by the erection of Temple A suggests that it was built simultaneously or slightly later than Temple A.
[1792] Even Pernier admitted that this building "potrebbe anche esser ritenuta per un' abitazione privata, se non presentasse alcune speciali caratteristiche, le quali anzi completano la visione del santuario ellenico piu primitivo" [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) 91f.].

open space.[1793] (2) Below Temple A Pernier encountered large concentrations of ash, charcoal, animal bones and oxen horns, connected with two successive elliptical enclosures, which were presumably located in the open air (Table IX:j).[1794] The pottery beneath Temple A ranges from LMIII B/C to LG times.[1795] This evidence suggests that an hypaethral cult area preceded the erection of Temple A, which appears to have been dedicated to Artemis.[1796] The finds connected with "Temple B" consist mainly of large pithoi decorated in relief (*cf.* the case of Building A at Smari, p. 221); the rear room was found full of such pithoi. Substantial quantities of fine monochrome ware were also recovered in the building. Among the finds two millstones are mentioned. No objects which could be qualified as votives were discovered.[1797] Yet, it should be recalled that this material belongs to the last period of use of the edifice, i.e. when it coexisted with Temple A. The central hearth is not proof enough of the building's sacred character, though its large dimensions suggest an edifice which certainly served important communal functions.

Thus, one is presented with two choices: either the building was a temple from the very beginning or it served some other important communal functions, for instance it may have been a kind of *prytaneion*. For the moment it is not possible to choose among the two assumptions. It should be stressed however that an "urban" temple of such an early date would have been an unusual occurrence in Crete, as well as in the rest of the Greek World.[1798]

A monumental temple (Fig. 479a) was excavated on the summit of the acropolis of **Gortyna** (hill of Ay. Ioannis, Fig. 487).[1799] The Geometric settlement occupied the slopes of the hill, as well as the S slopes of the neighbouring peaks of Armi and Prophetes Elias (*c.* 600m to the E of the acropolis, Fig. 478).[1800] The dimensions of the temple are monumental (16,20 by 12,50m). In certain places the walls which were built with enormous blocks of alabaster, were 1,90m thick. The building follows a N-S direction. The entrance was probably situated in the middle of the N side, which is very poorly preserved. The northern half of the building was probably open to the sky. The presence of three compartments in the SW corner led the excavators to reconstruct two rows of three rooms in the southern half of the building.[1801] However, the rectangular bothros in the middle room of the

[1793] G. Rizza, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 45-51; *id.*, in *Creta Antica*, Roma 1984, 234.
[1794] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 25f., 34f. & 75.
[1795] *Ibid.*, 26; S. Alexiou, *AΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 414.
[1796] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 35; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 454; *id.*, "Archaic Greek Temples with Fire-Places in their Interior", in *Opuscula Selecta* 2, Lund 1952, 705; I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 23f.(p. 37f. concerning the identity of divinity).
[1797] Concerning the finds see L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 29. On the other hand the sculptured decoration in addition to the discovery of objects of votive character (*ibid.*, 25, 64f., 66-70 & 74) leave no doubt that Temple A was indeed a cult edifice.
[1798] The only roughly contemporary instance of a public "urban" Cretan sanctuary is Room 1 and its dependencies at Karphi (*supra* p. 218 and Fig. 463). Yet, this is a LM IIIC-SMin sanctuary of Minoan character and was presumably unroofed. For a different opinion see B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 166, figs. 242 & 243, here Figs. 463-464.
[1799] Excavations: Italian School, 1954-58 (D. Levi). Bibliography: D. Levi, *ASAtene* 33/34 (1955/56) 209-217; 35/36 (1957/58) 390; Renard, *Notes d'Architecture* (1967) 570-572; G. Rizza & V.S.M. Scrinari, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina* I, Roma 1968, esp. 23-59; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 33f.; J. Schäfer, *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 187f.; Orlandini, *Arte geometrica* (1975/76) 59f.; I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 94f., n. 107; A. Altherr-Charon, "Origine des temples à trois cellae du bassin méditerranéen est: état de la question", *AntCl* 46 (1977) 420f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 280; Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, "Hero Cult in the "Age of Homer" and Earlier", in *Arktouros. Mélanges B.M.W. Knox*, ed. G.W. Bowersock *et al.*, Berlin & New York 1979, 222; Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 59; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 150; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 812f.; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 49f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 562-564; A. Lebessi, in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, Crete 1987, 145f.; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 28/29 (1988/89) 115; H. Cassimatis, "L'Athéna de Gortyne en Crète et son culte", in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz 1990, 467f.; A. Di Vita, "Gortina in età geometrica", in *Transizione* (1991) 309-319, esp. 315-317.
[1800] A. Di Vita, in *Transizione* (1991) 317-319; *id.*, *ASAtene* 64/65 (1986/87) 470-474; N. Allegro, "Gortina, l'abitato geometrico di Profitis Ilias", in *Transizione* (1991) 321-330. The architectural remains from this area date from the PG to the LG/EO periods, when the site was abandoned after a violent destruction, perhaps due to an earthquake. This natural catastrophe may have accelerated the synoecism of the two "villages" [N. Allegro, in *Transizione* (1991) 329f.].
[1801] The width of the walls of those rooms varies from 0,80 to 0,90m.

exterior row[1802] interrupts the symmetry of the chambers, for it is placed to the E of the temple's axis.[1803] Consequently, it is more probable that there were only four rooms in the SW corner, while the rest of the space between these compartments and the E wall would have formed a kind of corridor.[1804] A foundation sacrifice was perhaps performed during the construction of the edifice.[1805] Thirty-five metres to the E of the building there was an altar resting on a terrace.

The earliest votive material from the area of the altar dates in the SMin and PG periods.[1806] The temple was dated by the excavators between 850 and 750 on account of the sherds from the foundation deposit near the SW corner of the edifice.[1807] J. Schäfer objected that there were proto-Orientalising sherds among the late PG sherds, which indicate a dating in the last quarter of the 8th c.[1808] and G.F. La Torre now suggests that the temple was probably built during the course of the 7th c.[1809] On the other hand, Coldstream suggested that the PG sherds from the foundation deposit of the temple on the acropolis could well belong to the underlying settlement of the DA.[1810] Judging by the sculptures of the middle of the 7th c. recovered in connection with the edifice, the building was subjected to important transformations or perhaps would have been completed in the course of the 7th c.[1811] The first altar period can be dated between 750 and 700.

Judging by the numerous terracottas and sculptures on stone recovered from the temple and the altar terrace below, it seems that the divinity worshipped in later periods was Athena Polias, though blended with characteristics borrowed from the Syrian goddess Astarte.[1812] The Eastern character of the cult is also reflected in the plan and massiveness of the temple.[1813] The nature of the original female divinity was blended with several characteristics: goddess of war (arms), of vegetation and fertility (kernoi).[1814] Th. Hadzisteliou-Price suggests that the building was a heroön or a banquet house for funerary meals.[1815] Her only argument, i.e. the presence of the bothros structure, is not conclusive, though one has to admit that such well-like structures are usually related to some chthonian cult.[1816]

The similarities of the temple on the acropolis and the newly identified one on the N slope of **Vourvoulitis** hill, a few hundred metres to the NE of Gortyna (Fig. 479b) have led La Torre to tentatively date the latter in the 7th c.,[1817] but strictly speaking a dating in the Geometric period cannot be totally excluded since the site has not been excavated yet.[1818] The building measures 13,95 by 11,30m. The E and W walls were 1,20m wide, the N and S 0,90m. At the N side there was an "L"

[1802] Its dimensions are 2,30 X 3,00m (1,70m deep). The 2/3 of the bothros are beneath the floor level. The bothros was provided with two channels for the evacuation of the liquids poured as libations.
[1803] A. Altherr-Charon, *AntCl* 46 (1977) 421.
[1804] J. Schäfer, *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 187.
[1805] G. Rizza & V.S.M. Scrinari, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina* I, Roma 1968, 24-26.
[1806] *Ibid.*, 54, fig. 83 and pl. VI.
[1807] *Ibid.*, 26, 47. This date is maintained by A. Di Vita, in *Transizione* (1991) 317. It is worth mentioning here that several sherds which were assigned by the excavators to the SMin-Geometric periods are today re-dated to the Byzantine era: see *ibid.*, 309f., figs. 2-3; A. Di Vita, in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνοὺς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, A1, Chania 1990, 263.
[1808] *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 187.
[1809] *ASAtene* 66/67 (1988/89) 297, n. 24.
[1810] *GG* (1977) 280. Since, however, later sherds were present too in the deposit, it would be preferable to consider that the assemblage represents indeed a foundation sacrifice, during which "heirlooms" were used.
[1811] L. Nixon, in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνοὺς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, A2, Chania 1990, 61 dates the temple in the 7th c. B.C.
[1812] On the nature of the cult see H. Cassimatis, in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz 1990, 467f.
[1813] For a discussion of this problem but not reaching any firm conclusions see A. Altherr-Charon, *AntCl* 46 (1977) 389-440, esp. 420f. (survival of the Minoan tripartite shrines or Eastern influence?).
[1814] A. Di Vita, in *Transizione* (1991) 317.
[1815] In *Arktouros. Mélanges B.M.W. Knox*, Berlin & New York 1979, 222.
[1816] *Cf.* for example the bothros in the sacred house at Eleusis and in general, C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 68-73. The PG altar in the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme and the LG altar at Kommos were also provided with a rectangular bothros in the middle.
[1817] *ASAtene* 66/67 (1988/89) 296f.
[1818] Survey: Italian School, 1985 (G.F. La Torre). Bibliography: G.F. La Torre, "Contributo preliminare alla conoscenza del territorio di Gortina", *ASAtene* 66/67 (1988/89) 290-298, pl. II, Site VII; A. Di Vita, *ASAtene* 63 (1985) 366.

shaped bench formed by the natural rock. The surface finds indicate that the site was a sanctuary in use from the SMin/PG periods to the Orientalizing era.

The remains of several agglutinative rooms were discovered above the ruins of the SW corner of the Minoan palace of **Phaistos** (Fig. 482), at the SE slopes of the fortified acropolis (Mediana plateau, Fig. 481).[1819] It is not clear whether they represent a single house or several. In my opinion, at least initially, Rooms AA, CC, DD, HH, FF, GG, P, Q, R3, R1 and EE may have formed a single unit (the bad state of preservation of the rooms of the SE corner of the complex does not permit one to make speculations about their relationship or not with the central unit). Rooms AA and CC communicated through a door in the middle of the party wall. Moreover, the W wall of Room CC was added at a later period and blocked the entrance of Room HH, which however was provided with a second entrance in the W side of the complex. The entrance between AA and CC was also blocked at a later period, presumably at the same moment with the erection of the W wall of CC. In the S extremity of the E wall of the same room there was presumably one more entrance which gave onto a paved courtyard. Room AA communicated through a doorway in the E wall with Room P, the floor level of which was at a higher level than that of AA. The floor of Room Q was at an even higher level; access to this room was gained through a staircase which ran along the S and E sides of the chamber. The main entrance of Room AA was in the middle of the short S side. Rooms EE and R3 opened onto the courtyard which extends S of Room AA.

The largest room of all is AA (*c.* 7,00m on a side). The main interest of this room is an impressive elliptical hearth (2,60 by 1,42m) which was discovered in the centre of the chamber. This stone-lined hearth can only be compared with the central hearth in the megara of the Mycenaean palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos (Table XI). More modest hearths were discovered in Rooms CC, P, R3, EE and FF. Lastly, one should not fail to mention the bench in Room R3 which runs along the S, E and perhaps the N sides of the room.[1820]

The settlement at Phaistos was continuously inhabited from LM IIIC to Geometric times, but it seems that the original layout of the unit does not date earlier than the 9th c.[1821] Since the complex was destroyed by an earthquake in the early 7th c., most of the pottery recovered inside the rooms belongs to the last period of their use (LG-EO).[1822] Yet, the discovery of several PG B vases inside Room P attests that at least part of the complex was erected in the 9th c., or perhaps even earlier.[1823]

That the complex served secular functions is beyond doubt: the pottery recovered served for everyday use and storage purposes.[1824] Few finds however may have had a religious significance: a circular house model discovered in Room R3 (Fig. 513),[1825] two human figurines found inside Room

[1819] Excavations: Italian School, 1958-60 (D. Levi). Bibliography: D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 397-418; L. Rocchetti, "La ceramica dell'abitato geometrico di Festos", *ASAtene* 36/37 (1974/75) 169-300; *id.*, "Materiali ceramici a Festos fra il XIII ed il X sec. a.C.", in *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di D. Levi* 2, *CdA* 13 (1974) 149-152; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 41-43, with earlier bibliography; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 278; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 89-91; Kourou, *OI* (1985) 31f.; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 705-708. The fortification wall at Mediana dates in the SMin and/or PG period: see Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 43; A. Wokalek, *Griechische Stadtbefestigungen*, Bonn 1973, 44; B.J. Hayden, "Fortifications of Postpalatial and Early Iron Age Crete", *AA* (1988) 5f. with earlier bibliography.

[1820] For a more detailed description of each room see D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 397-418.

[1821] Approximately 30m to the NW of this complex, to the W of of Rooms XCIV-XCV of the Minoan palace, further EIA buildings came to light recently. A long and narrow room (NN) belongs to the PG period; two floor levels and hearths were identified. A LG/EO edifice with a stone floor and "a strange building of upright slabs" above it, were built on top of the PG ruins: R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 63. Walls of the Geometric period have been also found in the areas to the E of the Minoan palace, at Ay. Photeini and Chalara: see Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 43, with references.

[1822] The pottery has been published by L. Rocchetti [*ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/75) 169-300]. On the earthquake see D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 399ff. It has been suggested that the settlement on the hill of Prophetes Elias at Gortyna was also affected by the same earthquake and subsequently abandoned: see N. Allegro, in *Transizione* (1991) 327.

[1823] L. Rocchetti, *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/75) 298-300; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 278; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 96, n. 198.

[1824] Rocchetti, *op.cit.*

[1825] *Ibid.*, 218f., fig. 70; R. Hägg, *OpAth* 18 (1990) 106, 102 fig. 13; R. Mersereau, *AJA* 97 (1993) 43, fig. 30. The model measures 0,13m in height and 0,176m in diameter.

P[1826] and a third statuette which came from Room Q.[1827] These few items are certainly not proof enough favouring the identification of the complex as a cult building. Yet, bearing in mind the exaggerated dimensions of the central hearth in Room AA, one might argue that from time to time, religious ceremonies were held in Rooms AA and R3. Room R3 would have been a dining room, judging by the presence of three hearths and a bench; Room AA, with its sumptuous hearth would have been the ceremonial hall of the owner of the house.[1828] That the first successive owners of this dwelling were powerful individuals is beyond doubt. One could suggest that they were the successive leaders of one of the clans which would have constituted the EIA community of Phaistos.[1829] It is possible that the leading personalities and the elders of the clan would periodically gather in the residence of their leader to celebrate some cult, perhaps of ancestral nature.[1830] It should be stressed that by the time of the devastating earthquake, the leader's power would have been limited: this is suggested by the fact that the complex as today preserved appears to have been segmented into smaller self-contained units.

Before leaving Phaistos, it is necessary to discuss two cult buildings which, on account of the evidence so far published, could be regarded as temples of the LG or EA period. The first is to so-called "**Greek temple**" (Fig. 481, no. 2 and Table VIA:8), just to the SE of the Geometric complex discussed above. The temple, presumably dedicated to Leto and not Rhea, was partly re-excavated in 1992 in order to clarify the date of its construction. In a preliminary report it has been noted that pottery of the late 8th and early 7th c. B.C. was found inside the foundation trenches[1831] but Professor La Rosa informed me that the sherds found in the foundation trenches belong to the end of the 7th c. and therefore the temple could not have been built before the end of the 7th c.[1832] The second ambiguous building lies at the locality of **Ay. Georgios** to the E of the Minoan palace (Fig. 481, no. 3).[1833] Excavations revealed an almost square building, measuring *c.* 7,30m in length and 6,50m in width (Figs. 483-484). The walls which are 0,55m thick, are preserved in places to a height of more than 1,00m. The entrance, which was to the S, was separated in two by a wooden column, the rectangular base of which was preserved. This base is aligned with a second similar one, approximately in the centre of the building. A third cylindrical base was lying next to the central column, evidently removed from its original position. The floor was constituted of a kind of stucco, similar to lime. In certain places, traces belonging to a second floor, formed of slabs, was observed. The N wall of the building continued further E and a course of stones ran parallel to it, 2,00m to the S, thus creating a terrace or a stoa. The floor of this structure was covered with white stucco as well. Over the building's original floor, fragments of SG or Archaic decorated relief-pithoi were collected. The rest of the material belongs to the Geometric, Orientalizing and Archaic periods. Hellenistic sherds were found in the upper layers.[1834] From the preliminary reports one could assume that the edifice was constructed in the LG or EA period, but Professor V. La Rosa informed me that he strongly suspects that it dates in the Hellenistic period (p.c., April 8, 1996). In addition to the

[1826] L. Rocchetti, *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/75) 201, fig. 44; D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 408.

[1827] Levi, *op.cit.*

[1828] A similar arrangement (i.e. a dining room flanking the main chamber which contained the ceremonial hearth) can be seen at Zagora, in the supposed chieftain's residence (Rooms H19 & H22, Fig. 306).

[1829] Hayden [*Cretan Architecture* (1981) 180] also suggests that it may have been a chief's house.

[1830] Circular house models were sometimes deposited in Cretan tombs; as argued previously (p. 121) that these models may have had a chthonic significance.

[1831] Excavations: Italian School, 1907 (L. Pernier), 1992 (V. La Rosa). Bibliography: L. Pernier, "Memorie del culto di Rhea a Phaistos", in *Saggi di storia antica e di archaeologia offerti a G. Beloch*, Roma 1910, 241-253; L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 364; C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur*, Augsburg 1929, 62f.; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 76; L. Nixon, "Minoan Settlements and Greek Sanctuaries", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνοὺς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, A2, Chania 1990, 60. Concerning the 1992 excavations see A. Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 893. For a detailed plan of the temple see M. Riccardi, *ASAtene* 64/65 (1986/87) 56, fig. 46. Now see N. Cucuzza, "Leto e il cosiddetto tempio di Rhea di Festòs", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia ... Universita di Messina* 8 (1993) 21-27 who identifies the divinity with Leto.

[1832] p.c., April 8, 1996 and V. La Rosa, "Per la Festòs di età arcaica", in *Miscellanea L. Guerrini*, in press.

[1833] Excavations: Italian School, 1958 (D. Levi). Bibliography: D. Levi, *ASAtene* 23/24 (1961/62) 462-467; *id.*, *Festos e la civiltà minoica*, Text 1:2, Roma 1976, 599-602; G. Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959) 746-747; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 149; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 709f.

[1834] Concerning the dating of the building, see D. Levi, *ASAtene* 23/24 (1961/62) 466f.

difficulties in dating the construction of the edifice, the nature of the finds does not help in establishing its function. The pithoi could be ordinary household utensils, though they are often found in sacred contexts as well (for example in the temple of Apollo at Dreros). The bipartite entrance recalls Temple B at Kommos (Fig. 491), while the twin bases in the interior are a common feature of early Cretan temples, though not exclusively. For the time being, however, it would be preferable not to include the building of Ay. Georgios in the list of EIA temples.

The coastal site of **Kommos** lies W of Phaistos, in southern Crete. This important Minoan port was visited in 1924 by Sir Arthur Evans,[1835] but excavations started only in 1976 and are currently in progress. A Greek sanctuary was discovered over the Minoan levels: below a Late Classical/Hellenistic temple (simplified plan Fig. 486: C), comparable to those at Dreros and Prinias, two successive earlier temples were investigated. The latest temple was dubbed C, the earlier ones B and A, respectively.

Few parts of the earliest cult building (**Temple A**) were preserved, but it has been possible to reconstruct its ground plan (Fig. 487).[1836] It was a rectangular building, oriented E-W and measures 5,54m in width. The length is estimated to have been *c.* 6,70m at the most.[1837] The E extremity of the N wall of Temple B rested upon an earlier wall, at least 0,30m wide, which extended 0,10m E of the line of the facade of Temple B. Excavations revealed that this was a Minoan wall which was reused as a foundation for the N wall of Temple A. A bench, composed of irregular slabs, 0,44m wide, ran along the S face of the temple's N wall. This arrangement reminds us of the chapel at Pachlitsani Agriada at Kavousi (Fig. 433) and Building BB at Ay. Irini on Kea (Fig. 284). The entrance was located to the E. A wall, consisting of a single course of flat stones dressed on the outer face only, runs in a N-S direction. This foundation evidently represents the building's threshold. Therefore, the facade was open. Whether there was a central pillar, as is the case in Temple B's facade, it is impossible to determine.[1838] In the SE corner, the beginning of the S long wall was found, but it was not possible to determine if a bench corresponded to that of the N wall. Two successive floors were identified inside Temple A. The first was 0,19m lower than the surface of the threshold. Gradually, due to the accumulation of deposits, the level in the interior rose and a new floor was laid 0,34m higher than the previous one, covering the threshold and probably the bench as well (its surface is 0,20m lower than the new floor). Among the finds which can be associated with the second floor of Temple A was a bronze male ithyphallic statuette.[1839]

To the SE of Temple A the western part of the LM IIIB Gallery P3 was reused: a bench and a round hearth were identified (**Building Z**, phase I, Fig. 485).[1840] Building Z1 was in use during the PG and EG periods, Z2 from MG to the end of the 8th c., when it collapsed.[1841] Above the destruction level of Room P6, PG-Geometric pottery was found indicating a similar reuse of the area.[1842]

[1835] M.C. Shaw, "Sir Arthur Evans at Kommos", *Expedition* 23, 3 (1981) 4-12.

[1836] Excavations: American School, 1979-85 (J.W. Shaw). Bibliography: J.W. Shaw, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 218-250; 50 (1981) 224-251; 51 (1982) 175-192; 53 (1984) 281-284; 55 (1986) 219-269, esp. 224-233; *id.*, "Phoenicians in Southern Crete", *AJA* 93 (1989) 165-183; *id.* & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 129-190, esp. 182-184; J.W. Shaw, in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, ed. J. & E. Myres & G. Cadogan, London 1992, 149-153. See also D.S. Reese, *AJA* 88 (1984) 257; G. Touchais, *BCH* 104 (1980) 679; 105 (1981) 876, 879; 106 (1982) 627f.; 107 (1983) 829; 108 (1984) 834f.; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1980/81) 45f.; (1981/82) 56; (1982/83) 58; (1983/84) 63; M. Ervin-Caskey, *AJA* 85 (1981) 462; A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, Sept. 9, 1980; Oct. 14, 1981; Mazarakis Ainian, *ARG* (1985) 15, 22, 31-33; *id.*, *RDT* (1987) 602-608; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 116f.; M. Koutroumbaki-Shaw, in *Ειλαπινή. Τόμος τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Ν. Πλάτωνα*, Herakleion 1987, 371-382; E. Samuelson, *AJA* 92 (1988) 279f.; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 28/29 (1988/89) 119; L. Nixon, "Minoan Settlement and Greek Sanctuaries", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A2, Chania 1990, 60; P. Blome, in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung*, ed. J. Latacz, Stuttgart & Leipzig 1991, 54f. Forthcoming: J. W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, ed., *The Greek Sanctuary, Kommos* IV, Princeton (Professor Shaw kindly allowed me to read chapters of the forthcoming publication and has read an early draft of this entry and made useful comments).

[1837] p.c. by Professor J. Shaw. The rear W wall must lie below the unexcavated rear platform of Temple C.

[1838] A flat stone set upon the threshold in the presumed location of the axial support may have been its base.

[1839] M. Koutroumbaki-Shaw, "A Bronze Figurine of a Man from the Sanctuary at Kommos, Crete", in *Ειλαπινή* (*op.cit.*) 371-382.

[1840] J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 175, fig. 13.

[1841] *Ibid.*, 175, 177.

[1842] *Ibid.*, 182, 183.

The finds from the interior of the two temples, as well as from stratified deposits outside are numerous and provide the following tentative chronological sequence:[1843] Temple A was built at least as early as the SMin period (1020-970 B.C.) and not in the EPG period as previously suggested. Its second floor yielded EPG, LPG and Atticizing MG imports, which implies that the temple was used until the end of the 9th c. B.C.

Temple B replaced Temple A towards the turn of the 9th to the 8th c. (Fig. 488). The plan is similar to that of its predecessor but the dimensions are larger. It measures 8,50m in length and 6,46m in width and overlies the foundations of Temple A. The entrance was again to the E and occupied the entire width of the edifice. A rectangular stone pillar was placed in the middle of the facade, dividing it in two equal parts.[1844] The thickness of the walls attains 0,80m in the N and 0,72m in the W. The N wall rests upon the N wall of Temple A and as in the earlier period, it is flanked to the S by a bench, 0,44m wide, composed of extremely elongated stone blocks.[1845] A considerable part of the S wall was also uncovered, but as in the previous temple, it was not possible to determine if there was a bench there as well. The stratigraphy in the interior consists of dozens of horizontal layers of deposits which accumulated due to the long use of the building. On the earlier floor (**phase B1**), approximately in the centre of the building, there was a round hearth bordered with stones, which was full of ashes and animal bones. To its W a curious structure, named by the excavators "tripillar shrine", was found (Fig. 492). It consists of a triangular slab which served as a base for three tapering stone pillars, aligned in a N-S direction. The flat base was 0,86m long (N-S), 0,76m wide (E-W, at the centre) and 0,33m high. The lower part of the pillars was shaped into tenons which fitted into mortises cut into the surface of the triangular base; thus, the pillars were maintained firmly in place. In the space between the central and southern pillars stood a faience figurine of an Egyptian goddess, probably Sekhmet, which in its turn was placed upon a small bronze horse.[1846] In the other space, between the central and northern pillar, a male faience figurine was found, probably that of Nefertum, Sekhmet's son.[1847] To the W of the central pillar there was a bronze figurine of a bull.[1848] Further W the carbonised remains of an oval wooden bowl or column were identified. In the exterior of the temple, close to its NW corner, a retaining wall was built to contain the sand. W of this wall there was a rectangular hearth, lined with slabs on three sides.

Nearby, a campfire was identified. SE of the temple two walls were built in the reused Gallery P3 which formed a building at least 12,70m long and 4,70m wide, entered from the N (**Building Z**, phase II, Fig. 485).[1849]

Temple B was built in the beginning of the 8th c.; MG skyphoi were found in association with the working chips from the building's construction, while the majority of the vases from the first floor (phase B1) belong to the LG period. In a dump outside the temple, large quantities of fragments of Phoenician amphorae were found in association with PG B and Attic MG pieces. It is not clear yet whether those sherds were connected with the first floor of Temple B (two were found in the stone-chip layer from B's construction).[1850]

In the last quarter of the 8th c. Temple B was renovated (**Phase B2**, Figs. 489, 491). Outside, in front of the temple, the level was gradually rising by the accumulation of ashes, animal bones and sherds which were periodically swept from the interior. In order to contain this fill, a retaining wall, 0,30m high was built along the building's facade. This was however a temporary measure, for the deposits in the interior continued to rise as well. A new floor was laid and the circular hearth was provided with an additional course of stones. At the same time, a vertical slab was placed behind the

[1843] Concerning the dating of the two successive temples see J.W. Shaw, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 238-241; 51 (1982) 185, 188, 190, 191; 53 (1984) 282. For the revised dating of the construction of Temple A see J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 175 and n. 117.

[1844] The pillar is a reused Minoan block. It is possible that the upper part of the pillar was wooden.

[1845] Evidently, reused Minoan blocks as well.

[1846] *Hesperia* 49 (1980) pls. 62d-e, 64d.

[1847] *Ibid.*, pl. 65e.

[1848] *Ibid.*, pl. 65b. In general on the figurines associated with the temples of Kommos see M. Shaw, "Votive Figurines at the Greek Sanctuary at Kommos in Southcentral Crete", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A2, Chania 1990, 277-280.

[1849] J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 175-177, fig. 13.

[1850] J.W. Shaw, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 238-241; 51 (1982) 185, 188, 190, 191; 53 (1984) 282.

pillars of the altar. Its purpose was to support a miniature bronze shield, fragments of which were collected by the excavators between the upright slab and the pillars (Fig. 492).[1851] Gradually, the deposit of ash, bone, sherds and earth attained the surface of the retaining wall, which now looked more like a threshold. During the same phase, a rectangular altar was built in front of the temple's entrance. It contained thousands of burnt animal bones mixed with ashes. A few metres to the N of the altar, a twin hearth was discovered. It is lined with slabs and measures *c.* 2,00m in length and 0,85m in width. The W hearth, which was in a better state of preservation than the E one, was full of ashes. To the NW of the building, on either side of a crescent-shaped wall, several campfires were identified, around which eating and drinking took place. The second floor of Temple B (phase B2) yielded sherds dated in the EO period (735-680 B.C.).

During the third phase of Temple B (Fig. 490, **B3**), the level in the interior as well as in the exterior continued to rise and finally covered the "tripillar shrine" and the retaining wall along the facade. A new floor was laid at approximately the same level as the surface of the N bench. A new oblong hearth was placed over the "tripillar shrine"; it was bordered with irregular stones and contained ashes. At the same time or slightly later, a second hearth was placed to the E of the first one. The altar in front of the temple was enlarged by adding against its W face a rectangular platform, composed of flat stones.

Several traces of buildings were identified in the surroundings of the temple (Fig. 485): Building Q to the South, an extremely elongated structure which appears to have been of commercial use,[1852] Building V, to the E of the temple, associated with ironworking (further to the S, a pit containing lumps and thin sections of slag was identified as a furnace for melting iron)[1853] and finally Building F, which served perhaps as a hall for banquets.[1854]

The last temple floor was used throughout the 7th c. (phase B3). Around 620/600 B.C. Temple B seems to have fallen in disuse, though not entirely for a deposit next to the eastern hearth yielded a few 6th, 5th and possibly 4th c. sherds as well. It appears then, that the site and its temple which must have been still standing, were not forgotten. The cult revived once again towards the middle of the 4th c. B.C., when a new temple was built on the same spot (Temple C) and lasted until Roman times.

Building Q was built in the late 7th c. B.C.[1855] Building V belongs to the Archaic period.[1856] Building F may have been in use from the mid- or late 7th c. to *c.* 500 B.C. (Fig. 485).[1857]

The two temples of Kommos (A and B) yielded numerous offerings, such as clay and bronze bull and horse figurines, miniature and large-scale shields, arrow- and spearheads. Animal bones and remains of seafood are present in all levels. Cups for drinking and plates for eating were found in large quantities. The animals were presumably sacrificed in front of the temple, on the altar and were afterwards roasted over the hearths, inside and outside the building. Within the western hearth of B3 and also next to it iron spits are reported to have been found, though as Professor Shaw informed me at least one of these is a horse-bit.[1858] The exact function of the benches in both temples is not known, though one suspects that they served both as seats for the participants in ritual meals and for the positioning of votives.[1859] The discovery of a metalworking quarter to the E of Temple B3 brings to one's mind similar cases in Cyprus,[1860] but also at Eretria (p. 103f., Fig. 105, Building C) and Tegea

[1851] *Hesperia* 49 (1980) pl. 65d.
[1852] J.W. Shaw, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 227-231; A. Johnston, "Pottery from Archaic Building Q at Kommos", *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 339-382.
[1853] J.W. Shaw, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 283f.; J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 184.
[1854] J.W. Shaw, P.P. Betancourt & L.W. Watrous, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 283f.; J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 184.
[1855] J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 177; A. Johnston, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 374.
[1856] J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 184.
[1857] *Ibid.*
[1858] Letter of May 19, 1990.
[1859] According to the excavator the bench in Temple B "was probably used to accommodate seated celebrants, but offerings may also have been placed on it": *AJA* 93 (1989) 165.
[1860] For example at Kition: V. Karageorghis, *Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician*, London 1976, 58-141.

(p. 81f., Fig. 280). Moreover, the "tripillar shrine" in Temple B (Fig. 492),[1861] the Phoenician amphorae and the faience figurines, indicate close contacts with the Levant and Egypt. Kommos, which was a "rural" sanctuary, seems to have received frequent visits from those lands. O. Negbi even suggested "that the Kommos temple is the earliest Phoenician cult place found so far in the Aegean".[1862] According to J. and M. Shaw, "it seems best, ... to view the Kommos temples as chiefly devoted to worship and ritual meals, although occasional socio-political uses (by a community which may have occupied the area to the E of the sanctuary) cannot be ruled out".[1863] The name of the divinity remains an enigma, though it seems that Apollo is a candidate.[1864]

Many of the Cretan settlements reviewed above belong to the LM IIIC tradition and simply continued to be inhabited during the EIA. In that respect, the architectural layout and any conclusions regarding the social, political and religious structure of these communities cannot be regarded as typical of the PG period, but rather of the end of the Bronze Age.[1865] The tripartite division of Buildings A at Smari and 138-140 at Karphi brings to one's mind the plan of so-called Temple B at Prinias, which as we have seen, may in fact date in the late SMin or PG period and could have been a ruler's dwelling instead of a temple. There is also a striking similarity in one detail between this edifice and Building A at Smari, that is, the fact that the rear compartment in both buildings is less wide than the remaining part. The reason for this device is unknown for in both sites the rear compartment does not seem to represent an addition to the original plan. Should one imagine that the roof of these rooms was less high than the one above the main chamber? The tripartite division of the above mentioned buildings is also repeated in Building 9-11 and its dependencies at Kastro (Kavousi). I should however stress that this building had no anteroom like the edifices at Smari and Karphi, but a front main chamber and smaller rear rooms. Moreover, the rear chamber communicated with an adjacent unit, 12, and indirectly with Room 13. The plan of the main building (9-11) is repeated in a house at the lower settlement at Vrokastro (House L3-5, *cf.* Fig. 443).[1866] The most outstanding edifice in the Upper Settlement at this site, U16-17, consists of a main chamber and a smaller room. It is not clear however whether the latter represents an anteroom or a closed rear room. In any case, the main entrance seems to have been located in the long side of the main room.[1867] If one assumes that the small chamber represents a rear room, one is entitled to compare Building U16-17 with the main unit of the possible ruler's dwelling at Vronda near Kavousi (Building A). The excavators favour the restoration of a single room with an entrance in the S short side, but a shallow rear chamber could perhaps be reconstructed as well, if one assumes that the segment of a wall, parallel to the presumed rear wall of the building, belongs to this unit.

[1861] For parallels see J.W. Shaw, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 246 and n. 97 and *id.*, *AJA* 93 (1989) 165-183.
[1862] "Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal", *AJA* 96 (1992) 608f.
[1863] J. W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw, ed., *The Greek Sanctuary, Kommos* IV, Princeton, in preparation; see also E. Samuelson, *AJA* 92 (1988) 279f. who uses the case of Kommos in order to prove that "the hearth-temples are predecessors to official buildings for gatherings of a more profane nature, i.e. bouleuteria and perhaps more specifically prytaneia".
[1864] Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 177 and n. 177 (quoting E. Samuelson).
[1865] In this study the LM IIIC period is not regarded as the beginning of the EIA. See for instance, D.C. Haggis and K. Nowicki who consider that the LM IIIC settlements at Khalasmeno, Katalimata and in the area of Pefki belong to the Early Iron Age: "Khalasmeno and Katalimata: Two Early Iron Age Settlements in Monastiraki, East Crete", *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 303-337; *id.*, "A Dark Age Refuge Centre Near Pefki, East Crete", *BSA* 89 (1994) 235-268 [see however A. Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 887 and R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 65, where a PG phase of the settlement at Chalasmeno is reported, while the site at Stavromenos in the area of Pefki was also inhabited during the PG and Geometric periods].
[1866] B. Hayden, "New Plans of the Early Iron Age Settlement of Vrokastro", *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 385 and fig. 6 at p. 379.
[1867] *Ibid.*, 385.

PART 7

HYBRID PLANS

In this section I have included agglutinated buildings which combine rooms of curvilinear and rectangular ground plan. Such edifices are rare and have been uncovered in northern Greece, Attica and the Cyclades.

NORTHERN GREECE

The excavations on the **Toumba** hill (+50m above sea level, Fig. 1) in **Thessalonike** started in 1984 and are still in progress. This was a settlement established in the EBA and inhabited down to the Classical period. The excavations on the summit uncovered at least five habitation levels: Layer 5 has revealed scanty remains of the Mycenaean period (LH IIIB or early LH IIIC). The defensive system appears to date in the LBA.[1868] Phases 4 and 3 have been dated from the late 12th to the late 11th or early 10th c. B.C. since the finds from these levels belong to the end of the LBA (including sherds of LH IIIC2 character) and the beginning of the EIA. The significance of the Mycenaean pottery presumably indicates contacts with southern Greece, but this is a complex issue which cannot be discussed here.[1869] A destruction layer separates layer 4 and 3. Phase 2 dates in the 10th or early 9th c. B.C. There exists a gap in the occupation history of the summit between the 9th and 6th c. B.C., but this does not stand for the sector situated on the slopes of the hill. The upper layer (1) represents sporadic occupation from the 6th to the 4th c. B.C.

The architectural remains of phase 5 are scanty and include an apsidal building which occupies the area near the summit of the hill.[1870] During phase 4 (Fig. 4), the settlement consisted of several agglutinated units which were separated from one another by narrow streets. The apsidal unit at the SW was presumably enlarged and several compartments were added:[1871] the NW half of the house appears to be an elongated structure which follows a SW-NE orientation and comprising at least five rooms the one behind the other. The SW short end of this part of the complex is curved, thus forming a long apsidal building. The uncovered length is 14,00m (est. length 17,00m), the width *c.* 5,00m. The apsidal unit is structurally related to a complex of five rooms which are clustered to the SE. The walls of the entire complex were exclusively built of mud bricks.[1872]

The apsidal building comprised five rooms, i.e. a central room bordered on either side by two sets of smaller rooms. An entrance was recognised at the middle of the S wall of the central room. Doors were 0,80-1,10m wide. The form of the facade at the NE is not clear, though the analogy with the facade of the earlier apsidal edifice of phase 5 suggests a closed front. Sets of wooden posts were often set near or against the inner face of the walls, and often at the corners. In the rectangular unit, central posts were also recognised in two rooms. According to the plan, several hearths were found in the apsidal compartment, as well as in various rooms of the rectangular adjoining complex. In the apsidal unit the hearths were small and did not have a permanent character. In the rectangular unit two kilns, a rectangular mud brick structure and benches were found.

The distribution of the finds of the earlier building is interesting (Fig. 3): Two of the rooms of the rectangular unit yielded an unusual amount of pithoi, suggesting that they were used

[1868] S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *AEMΘ* 1 (1987) 225f.; 6 (1992) 269.
[1869] See S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *AEMΘ* 6 (1992) 265-270.
[1870] *Ibid.*, 260f.
[1871] Excavations: University of Thessalonike, 1984- (G. Chourmouziades, S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis). Bibliography: S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *AEMΘ* 3 (1989) 201-212; 5 (1991) 209-218; A. Krachtopoulou & K. Touloumis, in *AEMΘ* 4 (1990) 289-294; 6 (1992) 259-272. See also S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *AEMΘ* 1 (1987) 223-229 and A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 754.
[1872] Most of the information concerning this unit is presented by S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *AEMΘ* 5 (1991) 209-218 and 6 (1992) 259-272.

exclusively as storerooms. The excavation of the building yielded two categories of finds: (a) clay spindlewhorls and loomweights, as well as tools of stone and bone and (b) bronze finds such as knives, axes, pins as well as a few jewels of various materials. The greatest concentration of objects belonging to the first category came from the rooms of the rectangular unit, while those of the second were exclusively confined to the apsidal building, especially in its northern room. The pottery was more evenly distributed in both subdivisions of the complex. Nevertheless, it seems that the apsidal building was the living-quarters, the rectangular unit the working space, storerooms and secondary rooms.

Strictly speaking, the EIA period starts with phase 3 (Fig. 2). The SW unit remained in use and the same basic plan was retained. The floor level during Phase 3 was considerably higher than the one of phase 4, and as a result of this all previous doors were blocked. From the published plans it would seem that the apsidal building may have been shorter than its predecessor. The apse was remodelled twice, while the cross-wall between Rooms 3 and 4 was suppressed, thus creating a large compartment (3/4), the side door of Room 3 was blocked and a new entrance was opened further S, in the side wall of Room 2. During this phase there existed perhaps an entrance at the E extremity of the N short side of the apsidal unit. A hearth is indicated on the plan in Room 2 and a pithos in the southern part of the main room (3/4).

The excavators have not attempted yet to assign a function to the unit, though the position of the building near the summit of the hill, at the centre of the settlement, its dimensions, as well as the finds, indicate powerful and wealthy occupants. However, it would be premature to suggest that this was a ruler's dwelling since the excavations are still in progress and a second apsidal structure has been partly revealed in the NE part of the summit.

ATTICA

The low hill of **Lathouriza** in Attica is located immediately to the W of modern Vari, between the S end of Mount Hymettos and the sea (Zoster peninsula, Fig. 139).[1873] The excavations revealed on the eastern ridge of the hill a small settlement of the LG and Archaic periods (Fig. 140: ++ and Figs. 141-142). In the only excavation report published, twenty five houses and a sanctuary were reported.[1874] More recently, H. Lauter published the results of the new survey of the site.[1875] He based his research on the description of the ruins, which are still visible today (*cf.* Fig. 141) and confirmed the excavators chronology mainly from surface finds.

The buildings are encircled by a stone wall, considered by Lauter as a fortification wall, contemporary with the settlement.[1876] This proved incorrect since, as I argued in earlier studies, the

[1873] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1939 (G. Oikonomos and Ph. Stavropoullos). Surveys and study of the architectural remains by the German Institute in 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1982 under the direction of H. Lauter. Bibliography: O. Walter, *AA* (1940) 178; C.W.J. Eliot, "Coastal Demes of Attika", *Phoenix* Suppl. 5 (1962) 35-46; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 50; M. Petropoulakou & E. Pentazos, *Αττική: Οικιστικά στοιχεία*, Athens 1973, 107; H. Lauter-Bufe & H. Lauter, *AA* (1975) 1f.; Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985); F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 7-24; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 619-637; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 112f.; Morris, *Burial* (1987) 97-99; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 48-50; R. Osborne, "A Crisis in Archaeological History? The Seventh Century B.C. in Attica", *BSA* 84 (1989) 307f.; A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Λαθούριζα: Συμβολή στη μελέτη ενός οικισμού των πρώιμων ιστορικών χρόνων", in *Ε' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής, 5-8 Δεκεμβρίου 1991*, Paiania 1994, 233-256; *id.*, "Λαθούριζα: Μια αγροτική εγκατάσταση των πρώιμων ιστορικών χρόνων στη Βάρη Αττικής", in *Structures Rurales et Societés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Corfu, 14-16 mai 1992*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 65-80; *id.*, "New Evidence for the Study of the Late Geometric-Archaic Settlement at Lathouriza in Attica", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 143-155; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 195-197. Much of the following account derives from the study of the excavator's documents in the Greek Archaeological Society. The documents bear the signature of Ph. Stavropoullos and consist of the excavation diary ("Βάρη 1939", pp. 132-144, henceforth referred to as *Diary*), a notebook which includes some draft drawings, a list of the boxes containing the finds which were deposited at the National Museum and sixteen photographs of the excavation (Series 5β, nos. 17-19, 23-35).

[1874] O. Walter, *AA* (1940) col. 178.

[1875] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985).

[1876] *Ibid.*, 10-14; see also H. Lauter-Bufe & H. Lauter, *AA* (1975) 2.

peribolos wall was constructed by the excavators immediately after the end of the excavation in order to protect the site.[1877] Likewise, Lauter's suggestion that the superstructure of the walls of the buildings was composed of mud bricks must be reconsidered since the stones used for the construction of the massive modern circuit wall were once lying over the ruins of the buildings.

Unit I-IV (Fig. 141 and 149) lies on the NE part of the settlement and is composed of four rooms. From E to W, a rectangular "oikos" (I), an apsidal room (II), a round room (III) and a semicircular construction (IV). Rooms I-III open towards a court to the S, while IV's entrance is located W, NW facing the "Tholos". The rear part of Rooms I-III and the E part of I rest upon terrace walls, due to the downward slope towards the N and the E.

"Oikos" I measures 6,60m in length and 4,90m in width. It is divided into a shallow porch (1,00m deep) and a main room, 4,00m by 3,35m. The walls are 0,65-0,70m wide. The front and W walls of the vestibule are in a bad state of preservation, but the condition of the NE corner proves that the sides were closed. There is no indication of a threshold, as in the wall which separates the anteroom from the main room, but the same width of the two walls suggests that the facade would have been closed by a wall as well. The threshold in the middle of the cross wall is 0,80m long and 0,50m wide. In the SE corner of the main room there is a rectangular slab, 0,13m thick, measuring 1,07m by 0,60m. Lauter expresses doubts whether this was its original place, for it is placed higher than the floor level. He therefore suggests that it originally served as a threshold and was placed there later. However, Stavropoullos mentions on p. 141 of his diary that he found a square slab (presumably the same block) in the centre of the room, which would have originally served as a door parastade.[1878] He also mentions that there were upright slabs parallel to the inner faces of the walls which formed the outer line of a "Π"-shaped bench.[1879] These slabs are no longer visible and thus are not mentioned by Lauter.

The adjacent apsidal building (II) has slightly convex walls. Externally it measures 8,50m in length and *c.* 6,00m in width (int. dimensions 6,60 X 4,50m). The entrance is 1,45m wide. Along the inner face of the wall runs a bench formed by a row of upright slabs and a fill of small stones and clay. It is 0,50m wide at the E, 0,70m wide at the W and 0,35-0,38m high. At the SW it ends in a curve, 0,80m before the SW corner of the room. This was perhaps due to the strange form of the entrance, i.e. the oblique wall visible on the plan. The S part of the room is in a bad state of preservation. The W section of the front wall is 1,10m wide. In fact, the wall itself was *c.* 0,60m wide, while the remaining part (0,50-0,55m) represents an outer bench.

In the corner formed by Rooms I and II there was a semicircular structure which Lauter identifies as an elevated platform. One however should also consider the possibility that this structure was a basin which may have received the rain water from the roof. In front of the apsidal room there was a square hearth, lined with four large stones, which is not mentioned by the excavator but appears on plan B of his informal notebook.[1880]

Round Room III, to the W of II, has a maximum interior diameter of 3,70m. The wall is 0,70m thick. A row of stones which projects below the last course of stones of the foundation is considered a sort of *euthynteria* by Lauter. Since however the floor level of Room III was *c.* 0,40m lower than that of II, one should not exclude the possibility that this was a bench *c.* 0,30-0,45m wide. Indeed, Stavropoullos notes that all rooms (i.e. I-VII) were provided with benches, with the only exception of Room IV.[1881] The plan of Room IV is irregular. According to Lauter, the E wall was

[1877] *ARG* (1985) 46, n. 164; *id.*, *Temples* (1988) 112, n. 16; *id.*, *GE* (1987) 21, n. 77; *id.*, in *Ε' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής*, Paiania 1994, 235f.; *id.*, in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1994) 145f. See also J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 446, 458-459. K. Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 48-50] seems to ignore the problem. Lauter's remarks [*Lathuresa* (1985) 10-12, 69-70, 77-78 and n. 151], i.e. that the wall gave the impression of being built hastily, since the building technique is undoubtedly inferior to that of the houses and that this could have been due to the hostile attitude of the inhabitants of the surroundings towards the newcomers, perhaps shepherds, who established themselves on the hill, are therefore no longer valid.

[1878] *Diary*, 141.

[1879] *Ibid.*, 137, 141.

[1880] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 19. For unknown reasons the hearth was omitted from the same plan in the diary.

[1881] *Diary*, p. 137.

rectilinear. However, since the SE corner is no longer preserved, a rounded corner should not be excluded.[1882] In fact, in 1980, the plan of this room was better preserved and appears to have been almost circular (plan by D. Giro, Fig. 142). The entrance was located in the middle of the W curved wall and was 0,60m wide. The walls are 0,60m thick but at the antas they become wider (1,00m).

The space in front of Building I was delimited by a peribolos wall. Two flat stones at the S extremity of the E wall, parallel to its W face, may be in my opinion, all that remains from a low bench.[1883] The free space between the S courtyard wall and the retaining wall *c.* 1,00m further S, constituted the main access to the settlement.

The facade of Oikos I and the SE corner of Room IV are aligned, while Rooms II and III are in retreat: according to Lauter, this could be taken as an indication that there was a roofed porch in front of II and III, supported in the middle by a post (Fig. 150). The non-axial and oblique position of the hearth strengthens this theory. However, if the SE corner of IV was curved, it would have been difficult to maintain in position the slanting roof reconstructed by Lauter. In fact, I believe that no such porch existed. Moreover, I have certain objections concerning the manner in which the complex would have been roofed. Lauter reconstructs a unified flat roof above the four rooms but one detail would suggest a pitched roof above Room II (Fig. 151): if one accepts that the apsidal room was provided with a flat roof in the front, 2,30m deep and a pitched roof over the main rear part, one could explain the function of the oblique wall W of the entrance: the N end of this foundation is exactly on the central axis of the room. The possible reason would be that the end of the wall served as a "base" for the axial wooden column which would have supported the S extremity of the ridge pole of the pitched roof.[1884] Rooms II, III and IV on the other hand, may have been provided with flat roofs.[1885]

It is not in the scope of this study to review the remaining buildings of the settlement. Let us simply remark that most of them are not free-standing, but form groups of two, three, or more rooms. The only independent units are IX and X at the E extremity of the settlement and their plan is apsidal (Fig. 141).[1886] Most rooms are provided with benches along two or three walls.

The Greek excavators suggested that the settlement was established in LG or SG times and that it was inhabited throughout the Archaic period. Lauter came to roughly the same conclusion, for the surface sherds range from *c.* 700 to 500 B.C. He assumes however that all the buildings, including the "Tholos" (p. 116, Fig. 144) the "suburban" shrine (p. 144, Fig. 153) and Building XVIII (p. 144, Fig. 152) would have been constructed at the same moment, i.e. around 700. I have presented earlier the reasons for which I would be willing to lower the date of the "Tholos" and of House XVIII (pp. 118 and 144f., respectively).

Lauter and Seiler identified correctly Unit I-IV with the chieftain's dwelling and the "Tholos" with the sanctuary.[1887] The isolated position of the "suburban" edifice favours its identification as a shrine as well.

Unit I-IV is the most outstanding complex of the settlement. Moreover, it is the only "secular" building which faces a large free space. Judging by the distribution of the surface finds, Lauter concludes that Unit I-IV was not a sacred building and examines two probabilities: either this would have been a public building in the village, or it would have been the chieftain's dwelling.[1888] In

[1882] The only stone of the SE corner of Room IV may have moved from its original place. It is significant that the excavator drew the E, S and W sides of IV curved (*Diary*, plan at p. 135, here Fig. 140).

[1883] Lauter considered the few stones of the S wall, preserved today, as a buttress of the E wall. Stavropoullos' plan, however, proves that the former was at least 2,00m long.

[1884] It may not be a mere coincidence that Building XVIII, which was probably the only other house of the site which was provided with a sloping roof, was roofed in a similar manner: Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 35. In addition to this we may note that the only fragments of roof tiles, dated in the 4th c. B.C., came from Unit I-IV (*ibid.*, 20, n. 33, 55). This important detail indicates that Unit I-IV was still in use, perhaps even repaired, during the late Classical period.

[1885] This hypothesis is based on the fact that all four units share common party walls. Sloping roofs above each unit would have necessitated walls of double thickness.

[1886] Building IX was not noted by the Greek excavators. The N half of House X is no longer preserved, but at the time of the excavation its plan was complete (dim. 6,70 by 5,50m).

[1887] F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 7-24; Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 43-50.

[1888] Lauter, *op.cit.*, 23-26.

the first case, Room II would have been the "ekklesiasterion", Rooms III and IV common storerooms. But one cannot think of a suitable use for Room I. Therefore he chooses the second solution. Room I would have been the residence of the leader and his family, II the ceremonial dining room of the village,[1889] III the storeroom for the chieftain's goods and IV the servants' residence and working place (note the separate entrance of this room).

In my opinion, the lack of a building inside the settlement suitable to have served as a cult building from the start, could suggest that Unit I-IV served a double function: it would have been the leader's residence but originally may have served religious purposes as well. Room I would have been the living quarters of the chief and his family; II would have been the official dining room, serving for sacred and political banquets (space for *c.* 22-24 seated persons);[1890] III would have been the common granary of the small community,[1891] and IV, a secondary room, perhaps associated with the adjacent sanctuary.

The main bulk of the votives was found in the "Tholos", but Rooms 1-6 (i.e. I-VII) yielded offerings as well.[1892] Room IV yielded two terracotta heads of Archaic idols and a silver ring depicting an Eros. Moreover, Rooms 1-6 (i.e. I-VII) yielded sherds, clay idols, lamps and small metal objects of bronze and iron of the Archaic period.[1893] The presence of votives in most of the rooms excavated raises some problems. C.W. Eliot argued that "the settlement appears to be a sanctuary area in which various gods and heroes were worshipped" and that "this area probably served the religious needs of the people who inhabited the plain below".[1894] However, since the "Tholos", which contained thousands of well preserved votive offerings is located on the highest and most prominent part of the settlement it would be preferable to assume that a small portion of the material concealed in the "Tholos" accidentally got inside the surrounding houses, due to rainfalls and erosion during almost 2.500 years.[1895]

We may summarise the sequence of events at Lathouriza as follows: the village and the hypaethral sanctuary were founded at about 700. The leader's dwelling, Unit I-IV, would have served for religious ceremonies as well. At some time, perhaps still during the 7th c., the "Tholos" was constructed. However, since this building was not provided from the beginning with a bench, we may assume that ritual meals were still taking place inside the dwelling of the ruler. At a third stage, perhaps during the 6th c., the bench in the "Tholos" was built, which means that by then there was a clear separation between sacred and profane: indeed, Unit I-IV would have been transformed into a "public" building (Rooms I and II for political meetings and feasts, Room III as the village's granary and Room IV perhaps as a ancillary room of the round temple), while the head of the small community would have been offered a new home among his co-villagers, Building XVIII. The worshippers would have taken part in sacred banquets inside the "Tholos" (space for *c.* 25 seated persons).[1896] In my opinion, the cult practised at first in the chieftain's dwelling and later in the "Tholos", was Olympian in character. Judging by the finds (*cf.* above, p. 118f.), the divinity worshipped would have presumably been female. I have argued elsewhere that the evidence indicates a chthonian cult associated with a goddess of vegetation and fertility, especially concerned with successful crop growing.[1897] The size of the settlement indicates that the inhabitants belonged to a

[1889] Fagerström [*GIAA* (1988) 48f.] who identifies the benches of Lathouriza both as "reinforcements to keep the earth floor in place on the sloping ground" and as benches for the storage of goods assumes that Room II served for storage. He identifies Room I, in which the bench is no longer visible, as a symposium room, but as we saw, this was also provided with benches.

[1890] It may be relevant that the benches inside Room II and the "Tholos" could accommodate roughly the same number of seated persons [Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 18, 74; F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 17].

[1891] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 25-26.

[1892] O. Walter, *AA* (1940) 178; *Diary*, 137, 139, 140.

[1893] *Diary*, 137, 139, 140; O. Walter, *AA* (1940) 178.

[1894] "Coastal Demes of Attika", *Phoenix* Suppl. 5 (1962) 40.

[1895] Few figurines were also collected above the other buildings of the settlement. It is more than probable that these also rolled down from the area of the "Tholos".

[1896] If Room II was the men's banquet hall, it would not be exaggerated to assume that all the male members of the community participated in the sacred feasts inside the "Tholos". It is perhaps relevant that the benches inside Room II and the "Tholos" could accommodate roughly the same number of seated persons.

[1897] In *Structures Rurales et Societés antiques*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 68-70.

single "genos" or expanded family[1898] and that they were "conservative" since they built their houses according to a dying tradition (apsidal, oval and simple oikos buildings). The ground plan of the sanctuary perhaps underlines the chthonian nature of the cult and the intimate links that united the inhabitants with one another.[1899] I assume that the settlement was inhabited until the end of the Archaic period,[1900] while the "Tholos" and Unit I-IV may have been sporadically visited for the following two centuries (*cf.* Koukounaries, p. 186f., where the temple of Athena and the "House of the Seals" were the only structures which continued to be used until the 4th c. B.C.). During this last phase of existence, the old ruler's dwelling would have fulfilled secondary functions related to the cult (*hestiatorion* and storerooms?). However, no final conclusions can be reached until the finds from the excavation are fully studied and the remaining buildings of the site excavated.

THE CYCLADES

The rectangular annex (**II**) built along the S long side of the apsidal edifice at **Oikonomos** on Paros appears to have been added during a second period. It consists of a main room preceded by a closed porch (Fig. 327).[1901] The final layout doubtless belongs to a post-Geometric period and recalls the chieftain's house at Lathouriza (Fig. 149). The only difference between the two buildings is that in Paros the facades of the two units are aligned, while at Lathouriza the apsidal room is in retreat. It is certainly interesting to note that curvilinear and rectilinear walls were combined also on the nearby acropolis of **Koukounaries**, where the N wall of **Room L**, which may have been the formal dining room of the small community during the LG period, is curved (Fig. 321).[1902]

PART 8

BUILDINGS OF UNCERTAIN OR UNKNOWN PLAN AND MISCELLANEOUS ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS

NORTHERN GREECE

On the slopes of **Koukos** hill (Fig. 28), a fortified settlement near the village of Sykia in the Sithonia prong of Chalkidike, the remains of a long and rather narrow building were partly revealed (**Building B**, Fig. 29). The back wall has not been revealed yet and it is not possible to tell whether it was apsidal or rectangular.[1903] The edifice faces SE. The uncovered length is *c.* 14,00m, the width *c.* 6,50m.[1904] The edifice is divided into a closed porch and a main chamber. A round slab towards the back, presumably represents the only trace left from an interior support. The floor was formed of a sandy layer. The walls, *c.* 0,06-0,70m wide, are built of unworked stones and in places are preserved to a height of 1,00m, suggesting that the superstructure was entirely of stones.[1905] At the base of the

[1898] Morris, *Burial* (1987) 97-98.: "the community is unlikely to have exceeded 30-40 people at its height". *Contra* see Lauter, *Lathuresa*, 74-77 who estimates *c.* 80-100 residents, which is an exaggerated figure. Concerning the problems raised by the candidates for the burial ground of the settlement see Morris, *Burial* (1987) 68, with references.

[1899] Stavropoullos was aware of this, since in his informal notebook (26/6/39 and 1/7/39) he postulates a cult of household character. See also F. Cooper & S. Morris, "Dining in Round Buildings", in *Sympotika*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 79ff.

[1900] Stavropoullos mentions that pottery of the Archaic period was associated with Rooms I-VII (*Diary*, 139).

[1901] Since the edifice could not have been erected before *c.* 700, the rectangular annex, which presumably represents an addition to the original plan, must be of a later date.

[1902] D. Schilardi, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 178. See also *supra* p. 183, n. 1367 for more bibliography.

[1903] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service in collaboration with the University of Tasmania, 1988-90, 1992 (J. Vocotopoulou and J. Carington-Smith). Bibliography: J. Carington-Smith & J. Vocotopoulou, "Ανασκαφή στον Κούκο Συκιάς", in *ΑΕΜΘ* 2 (1988) 357-370, esp. 358f.; 3 (1989) 425-438, esp. 425-427; 4 (1990) 439-454, esp. 443-447; 6 (1992) 495-502. On the possible date of the fortification wall in the EIA see *ΑΕΜΘ* 2 (1988) 357f.; 4 (1990) 443.

[1904] Originally, it had been supposed that the edifice was narrower, but the presumed S side ("Wall" 21) subsequently proved not to represent a wall: see *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 495.

[1905] *ΑΕΜΘ* 3 (1989) 426.

northern long wall (2) there was a kind of "bench", partly carved in the rock at different levels, partly made of stones (30).[1906] Traces of an earlier wall (29) parallel and beneath the S wall (27) of the edifice may represent an earlier building phase (**B1**) which could have been related with Wall 30, which wall may have been reused later as a substructure for a bench (Table IXe). To the earlier building phase also belong two foundations, 26 and 28; these are set at right angles regarding the long sides of Building B and may have been sections of the same wall.[1907] Wall 2 butts against Wall 26, but this does not necessarily mean that it did not continue beyond this point.

A fragmentary pithos lay on the floor near the back of the main room and a "kantharoid" cup on the floor of the porch.[1908] The sherds were of household character and according to the excavators belong to the "Mature" EIA phase.[1909] There were also spindle whorls and a numerous stone tools.[1910] Beneath the floor a deep sandy layer was encountered, which contained non-diagnostic sherds, though some of them belong to the EIA. This material could perhaps be associated with the earlier architectural remains beneath Building B.

A stone-lined "bothros" was excavated beneath the porch of the edifice.[1911] It appears that it is earlier than the building, since the floor partly passed over. This pit contained damp black earth, a little burnt bone, four small nodules of melted bronze, and sherds, some of which could date in the transitional period between the LBA and the EIA, while others appear to be contemporary with the "Mature" EIA phase at Koukos. Shapes from wheel-turned vases include amphorae, open dishes and one or two kraters. Among the finds there were also fragments from clay tripods and sherds from peculiar "dishes".[1912] To the E, near Wall 6 (retaining wall or part of a curvilinear building, perhaps, though not necessarily, earlier than the Building B[1913]), there was a thick layer of similar black burnt earth which descended from the lower part of this wall down to bed rock. In the same area, in an earlier excavation season, a burnt area had been discovered (2,00 X 1,00m) which contained stones, black earth, charcoal, fragments of animal bones and several legs of clay tripods.[1914] It seems practically certain that this "?hearth" of the earlier report represents the upper layer of this thick burnt stratum. This assemblage, which appears to have preceded the construction of Building B but may have been contemporary with the earlier phase beneath it (B1), could represent according to the excavators a place of sacrifices and cult.[1915]

Just outside the N wall of the building there was a hollow in the bedrock which concealed a small pithos; nearby six stone tools, nine biconical spindle whorls, a loom weight and a clay spool were found. Further W were scattered pieces from a mould of soapstone for casting metal objects, lumps of burnt clay, charcoal and traces of burning.[1916]

The excavators suggested in 1990 that the building may have been "something important" ("κάτι σπουδαίο") within the settlement.[1917] Moreover, the fact that it was built on top of the "sacrificial" area would suggest that it "may have had a religious function, though its finds so far have been of a domestic nature".[1918] The excavators also compare the "bothros" with the similar structure (F) inside the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria (Fig. 104).[1919] In that respect it

[1906] *AEMΘ* 4 (1990) 445.
[1907] *AEMΘ* 6 (1992) 496.
[1908] *AEMΘ* 3 (1989) 426f., fig. 1 at p. 435.
[1909] *Ibid.*, 425f., fig. 2; 4 (1990) 446.
[1910] *AEMΘ* 6 (1992) 495
[1911] Dimensions 2,40 X 2,40, 0,35-0,40m high, depth of pit *c.* 1,00m.
[1912] *AEMΘ* 4 (1990) 446.
[1913] *AEMΘ* 3 (1989) 427; 4 (1990) 446. In the earlier report, it was noted that Wall 2 of Building B was founded on top of 6. However, in the second report, the excavators clearly dissociate the extension of Wall 2 from Building B since they insist that the porch was formed by Walls 2, 8 and 9, which meet at right angles. Moreover, in the photographs, one remarks that Wall 2 is founded roughly at the same depth as Wall 6: see *AEMΘ* 3 (1989) 436, fig. 3 & 4 (1990) 453, fig. 10.
[1914] *AEMΘ* 3 (1989) 427.
[1915] *AEMΘ* 4 (1990) 446. In the summary in English in p. 447 it is stated that "the bothros may have been an ash altar".
[1916] *AEMΘ* 6 (1992) 497.
[1917] *AEMΘ* 4 (1990) 446.
[1918] *Ibid.*, 447.
[1919] *Ibid.*, 446, n. 8.

might be interesting to note that a substantial portion of the imported Geometric pottery from this site is Euboean, indicating mutual contacts with southern Greece and the Euboeans in particular.[1920] In the more recent report (1992) the question of the function of the building is not discussed[1921] but on account of the new evidence the excavators suggest that "mining and metalworking may thus have been one of the reasons for the existence of the Koukos settlement, and would explain its apparent connection with more southerly parts of Greece, as suggested by some of the pottery from the site's cemetery".[1922] Therefore, I suspect that the so-called "altar/bothros" in front of Building B, which may have been contemporary with the earlier building phase, was perhaps also connected with metalworking activities.

In my opinion, the facts that the burnt stratum between the curved wall (6) and Building B is in contact with the lower part of Wall 6, that clay tripods came both from inside the "bothros" and from a higher level, as well as the remark that the material from both Building B and the "bothros" includes pieces dated in the "Mature" EIA phase, are indications that there exists no real gap in the sequence, i.e. Building B was probably built in this spot, taking into account the pre-existing installation, the "bothros". Moreover, it appears likely that the "bothros" was associated with the earlier building, traces of which were found beneath Building B (phase B1). The household character of the finds (coarse pottery, tools) precludes the identification of the Building B with a cult structure, though it may have been occupied by an important member of the Koukos community. Alternatively, it could have been a metal workshop. Whether the bothros is indicative of industrial or religious activities is a matter which for the time being remains open.

NORTHWEST GREECE

At **Aetos** in Ithaca the old excavations had concentrated in the area to the S of the chapel of St. George (Fig. 35).[1923] A rectilinear wall, following an E-W direction, was uncovered (**Wall 27**, Fig. 36) on top of the earlier curved wall (see p. 44).[1924] This wall seems to date in the 8th c. and was presumably destroyed shortly after the middle of the 7th c.[1925] Also during the 8th c. three terrace walls were built further to the E-SE (6, 7 and 11).[1926] It is not made clear whether Wall 27 rests on the Upper Terrace (6), though this is likely.

P. Calligas recently suggested to identify the site as the sanctuary of Apollo mentioned in the Odyssey.[1927] His opinion was confirmed during the new excavations conducted by S. Symeonoglou; at a short distance N of the chapel of St. George an inscribed sherd bearing the name of Apollo was found during the excavation of a temple of the Archaic period.[1928] The possible assimilation of the round enclosure (Fig. 37) with the sacred grove of Apollo of the epics has been discussed above (p. 114). In the LG period there were houses immediately to the W of the area of the "cairns".[1929] From *c.*

[1920] *AEMΘ* 2 (1988) 364.
[1921] *AEMΘ* 6 (1992) 496: "the purpose of the building remains uncertain".
[1922] *Ibid.*, 498.
[1923] Excavations: British School, 1931-32, 1937-38 (W.A. Heurtley and S. Benton). Greek Archaeological Society, 1986- (S. Symeonoglou). Bibliography: (a) British Excavations. W.A. Heurtley, *BSA* 33 (1932/33) 22-27; H.L. Lorimer, *ibid.*, 27-36; W.A. Heurtley, *BSA* 43 (1948) 1-7; S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 255-260; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 63; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 182-184; F. Schachermeyr, *Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der mykenischen Ära bis auf die dorier* (*Die Ägäische Frühzeit* 4) Wien 1980, 244-248; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 797; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 478-480. (b) Greek Excavations. S. Symeonoglou, "Η ομηρική γεωγραφία της Ιθάκης", *Ιλιάδα και Οδύσσεια. Μύθος και Ιστορία. Πρακτικά Δ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια, 9-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984*, Ithaca 1986, 106; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 214 (identification of sanctuary); (1986) 236f. (temple of the Archaic period and graffito of Apollo); (1989) 292-295 (Mycenaean-Geometric pottery); (1990) 273-276, 278 (cairns, round enclosure, Archaic temple of Apollo); *Έργον* (1990) 125-127.
[1924] S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 257. The wall was preserved to a length of 4,50m.
[1925] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 183; G. Young, *JHS* 58 (1938) 225.
[1926] Coldstream, *op.cit.*, 183.
[1927] *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά* 3 (1978/79) 60-62; S. Symeonoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 214; (1986) 237; (1989) 295.
[1928] ..]ς Ἀπό[λλωνι]. See *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 237, pl. 104α; *Έργον* (1987) 76. For the earlier excavations in the same area see W. Heurtley, *BSA* 33 (1932/33) 25, fig. 2 at p. 24 (wrongly identified with a "Hellenic tower").
[1929] Trench H23: S. Symeonoglou, *Έργον* (1985) 37; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 204.

780 B.C. onwards, as indicated by the finds, the area of the "cairns" appears to have been exclusively devoted to cult practice.[1930] Therefore, Wall 27 may represent all that has been preserved from a temple, built sometime during the 8th c.[1931]

CENTRAL GREECE

Apart from Building A at **Kallipolis** (Fig. 51) and the architectural phases beneath Temples A and B at **Kalapodi** (Fig. 61), discussed earlier (pp. 135, 137, respectively), one could mention here further possible instances of early cult buildings of unknown plan, and/or periboloi from the regions of Phocis and Boeotia. In the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at **Delphi** (**Marmaria**) traces of "pre-Archaic" walls have been revealed, associated with Geometric and PC pottery; in the same area there were small pockets of ashes and animal bones and pottery (mainly coarse but also decorated skyphoi).[1932] C. Morgan remarks that these traces may equally represent domestic activities, though she seems to favour the hypothesis that there was here a sacrificial area, though presumably no cult building.[1933] At **Ay. Varvara**, between Delphi (to the NE) and the modern village of Chryso (to the W), a peribolos wall on a high plateau at the N part of a substantial settlement has been assigned to the end of the Geometric period (Fig. 63). Only one corner of the peribolos was partly excavated (pr. int. dim. 6,00 by 8,00m). The N side was 2,50m wide. The peribolos is bordered to the W and S by a retaining wall with polygonal masonry, presumably dated in the Archaic period. The former, however, appears to date around 700 B.C. (two PC skyphoi and a thymiaterion were found *in situ* in the interior corner of the peribolos) and may have delimited some kind of structure (altar or temple?).[1934] The excavator has further suggested that the site could perhaps be identified with ancient Krisa.[1935] Keramopoullos believed that there had existed a Geometric temple in the temenos of Apollo Ismenios in **Thebes**.[1936] This early temple appears to have been provided with a socle of poros stone and a mud brick and wooden superstructure. Roof tiles of clay were also associated with this structure.[1937] Symeonoglou puts its construction in the 8th c.[1938] The destruction seems to have taken place towards the end of the Geometric period by fire. Due to the lack of a detailed publication, but also due to the presence of the roof tiles, no definite conclusion can be reached. On the summit of the acropolis of ancient **Haliartos** in Boeotia (Figs. 68-69),[1939] to the N of the temple of Athena, a wall of limestone, uncovered to a length of *c.* 16,00m (measurements based on the plan), was considered to represent the remains of an earlier temple which could belong to the EIA.[1940] The early dating of this wall appears correct since it lies 0,70m lower than the level of the temple of *c.* 500 B.C. and the handles of two skyphoi and a bronze tripod of the Geometric period were found "above and around" this wall.[1941] However, the nature of the architectural remains obscure: the foundation is very

[1930] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 183f. See also *id.*, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 409.
[1931] S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 257; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 183.
[1932] Excavations: French School, 1920-24, 1957 (R. Demangel, L. Lerat and others). Bibliography: R. Demangel, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia. Topographie du sanctuaire*, *FdD* II:3, Paris 1926, 45-48, fig. 53; L. Lerat, *BCH* 81 (1957) 708-710; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 129f.
[1933] Morgan, *op.cit.*, 130.
[1934] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1991 (D. Skorda). Bibliography: D. Skorda, "Vallée du Pléistos", in *Delphes. Colloque de Strasbourg, 6-9 nov. 1991*, ed. J.-F. Bommelaer, Leiden 1992, 51-53, 64f.
[1935] *Ibid.*, 63f.
[1936] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1910 (A. Keramopoullos). Bibliography: A. Keramopoullos, *Θηβαϊκά*, *ΑΔ* 3 (1917) 66-79; C. Weickert, *Typen der archaische Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg 1929, 10f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 6 with earlier bibliography; S. Symeonoglou, *ΑΔ* 22 (1967) Χρον., 232, fig. 2; *id.*, *The Topography of Thebes*, Princeton, 1985, 93, 236-239. In general see A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1, *BICS* Suppl. 38.1 (1981) 77-85, esp. p. 81.
[1937] A. Keramopoullos, *ΑΔ* 3 (1917) 75-77; E.D. Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*, London 1926, 62f. *Contra* see Ö. Wikander, *OpAth* 17 (1988) 205, n. 21.
[1938] *The Topography of Thebes*, Princeton, 1985, 93.
[1939] On the identification with the Homeric place-name (Il. II, 503) see R.P. Austin, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 187.
[1940] Excavations: British School, 1931 (R.P. Austin). Bibliography: R.P. Austin, "Excavations at Haliartos, 1931", *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 180-212, esp. 183f.; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 411; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 248.
[1941] *BSA* 32 (1931/32) fig. 6g at p. 190 (sherds), p. 200f. and pl. 37, 5 (tripod leg).

thick (1,70m!), it is built with large blocks and the eastern end had the appearance of "a sort of platform". It is more probable that the remains belong to a peribolos which may have functioned both as a temenos and defensive wall.

EUBOEA

In the NE sector of the excavated area of the sanctuary of Apollo at **Eretria** (Fig. 104) a rectilinear wall, composed of slabs of fine white limestone, was uncovered in 1978.[1942] Two trial trenches have shown that the wall was at least 7,30m long. It follows a NW-SE direction and is 0,62m wide. It is not yet possible to recognise its identity and its relationship with the other constructions of the sanctuary. Certain stones overlap each other, but the significance of this feature is not yet understood.

Wall G is vaguely dated in the 8th c., though in one of the latest reports it is said to belong to the early 8th c. B.C.[1943] No additional details are yet available, and despite the fact that the fine technique of the foundation would favour a dating in the late 8th c., one presumes that the excavator' early dating is well founded and therefore should be retained.

The care with which Wall G is constructed and the excessive width of the wall indicate that this was a sumptuous edifice, presumably free-standing. It is still too early to decide whether the wall belongs to a temple, to a stoa or to some other structure. A few metres to the NW of Wall G, a votive deposit which contained numerous oriental and Egyptian objects, sherds from smashed miniature hydriai of the late 8th and early 7th c., was found around a circular mass of masonry (H). A second votive deposit constituted by at least 600 complete miniature Archaic hydriai was excavated to the E of the circular structure. The excavators suggest that this part of the sanctuary may have been dedicated to the cult of a female deity. We must await further exploration of this sector in order to understand better its relationship with the zone of the temple of Apollo immediately to the S.[1944] However, one could tentatively suggest that the divinity worshipped would have been either Artemis or Demeter.[1945]

An EIA sanctuary, situated on the highest point of the **Plakouri** ridge, near Karystos, has been identified.[1946] A little to the S of the peak finds belonging to a votive deposit were collected, while traces of walls were visible in the surroundings (undated). According to D. Keller, the finds date from PG to Archaic times. Except from sherds, metal items of bronze and iron were found, including pins and fibulae. Subsequent excavations on the slopes of the hill revealed a wall belonging to a building of the Geometric (?) period; in the same report, it is noted that a peribolos of the Geometric period was detected on the summit of the hill.[1947]

Lastly, one could mention in this section a LG clay **building model** which has been reported from the deposit of the acropolis (Monte di Vico) in the Euboean colony of **Pithekoussai**. The model is painted and the anta pilaster is decorated with a female figure.[1948] If the deposit is domestic in nature, this would be the first such model to occur in such a context.

[1942] Excavations: Swiss School, 1978-81 (A. Altherr-Charon), 1990 (S. Huber). Bibliography: G. Touchais, *BCH* 103 (1979) 598f.; 104 (1980) 656f.; 106 (1982) 597, 600; A. Altherr-Charon, *AntK* 24 (1981) 82; A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 157f.; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1980/81) 8; (1982/83) 18; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 557f.; *id.*, *GE* (1987) 13f.; E. French, *AR* (1990/91) 38.f.

[1943] E. French, *AR* (1990/91) 38.

[1944] Now see the forthcoming study by S. Huber, "Une aire sacrificielle proche du sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie. Approche d'un rituel archaïque" in *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence. Proceedings from the Fourth International Seminar, Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993*, ed. R. Hägg.

[1945] Hydriai are usually encountered in sanctuaries of Artemis, Hera and Demeter: E. Diehl, *Die Hydria*, Mainz 1964, *passim*; S. Cole, "The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 164; *id.*, "Demeter in the Ancient City and its Countryside", in *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 207.

[1946] Survey by D. Keller, 1985. Excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service, 1979, 1983 (E. Touloupa, E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki). Bibliography: D. Keller, *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboia, Greece*, Ph.D. diss, Indiana 1985, 105f., Site 42, figs. 40-50 (finds) and p.c., letter of Jan. 18, 1985; E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 34 (1979) Χρον., 180; E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *AΔ* 38 (1983) Χρον., 150.

[1947] E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 34 (1979) Χρον., 180; E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *AΔ* 38 (1983) Χρον., 150.

[1948] D. Ridgway, *L'alba della Magna Grecia*, Milano 1984, 102.

ATTICA

Religious activities on the **Athenian Acropolis** were presumably held since the beginning of the Geometric period (Fig. 123). Numerous anthropomorphic ("birdlike") terracotta figurines were found inside a rectangular *eschara* on top of the Mycenaean tower, in the area of the subsequent bastion of Athena Nike, presumably belonging to the 7th c.[1949] Ch. Kardara identified this shrine with that of Erechtheus and assumed that the cult dates back to the Mycenaean period and continued in this spot into the Geometric period, though no finds were ever adduced to support this assumption.[1950] Sherds and votives of the 9th c. and 8th c. have been found on the Acropolis, including EG I - LG IIb pottery,[1951] as well as several fragmentary bronze tripods, the production of which seems to start in the middle of the 8th c., and bronze figurines.[1952] Of the main temple, the one dedicated to Athena, there are scarcely any traces left, except, perhaps, for two carefully worked poros bases which were found inside the Archaic temple S of the Erechtheion.[1953] Each was rectangular and on the upper side the stone was shaped cylindrical (0,62m in diam., 0,10m high) in order to serve as a base of wooden columns. Traditionally scholars dated these bases to the Mycenaean era[1954] but Nylander and Iakovides both argued that they should be dated to post-Mycenaean times, and the former suggested the Geometric period.[1955] A comparison with the newly discovered bases of the *peristasis* of the LG *hekatompedon* at Rakita strengthens this assumption, though at this site the upper part of the bases was rectangular, not cylindrical, and it seems that they belong to a second building period, during which several of the original simpler bases of the peristyle were replaced. Iakovides has argued that two stone foundations (34 and 35) were constructed before the Archaic temple (Wall 34 was cut by the foundations of the temple), though he assumed that these also belonged to the Archaic period.[1956] A. Snodgrass, by comparison with the contemporary developments at Corinth, suggests that the Athenian temple would have been a monumental edifice,[1957] though the evidence, as Morris remarks, is silent on this point and perhaps indicates that "the Athenians stayed with smaller, more primitive structures" in the EA period.[1958]

[1949] G. Oikonomos, "Η επί της Ακροπόλεως λατρεία της Αθηνάς Νίκης", *AE* (1939-41) 105-107, fig. 2; S. Iakovides, *Η μυκηναϊκή ακρόπολις των Αθηνών*, Athens 1962, 186, n. 361; Ch. Kardara, "Πυκινός Δόμος και Παναθηναϊκός πέπλος", *AE* (1960) 165-184; J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Athen*, Tübingen 1971, 148, fig. 201 at p. 151; Th. Chatzisteliou-Price, in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to B.M.W. Knox*, ed. G.W. Bowersock & W. Burkert, Berlin & New York 1979, 224-226; K. Kokkou-Vyridi, *Πρώιμες πυρές θυσιών στο Τελεστήριο της Ελευσίνας*, Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Athens 1991, 275. Some scholars have suggested that these figurines were SMyc (for instance Iakovides, quoting Marinatos), but it is most likely that they date in the 7th c. (Travlos and Kokkou-Vyridi, *op.cit.*).

[1950] *AE* (1960) 165-184, esp. 169, 172. There was also a niche in the W face of the bastion which was interpreted as the place where the *xoanon* of Athena would have stood. See also Iakovides, *op.cit.*, 109-111, Hadzisteliou-Price, *op.cit.*, 225f., I. Mark, *AJA* 93 (1989) 268 and *id.*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 26 (1993) and Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 145, n. 1.

[1951] B. Graef & E. Langlotz, *Akropolis Vasen* I, Berlin 1925, 23ff., pls. 8-11; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 329.

[1952] A.G. Bather, *JHS* 13 (1892/93) 232ff.; A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole*, Paris 1896 (*BEFAR* 74), nos. 1-28, 48-49; S. Papaspyridi-Karousou, *AE* (1952) 135-149; E. Touloupa, *AM* 87 (1972) 57-76; M. Weber, "Die geometrische Dreifusskessel", *AM* 86 (1971 13-30; *id.*, "Zur frühenattischen Gerätfiguren", *AM* 89 (1974) 27-46; E. Touloupa, in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art. National Gallery of Art*, ed. D. Buitron-Oliver, Washington, Hanover & London 1991, 242.

[1953] P. Cavvadias & G. Kawerau, *Η ανασκαφή της Ακροπόλεως από του 1885 μέχρι του 1890*, Athens 1907, 83; S. Iakovides, *Η Μυκηναϊκή ακρόπολις των Αθηνών*, Athens 1962, 62-65 (n. 151 at p. 63 for earlier literature); C. Nylander, "Die sog. mykenischen Säulenbasen auf der Akropolis in Athen", *OpAth* 4 (1962) 31-77. Dim.: S base: rect. element: 0,94 X 0,76 X 0,27 (h), cyl. element 0,55 in diam., 0,08m high. N base: rect. element: 0,94 X pr. width 0,70 X 0,31 (h), cyl. element c. 0,55 (?) in diam., 0,14m high.

[1954] Cavvadias & Kawerau, *op.cit.*, 83; H.J. Middleton, *JHS* Suppl. 3 (1900) pl. 1, no. 67; W. Dörpfeld, *JdI* (1919) 4; *RE*, s.v. Athena, col. 1952; L.B. Holland, *AJA* (1924) 162; *AJA* (1939) 289.

[1955] Iakovides, *op.cit.*, 62-65; C. Nylander, *OpAth* 4 (1962) 31-77.

[1956] Iakovides, *op.cit.*, 62, plan 3 at p. 60.

[1957] *Archaeology* (1977) 29f.

[1958] *Burial* (1987) 191. See also *id.*, in *Culture et cité. L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 25-27 Avril 1991*, ed. A. Verbanck-Piérard & D. Viviers, Bruxelles 1995, 63.

In Athens, to the S of the **Olympieion**, near the E side of the temple of Apollo Delphinios[1959] a roughly square building was excavated (Fig. 123, no. C, Fig. 128).[1960] It is not clear whether the remains should be identified with the 8th c. "house" with two rooms and an apsidal compartment mentioned in one source.[1961] To the S of the edifice a peribolos wall which may have also contained the terrace on which the square building stood, was uncovered. Several vases were associated with the building and the peribolos or retaining wall. These, according to Travlos, provide a dating for the construction of the edifice in the middle of the 8th c.[1962] Travlos suggests that the remains could be identified as the predecessor of the temple of Apollo Delphinios.[1963] One should remain cautious, however, since no specific votives are mentioned, and in the immediate vicinity there were SMyc, PG and Geometric tombs.[1964]

In the sanctuary of Apollo on the acropolis of the city of **Aigina** (today, the promontory called Kolonna), an "altar-well" ("Altarbrunnen") was found to the E of the temple. It yielded chiefly pottery (cups and skyphoi) of the 10th and 9th c., suggesting cult practice. To the N, near the well, a Geometric building was found, consisting of several rooms and facing S, towards the well and the centre of the sanctuary, but it appears that it was not located within the limits of the shrine proper. A second well contained Mycenaean pottery, SMyc cups, as well as PG sherds, suggesting perhaps continuity of cult.[1965]

THE PELOPONNESE

A LG or, more probably, EA temple, perhaps dedicated to Athena (*cf.* inscription found by Tsountas NW of the summit), may have existed in the location of the Mycenaean megaron at **Mycenae** (Fig. 200).[1966] According to N.L. Klein "the terrace upon which the Mycenae temples stood was built in the Geometric period with additions in the late seventh century B.C. This sequence suggests the establishment of the cult in the Geometric period, followed by a significant reorganisation of the temenos in the early Archaic period along with the construction of the first stone temple".[1967] I should point out, however, that a complex uncovered by Ch. Tsountas in 1886 in the courtyard in front of the Mycenaean megaron, consisting of at least five rectangular rooms, presumably dates in the Geometric period (Figs. 200-201), but it has been systematically ignored (or underestimated) in all subsequent studies.[1968] Tsountas noted that Geometric sherds were found within these rooms. The

[1959] Concerning the identification of the Classical temple see J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen*, Tübingen 1971, 83.

[1960] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1961-62 (J. Threpsiades and J. Travlos). Bibliography: J. Threpsiades & J. Travlos, *AΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 9-14, esp. 10 (in the original report neither the exact date nor the nature of the remains are clearly specified); J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971, 83; *id.*, *Athènes au fil du temps*, Paris 1972, chapter III, pl. 3; *id.*, "Η Αθήνα και η Ελευσίνα στον 8ο και 7ο π.Χ. αιώνα", *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 326; Mazarakis Ainian, *RDT* (1987) 690.

[1961] J. Travlos, *Athènes au fil du temps*, Paris 1972, chapter III, pl. 3. In the caption it is mentioned that this house was "entourée d'une enceinte où devait se trouver le très vieux temple dédié à Apollon Delphinios", therefore it lay *within* the temenos.

[1962] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 326. Initially, the walls were dated in the PG period: *AΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 10.

[1963] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 326.

[1964] *AΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 10; see also *BCH* 64/65 (1940/41) 238.

[1965] Excavations: Austrian Institute, 1979-80 (H. Walter). Bibliography: H. Walter, *AAA* 13 (1980) 85-87; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1981/82) 14f.

[1966] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1886 (Ch. Tsountas) and British School, 1939 (A. Wace). Bibliography: Ch. Tsountas, *ΠΑΕ* (1886) 59-61; A.J.B. Wace, *JHS* 59 (1939) 210; *id.*, *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*, Princeton 1949, 84, 86; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1950², 473f.; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 88; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 143f.; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 16; N.L. Klein, "A New Study of the Archaic and Hellenistic Temples at Mycenae", *AJA* 97 (1993) 336f.; *id.*, "Evidence for the Archaic and Hellenistic Temples at Mycenae", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, in press. See also E. French, in R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 12. Wace notes that the earliest pottery associated with the sanctuary belongs to the 9th and 8th c. B.C.

[1967] *AJA* 97 (1993) 336f.

[1968] Ch. Tsountas, *ΠΑΕ* (1886) 60f., pl. IV. See also A.J.B. Wace, *Mycenae*, Princeton 1949, 24 ("small huts"!); S. Iakovides, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece*, Leiden 1983, 72; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 63.

walls, which varied in thickness from 0,35-0,60m were of small unworked stones and clay in between. They were founded at a higher level than the Mycenaean walls and, unlike those of the Mycenaean period, they showed no traces of destruction by fire. The plan and the finds (only sherds were reported) suggests a household complex which was certainly in use during the LG period (Tsountas mentions Geometric sherds decorated with birds). Indeed, it is likely that the fortified acropolis was still inhabited during the PG and Geometric periods.[1969] As at Tiryns, I suspect that this domestic complex was built earlier than the 8th c., perhaps even in the LH IIIC or the DA period.[1970] At the Asclepieion at **Troizen**, already in Geometric times, there may have been a rectangular (?) anta temple facing W (Fig. 242, no. 1). Faraklas has restored a small anta building measuring *c.* 4,30m (width) by *c.* 5,50m (length), enclosed within a polygonal temenos wall, but does not give any proof for the dating of the remains in the Geometric period. The early sanctuary may have been dedicated jointly to Hyppolytos and Asclepios, but the available information is unfortunately laconic and confusing, not allowing further discussion.[1971] It may be interesting to note that a Mycenaean urban sanctuary of a male divinity was recently investigated on the hill of Ay. Konstantinos, on the E coast of Methana, and the excavator has tentatively suggested that we may witness "the cult of a precursor of Poseidon and Hyppolytos, preceding the foundation of their sanctuaries at Kalauria and Troizen".[1972] In the sanctuary of Athena Poliouchos and Chalkioikos on the N spur of the acropolis hill of **Sparta** (Fig. 274), MG (?) - LG pottery, fragments of one or more **building models** (Geometric or SG), and architectural remains (Fig. 277) came to light.[1973] The assemblage, i.e. black carbonised earth full of sherds and some pieces of bronze, a deposit of grey earth full with animal bones, and next to it a contemporary wall (**Wall C-D**), which appears to form part of an altar, strongly suggest that the area was already a sanctuary in the Geometric period. The wall measures on the plan *c.* 5,00m long and 1,00m wide, and could equally represent a peribolos wall or a roofed structure. Lastly, in the sanctuary of Asclepios at **Gortys** in Arcadia, beneath the cella of the Classical temple, an earlier crude wall which follows a NE-SW orientation was found. A cross-wall (?) directed towards the SE is also mentioned.[1974] In the immediate proximity two Corinthian Geometric or SG sherds were collected. Courbin dated this wall to the 8th c.[1975] and M. Voyatzis suggests that the structure was either a temple or a temenos wall.[1976] The identification of the site is based on an inscription which was found during the excavations (*cf.* Pausanias VIII, 28, 1).

[1969] See for instance W.D. Taylour, *ΑΔ* 20 (1965) Χρον., 164 (PG and Geometric sherds in the area of the Citadel House) and Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 66 and n. 239.

[1970] Tsountas [*ΠΑΕ* (1886) 60f.] notes that not all the walls descend down to the level of the Mycenaean courtyard, which implies that some of them were in direct contact with the Mycenaean walking surface. It is possible that after the final destruction of the megaron, the Mycenaeans built up the only area which was free of debris, the courtyard (this suggestion I owe to A. Gounaris, during a friendly discussion, Jan. 28, 1996). However, the date of the final destruction of the megaron is still a matter of debate (end of LH IIIB or sometime during the LH IIIC period?): see Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 62f., with references.

[1971] G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia*, Berlin 1941, pl. 11; N. Faraklas, *Τροιζηνία, Καλαυρία, Μέθανα*, Athens 1972 (*Ancient Greek Cities* X) 39, plan 25; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 198.

[1972] E. Konsolaki, "A Mycenaean Sanctuary on Methana", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, in press (quotation from abstract). On the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalauria (Poros) see S. Wide & L. Kjellberg, *AM* 20 (1895) 270, 306-317 and most recently R.B. Schumacher, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 74-76.

[1973] Excavations: British School, 1906-07 (G. Dickins). Bibliography: G. Dickins, *BSA* 13 (1906/07) 142-146; J.P. Droop, *BSA* 28 (1926/27) 49-81, esp. 50-61. *CVA Cambridge*, I, 8-9, pls. 3, 96-110; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 407. On the building model(s) (simple mention) see R.W.V. Catling, "Archaic Lakonian Architecture: The Evidence of a Temple Model", *BSA* 90 (1995) 317. See also F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32, 33, 85.

[1974] P. Courbin, *BCH* 76 (1952) 245: "mur de refend".

[1975] Excavations: French School, 1951 (P. Courbin). Bibliography: P. Courbin, "Gortys d'Arcadie", *BCH* 76 (1952) 245; J.M. Cook, *JHS* (1952) 99; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d' Arcadie*, Paris 1985, 203; M. Voyatzis, *The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 44f.; *id.*, "Geometric Arcadia", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 280.

[1976] M. Voyatzis, *The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 46.

THE CYCLADES

At **Karthaia** on the island of Kea, on the southern slopes of the acropolis (Aspri Vigla hill), in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo, substantial quantities of surface sherds of the Geometric period have been found, while a few walls which are visible in the area may belong to the same period.[1977] At present, however, it cannot be established whether these sherds represent evidence for cult activities during the Geometric period.

The earliest pottery in the **Delion** sanctuary on Kynthos hill at Paros is MG-LG.[1978] Large quantities of Geometric sherds, terracotta figurines (8th-4th c. B.C.) and other small finds came to light during supplementary excavations by N. Zapheiropoulos.[1979] An altar hewn in the rock (Felsaltar) is usually considered as the earliest cult installation at the site. N. Kontoleon, however, argued that two traces of walls beneath the temple of Artemis belonged to a predecessor of the 8th c.[1980]

In the joint sanctuary of Demeter and Apollo at **Gyroulas**, near the village of Sangri on Naxos, Geometric sherds were presumably associated with three pits dug in the rock, which perhaps represent post holes belonging to a light structure or fence.[1981]

A cult building (?) could perhaps be also recognised in the rock cuttings of the Lower Town of **Minoa** on Amorgos, in the area which was occupied in the Hellenistic period by a small temple (Fig. 351), but secure evidence to pursue further this assumption is lacking.[1982] The construction of this elusive edifice could fall sometime between the 9th and 8th c. B.C., or later.[1983] Nearby, to the W, there was a cult assemblage in Trenches Δ1-ν1, ΝΔ/1, ΝΔ/3 and ΝΔ/4 which consisted of a peribolos wall (Wall 4), a rectangular structure (Walls 1-3), initially identified as an altar but subsequently identified as a building, and a deposit consisting mainly of LPG/SPG and Geometric drinking vessels, a few metal objects, mixed with ashes and charcoal, animal bones and sea shells.[1984] Associated with the peribolos wall was a SPG "foundation sacrifice",[1985] while further to the W, in Trench ΝΔ/5, PG pottery was recovered in association with a rock cutting (possibly a drain).[1986] This assemblage indicates a cult area, in use at least during the Geometric period, if not earlier, but one must await the final publication in order to reach a final decision concerning the nature of the architectural remains. Recently, three rich burials of the MG period (two cremations -a warrior and a woman- and a child pithos burial) were discovered a few metres to the E of this area.[1987]

[1977] Survey by L. Mendoni, 1987 onwards. Bibliography: L.G. Mendoni & E. Kolaïti, *DHA* 19 (1993) 102; A. Papanikolaou, "Η οικοδομική δραστηριότητα στη Ν. κλιτύ της ακροπόλεως της Καρθαίας κατά τον 6ο και 5ο αι.", in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου: Κέα-Κύθνος: Ιστορικές και Αρχαιολογικές Έρευνες*, ed. L. Mendoni & A. Mazarakis Ainian (*Μελετήματα*), figs. 2-3, in press.

[1978] Excavations: German Institute, 1899 (O. Rubensohn) and Greek Archaeological Service, 1961 (N. Zapheiropoulos). Bibliography: O. Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros*, Wiesbaden 1962, 8-15, 85ff., pls. 14-17; G. Daux, *BCH* 85 (1961) 849f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 317; D. Berranger, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Paros a l'époque archaïque*, Clermont-Ferrand 1992, 81f.

[1979] G. Daux, *BCH* 85 (1961) 849f. Some vases date in the PG period: *ibid.*, fig. 2.

[1980] *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 206f.; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 69.

[1981] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1954, 1976 (N. Kontoleon, V. Lambrinoudakis). Bibliography: N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1954) 337 (mention of Geometric sherds); V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 299-301 (identification of the post holes and discovery of additional Geometric sherds). The pits followed the same alignement. Two pits were 3,20m apart, the other at a distance of 12,80m, i.e. there is space to restore three additional post holes.

[1982] Concerning the carving in the rock, subsequently occupied by the Hellenistic temple, see L. Marangou, *ΠΑΑ* 63 (1988) 89; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1981) pl. ΙΗ'; (1988) 161-165.

[1983] Geometric pottery was found beneath the foundations of the Hellenistic temple, while buildings were often partly hewn in the rock at Minoa during the Geometric period (see p. 256).

[1984] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Society, 1983-91 (L. Marangou, with the collaboration of D. Kokkonis). Bibliography: L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 317-320, pl. 208; (1984) 355-357; (1985) 180-182; (1986) 222f.; (1988) 165-167; (1989) 268-270, fig. 1; (1991) 288-292; *id.*, *ΠΑΑ* 63 (1988) 89. The preserved length of the W side (Walls 2 and 3) is *c.* 8,00m, the pr. length of the S wall (1), *c.* 2,00m.

[1985] L. Marangou, *Έργον* (1985) 66f., fig. 72; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 180-182, fig. 2 and pls. 90β and 91. This consited of five SPG vases which were full of ashes, charcoal and animal bones (perhaps of hens).

[1986] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1989) 272.

[1987] *Id.*, *Έργον* (1993) 96-99; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 790.

THE EAST GREEK ISLANDS

At **Phanai** (mod. Phana) in Chios, excavations revealed the "extraurban" sanctuary of Apollo mentioned by Strabo (XIV, 1, 35). Flimsy architectural remains, presumably belonging to a terrace or peribolos wall of the Geometric period came to light to the SW of the later temple (Fig. 383).[1988] A undisturbed deposit containing MG and LG pottery and small finds was found immediately to the W of the wall.[1989]

ASIA MINOR

Beneath the adyton of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo at **Didyma** the remains of earlier structures came to light (Fig. 427, Sekos I).[1990] The earlier architectural phase dates around 700 B.C. and consists of two roughly parallel walls oriented E-W, at a distance of 10,30/40 (W), 9,60 (E) from each other. The N wall is 1,05-1,10m wide, the S 0,90m. The preserved length of the structure is *c.* 21,00m. Behind the S wall and the naiskos Drerup identified a "Kalkbank" connected with the sacred spring.[1991] It is in this area that the cult image would have been standing.

The remains are thought to represent a peribolos wall surrounding the focus of the cult. Indeed, Knackenfuss suggested that the walls extended towards the W in order to enclose the sacred spring. This, according to Drerup is unlikely, since the two walls are not parallel but diverge and the temenos would have had the appearance of a long corridor, *c.* 40,00m long, narrow at the E and wide at the W. Drerup assumed that the sacred spring in the Geometric period was located further to the E and would have been included within the limits of the two stretches of wall preserved. One should perhaps consider the possibility that the remains belong to the first temple of Apollo, although the thickness of the walls and their excessive length speak against this assumption.

E. Akurgal also informed me that there exists an 8th c. architectural phase below the temple of Athena at **Erythrai** (*cf.* Fig. 394), perhaps an earlier temple.[1992] No further details concerning these architectural remains are available yet.

CRETE

At **Oreino Kastri**, in eastern Crete a refuge settlement has been recently identified (Fig. 440). The surface sherds indicate that it was inhabited during the LM IIIC and PG periods. The rocky terrace on the summit of the hill was enclosed within a fortification wall, while further dwellings were scattered on the western slopes of the hill. According to the preliminary account, there was "a building of particular importance" on "the very top of the upper settlement". Whether this "important" edifice was a ruler's dwelling cannot be determined at present.[1993]

[1988] Excavations: British School, 1934/35 (W. Lamb). Bibliography: W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934/35) 139. Judging by the plan (*ibid.*, pl. 27), the restored preserved length of the slightly concave (?) wall is *c.* 18,00m.

[1989] K. Kourouniotes, *AΔ* 1 (1915) 72-85, esp. 79, figs. 15-16; W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934/35) 157-164, pls. 34-36. See also J.N. Coldstream, "The Geometric Lion-Fighter from Kato Phana", in *Chios. A Conference at the Homereion in Chios 1984*, ed. J. Boardman & C.E. Vaphiopoulou-Richardson, Oxford 1986, 181-186.

[1990] Excavations: German Institute, 1964 (H. Drerup). Bibliography: H. Knackfuss, in Th. Wiegand, ed., *Didyma* I: *Die Baubeschreibung*, Berlin 1946, 46f.; H. Drerup, *AA* (1964) 333-367; *id.*, *Baukunst* (1969) 59f.; K. Tuchelt, *AA* (1986) 36ff., 43ff., 46ff.; *id.*, *JdI* 101 (1986) 75ff.; *id.*, "Drei Heiligtümer von Didyma und ihre Grundzüge", *RA* (1991) 85; *id.*, *Branchidai-Didyma. Geschichte, Ausgrabung und Wiederentdeckung eines antiken Heiligtums 1756 bis 1990*, Mainz am Rhein 1992 (*AW* Sondernummer 22) 18-20; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, "Zur Genesis und Entwicklung des Dipteros", *JdI* 109 (1994) 47-50. In general on Didyma see J. Fontenrose, *Didyma*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1988, esp. 301. For a possible Minoan-Mycenaean cult see Th. Schattner, "Didyma, ein minoish-mykenischer Fundplatz?", *AA* (1992) 369-372.

[1991] *AA* (1964) 333f.

[1992] Letter of May 17, 1984 and *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 63f. In the guide of Erythrai (*Erythrai: An Ancient Ionian City*, Izmir 1979, 6-8) the same author describes a "megaron" with a porch and a main room, which at that time was thought to be LG. In his letter, Professor Akurgal informed me that subsequent work at Erythrai (from 1980 onwards) proved that the so-called Megaron Hall there, dates in the second half of the 7th c. B.C.

[1993] K. Nowicki, "Fortifications in Dark Age Krete", in *Fortificationes Antiquae*, ed. S. Van de Maele & J.M. Fossey, Amsterdam 1992, 62-64.

Remains of walls belonging to a settlement of the 8th c. B.C. were partly excavated beneath the later buildings at **Aptera** (or Aptara) in western Crete. Three walls came to light in Area I, to the E of the later double temple, which may have been dedicated to Artemis.[1994] Nearby a pit was found, measuring 2,75 by 0,75m, containing mostly sheep bones.[1995] Since the excavation is in its initial stage, it would be premature to identify this assemblage with a sanctuary of the LG period (the pit is slightly later stratigraphically than the architectural remains).[1996]

At **Sybrita** Amariou, also in western Crete, on the Kephala hill, excavations revealed a site of the LM IIIC, SMin, PG and Geometric periods (Fig. 493).[1997] In the northern part of Area 2, enclosed by two walls, LM IIIC pottery, a bronze knife, ashes, agrimi horns and animal bones were found, which could be indications of cult activities (Fig. 494).[1998] The walls, however, appear to be later stratigraphically and could date in the PG period.[1999] Thirty eight enigmatic pits dug in the rock contained earth, burnt matter, sherds and animal bones and were often covered by a layer of stones. Some contained LM IIIC sherds (mostly from skyphoi), others PG sherds (usually from krateriskoi, cups and a few pyxides). One PG pit (Pit 15) contained a fragment of a stone sculpture, presumably a torso of a female figure, which could be either of LBA or of PG date.[2000] The statuette wears a dress recalling the Minoan snake goddess, but since the context is PG, this would be either an already old statue which would have survived down to the EIA, or it could represent a pioneer piece of work, the style of which would have been conditioned by religious traditions.[2001] Metaxa-Prokopiou also tentatively suggests that the pits at Sybrita may have had a "ceremonial" function.[2002]

PART 9

OTHER DOMESTIC RECTANGULAR BUILDINGS AND MISCELLANEOUS WALLS

A. THE PROTOGEOMETRIC PERIOD (*c.* 1100-900 B.C.)[2003]

The evidence for ordinary houses from the continent and the islands (excluding Crete) dated in this period is scanty. In most cases the houses consist of a few scraps of walls. Some of the buildings at **Thermon** (α8, α9, α10 and α11, Figs. 40, 45b) were perhaps rectangular dwellings. House α11 may have consisted of a shallow closed (?) porch and two rooms, i.e. as Megara A and B it presents a tripartite division, though it is much shorter (less than 10m long). The houses appear to have been placed side by side and separated by narrow passages, courtyards and free spaces, recalling **Kastanas** (Figs. 14-20),[2004] **Assiros** (phases 5, 3 and 2, Figs. 6-8)[2005] and **Toumba** (Fig. 2) in Macedonia. A

[1994] H. Drerup, "Zweizelliges Heiligtum in Aptara", in *Forschungen auf Kreta 1942*, ed. F. Matz, Berlin 1951, 99-105, esp. 100, 104f., pl. 66 (topographical plan), pl. 72 (Geometric sherds). On the cults of Aptera see G. Capdeville, "Mythes et cultes de la cité d'Aptera (Crète occidentale), *Kernos* 8 (1995) 41-84.

[1995] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service, 1986-87 (M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki). Bibliography: M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki, *ΑΔ* 42 (1987) Χρον., 569-571; *id.*, *Κρητική Εστία* 2 (1988) 280-282; *id.*, "The Khania Area, ca. 1200-700 B.C.", in *Transizione* (1991) 417-419; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 835. Concerning the pottery of the 8th and 7th c. B.C. see M. Andreadaki- Vlazaki, in *Transizione* (1991) 419.

[1996] M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki, in *Transizione* (1991) 417.

[1997] Excavations: Greek Archaeological Service and Italian School, 1989-90 (N. Metaxa-Prokopiou and L. Rocchetti). Bibliography: N. Metaxa-Prokopiou & L. Rocchetti, *Κρητική Εστία* 4 (1991/93) 269f.; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 827f.; L. Rocchetti, "Sybrita: Lo scavo", in *Sybrita. La Valle di Amari fra Bronzo e Ferro* I, ed. L. Rocchetti, Roma 1994, 237-248; N. Metaxa-Prokopiou, "Η μετάβαση από το τέλος της εποχής του χαλκού στην πρώιμη εποχή του σιδήρου", in *ibid.*, 249-254. For the earlier research at the same site see N. Metaxa-Prokopiou, in *Transizione* (1991) 373-401.

[1998] L. Rocchetti, in *Sybrita* I, Roma 1994, 246.

[1999] *Ibid.*, 245.

[2000] *Ibid.*, 243f., fig. 14.

[2001] *Ibid.*, 244.

[2002] *Ibid.*, 252.

[2003] Concerning the evidence from settlements during the SMyc period see P.A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Pottery. An Introduction*, Oxford 1993, 28-30, 175f., with references.

[2004] B. Hänsel, *JbZMusMainz* 26 (1979) 167-202; *id.*, *Kastanas*, Band 7, Teil 1, Berlin 1989, 192ff.

[2005] K.A. Wardle, "Assiros: A Macedonian Settlement of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age", in *Ancient Macedonia* III. *Third International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, Sept. 21-25, 1977*, Thessalonike 1983,

rectangular building, divided into two or perhaps three rooms was discovered at **Volos (Iolkos?)** (Fig. 59), on top earlier architectural remains, also belonging to the PG period (Fig. 58).[2006] It appears to date in the end of the PG period. Assuming that the entrance was at the S short side one may restore a closed porch (*c.* 2,30m deep: int. dim.). The building would have measured *c.* 8,50m in length and less than 6,00m in width. If one restores three compartments (porch inclusive) we may estimate a total length of *c.* 14,00m. The earlier structures have been identified by P. Themelis as funerary enclosures,[2007] but to me it seems more likely that the children were buried within the settlement during the PG period, as Theocharis believed.[2008] Scanty remains of houses were also discovered over the ruins of the Mycenaean "palace".[2009]

In central and southern continental Greece there are several sites which have provided evidence for the existence of rectangular PG houses, but in most cases they are extremely badly preserved and so are useless for this study.[2010] None of these sites has yielded an intelligible house plan. This is partly due to the fact that in places such as Athens, Corinth, Argos, Delphi etc., intensive subsequent building activities in the same area, erased almost all traces of occupation of the PG and Geometric periods. I have already spoken of certain sites where LBA houses were repaired and reused in the PG period (pp. 98f.). In these cases the restored houses were usually rectangular, since this was as a rule the form of LBA dwellings (Fig. 257: Unit IV-9). Unfortunately, one cannot always tell how extensive the reoccupation of partly ruined LBA buildings during the PG period was, for many of the major Mycenaean sites were excavated by pioneers who in their effort to reach the deepest levels of the "Heroic" Age, dismantled the humble walls which rested on top or within the Mycenaean structures.[2011]

301-303; *id.*, *BSA* 75 (1980) 253-261; 82 (1987) 318-321 and 83 (1988) 376-380. It is not clear yet which spaces were roofed and which in the open air. It seems that one should not restore a complex of agglutinated rooms, but single rooms or units flanked by, or centred around, courtyards. An intriguing detail is that the circular hearths appear to have been in the courtyards, reminding us of the similar practice at Kastanas.

[2006] D. Theocharis, *ΠΑΕ* (1960) 54-57; (1961) 46-50. The S wall of the facade (?) is Wall A and the floor level at -2,17 in the section *Έργον* (1960) 57, fig. 68, here Fig. 58b. The small portion of the N back wall may not belong to this structure, since the depth of its foundation is unknown. On Volos (Iolkos?) in the PG period now see M. Sipsie-Eschbach, *Protogeometrische Keramik aus Iolkos in Thessalien*, Berlin 1991 and E. Deilaki, *ΑΔ* 29 (1973/74) Χρον., 546f. (walls and floors of the PG period); Z. Malakasioti, *ΑΔ* 36 (1981) Χρον., 252f. (two rooms and a hearth, dated in the PG period); *id.*, in *Νεότερα δεδομένα των ερευνών για την αρχαία Ιωλκό*, Volos 1994, 47-57 and also the contributions of A. Batziou-Eustathiou and B. Intzesiloglou, in *ibid.*, 59-69 and 71-83, respectively.

[2007] For the identification of the earlier foundations as funerary enclosures: Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 43-46.

[2008] *ΠΑΕ* (1960) 55f.; (1961) 49. This seems to have been a regular practice in the PG and Geometric periods at Volos: see now Z. Malakasioti, *ΑΔ* 43 (1988) Χρον., 240 and *id.*, in *Νεότερα δεδομένα...* (*op.cit.*) 47-50; R.A. Tomlinson, AR (1994/95) 38; A. Pariente, BCH 118 (1994) 734.

[2009] D. Theocharis, *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 126; (1960) 51; (1961) 46. The location of the Mycenaean palace is today a matter of debate, since the site of Dimini is today regarded as a better candidate: see V. Adryme-Sismane, "Ο μυκηναϊκός οικισμός Δημηνιού", in *Θεσσαλία. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας, 1975-1990. Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου, Λυών, 17-22 Απριλίου 1990*, Β', Athens 1994, 225-232; *id.*, "Η μυκηναϊκή πόλη στο Διμήνι. Νεότερα δεδομένα για την αρχαία Ιωλκό", in *Νεότερα δεδομένα...* (*op.cit.*) 17-43. It seems that Mycenaean Iolkos was at Dimini, but after its abandonment around the middle of the 12th c. B.C., the inhabitants moved to the hill of Palia, Volos. See also B. Intzesiloglou, "Νέα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας για τη θέση της Ιωλκού", in *ibid.*, 71-83; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 734; E.B. French, *AR* (1992/93) 47; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 35f.

[2010] See in general Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 606, no. XIV:1 (Athens); 608, no. XVII (Corinth); 608, no. XVIII (Argos); 609, no. XIX (Tiryns); 609, no. XX (Asine); J.-M. Luce, *BCH* 117 (1993) 626-631 and E.B. French, *AR* (1992/93) 36 [just to the N of the so-called "Black House" at Delphi, Fig. 65, a hearth or kiln containing ash, animal bones, grain and olive stones, apparently belonging to a domestic installation of the 10th c. B.C.]; S. Charitonides, *AE* (1958) 8f. (a drain dated in the PG period near Syntagma Sq. in Athens); H.W. Catling, AR (1984/85) 11 (Marathon). *Cf.* also R. Hägg, "Zur Stadtwerdung des dorischen Argos", in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 297-307; C. Roebuck, "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth", *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 96-127; K. Dickey, *Corinthian Burial Customs ca. 1100 to 550 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr 1992, 120-134. For a Late SMyc-transitional PG house with a large circular hearth from Corinth see *Corinth* VII: ii, Princeton 1976, 3-5; *AJA* 43 (1939) 596-599.

[2011] As for instance at Mycenae: Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 66, n. 239. The more recent excavations of Nichoria have demonstrated how extensive the reoccupation of the LBA ruins was.

The situation is also obscure in the Cyclades and will remain so, until the excavations of several sites are fully published. For instance, Mrs. V. Philippaki suggested to me (p.c.) that the acropolis of **Ay. Andreas** on Siphnos (Fig. 293) was continuously inhabited through the DA, but one has to concede that supporting evidence is lacking (the majority of the houses which have been excavated are LG and fewer date in the LH IIIB period).[2012] At **Zagora** (Fig. 298) there is ceramic evidence that the site was first settled in the last quarter of the 10th c., but here again, the houses excavated belong mostly to the second half of the 8th c.[2013] The evidence from **Koukounaries** is less ambiguous: in PG times some of the ruined rooms of the LH IIIC "mansion" were repaired and reused (p. 82, Fig. 321). However, for more ample details one must await the final account of the excavation. It was often claimed in the past years that there was continuous habitation from the LBA to the EIA at **Grotta** on Naxos (Fig. 330) but the evidence published so far gives us no proof for this assertion. Several EIA rectangular buildings have been reported by Kontoleon but there is no way of telling which of these are PG and which later [the two (?) oval structures mentioned earlier present the same problem].[2014] Moreover, following the recent discoveries in the area of the LH IIIC fortification wall (Fig. 330:3) and near the sea, S of Kontoleon's excavations (Fig. 330:1a), Lambrinoudakis is now considering the possibility that in the PG period at least, Grotta was used as a burial ground, while the previous inhabitants would have moved on the acropolis (see p. 188f.).[2015]

Likewise, very little is known about the early history of the settlements of the East Greek World. A PG building was excavated early in the century at the W slopes of the acropolis of **Lindos** on Rhodes (Fig. 392), but only the two side walls were preserved.[2016] The traces of 10th c. houses at **Old Smyrna** are few. E. Akurgal maintains that apart from the well known oval house (Figs. 403-404), the plan of the PG dwellings was rectangular.[2017] Judging by the plans published, however, it is perhaps possible to restore two of these "rectangular" houses as apsidal buildings (p. 99, Figs. 405-406).

There is ample evidence of domestic architecture from the LM IIIC-PG periods in **Crete**, but in practically all places the evidence is confined to agglutinative units (for instance see Figs. 438, 443, 445, 476, 480).[2018]

B. THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD (*c.* 900-700 B.C.)

The Geometric settlements of the mainland are less well known than those of Euboea, the Cyclades, the East Greek World and Crete. This is partly due to the same reasons stated previously. Thus, important settlements such as Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Mycenae, Argos, Tiryns and are not well known. The evidence in these sites consists of portions of walls with associated floors, domestic deposits and wells (excluding of course the cemeteries). In several of these sites corners of houses or three of the four walls of a house were identified, suggesting that the ground plans would have generally been rectangular.[2019]

[2012] The only find of the PG period so far mentioned is a krater foot of the 10th c. which was found in the level which separated the Mycenaean from the Geometric stratum: V. Philippaki, *ΠΑΕ* (1980) 287, pl. 172β.

[2013] A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 20, 47f., 99-105.

[2014] Professor Lambrinoudakis assured me that there is no SMyc pottery at Grotta. On the excavations of EIA Grotta see N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1950) 269-280; (1951) 214-223; (1959) 185-187; (1963) 148-159; (1965) 167-176; (1967) 112-119; V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 202f.; (1979) 246f.; (1980) 260; (1982) 255.

[2015] *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 148 and *id.*, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1986) 245.

[2016] C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I, Berlin 1931, 58f., 232-240 (Kopria area). The building was 5,40m wide, the preserved length of the W wall 7,20m. On the paved floor the lower part of five storage vessels lay *in situ*.

[2017] *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 22, figs. 3-5.

[2018] On domestic architecture in EIA Crete: Renard, *Notes d'architecture* (1967) 566-595; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981); K. Nowicki, "Topography of Refuge Settlement in Crete", *JbZMusMainz* 34 (1987) 213-234.

[2019] In general see Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 781-815. On early Corinth: C.K. Williams II, "The Early Urbanization of Corinth", *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 9-19; *id.*, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 5-10; 41 (1972) 144-147; 42 (1973) 6-9; C. Roebuck, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 96-127; J. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, Oxford 1984, 59-61. On early Argos see R. Hägg, "Zur Stadtwerdung des dorischen Argos", in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 297-307 and *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 30-47; E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, "Από το Άργος του 8ου και 7ου αι. π.Χ.", *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 33-47; P. Aupert, "Argos aux VIIIe-VIIe siècles: bourgade ou métropole?", *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 21-31.

Period KVII at **Kastanas** is characterised by Layers 8-5 which belong to the Geometric and Archaic periods (p. 124f. concerning the earlier periods). However, the absence of datable finds from phases 7-5 does not allow a precise correlation of the layers with chronological periods of southern Greece. Layer 8 begins in the advanced or LG period (Figs. 23-25). The hill was levelled and spacious complexes consisting of rectangular rooms were built. The insulae are separated by narrow streets 1,00-2,00m wide. Each complex consisted of several rooms (up to 12) and had flat roofs. A remarkable feature of these units is that usually each room is autonomous since there is a door in the exterior wall, while very rarely connecting doorways between rooms were found. Therefore, each unit serves several social groups. Kastanas was perhaps during this period dependent from a larger settlement in the vicinity (Toumba of Axiochori -Vardaroftsa- which may have been the seat of the Paeonians, Amydon, mentioned in the Iliad (Il., 2, 848ff.).[2020] Kastanas may have been a sort of outpost of Axiochori of strategic and mercantile character (a kind of fortress).

At **Aetos** in Ithaca a LG house was recently excavated; it yielded numerous decorated sherds and household utensils, as well as large quantities of animal bones and "carbonised matter".[2021] This assemblage brings to one's mind the nearby "cairns" (*cf.* Fig. 36), so one should not rule out the possibility that the latter represent ruined dwellings, as indeed S. Benton maintained,[2022] though it is more probable that the area was a sanctuary from the beginning of the Iron Age (p. 94f.).

At the hill of Palia at **Volos** (**Iolkos**?), houses of the 8th c. came to light during recent excavations. Children were apparently buried beneath the floors of the houses, as in the PG period.[2023] At the hill of **Ay. Athanasios** near **Galaxidi**, a fortified site of the LG period has been recently identified.[2024] The MG[2025] and LG[2026] settlement at **Delphi** is badly preserved (Fig. 64). Houses consist of groups of square and irregular rooms. The general impression is that of disorder. The only building which stands out appears to be a rectangular free-standing anta building with porch and main room, *c.* 13,00m long and 6,50m wide (Fig. 64, no. 5, Fig. 67). Recent excavations in the area of the "Pillar of the Rhodians" revealed two superimposed houses of the second half of the 8th c. B.C., the so-called "Black" and "Yellow" houses (Fig. 64, no. 3).[2027] The "Black House" (Fig. 65) consisted of at least two parallel rooms (a storeroom later subdivided into two roughly equal parts -2 and 3- and a kitchen or dining room, 1) which do not communicate and there may have been an upper storey. A window was preserved in the mud brick party wall between Rooms 2 and 3. The "Yellow House" (Fig. 66) consisted of several rooms and a corridor. A hearth was identified in the centre of Room 2.

In Euboea houses are roughly square free-standing single rooms, occasionally preceded by an open porch. The layout of **Eretria** during the MG period is still obscure.[2028] In the end of the LG period rectangular buildings gradually started replacing the older apsidal and oval buildings. The beginning of this process may be situated around 700, at which time curvilinear and rectilinear plans coexisted. Building C, in the northern part of the settlement (Fig. 117), consists of a single

[2020] W. Heurtley & R. Hutchinson, *BSA* 27 (1925/26) 42, 61; N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* I, Oxford 1972, 177.

[2021] Trench H23: S. Symeonoglou, *Έργον* (1985) 37; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 204.

[2022] *BSA* 48 (1953) 255, 257, 259.

[2023] Z. Malakasioti, in *Νεότερα δεδομένα των ερευνών για την αρχαία Ιωλκό*, Volos 1994, 50.

[2024] E. Baziotopoulou & P. Valavanis, "Deux acropoles antiques sur les montagnes de Galaxidi", *BCH* 117 (1993) 189-209.

[2025] P. Amandry, L. Lerat & J. Pouilloux, *BCH* 74 (1950) 328; L. Lerat, *BCH* 85 (1961) 338-352; J.-M. Luce, *BCH* 117 (1993) 626-631, fig. 4 at p. 624.

[2026] L. Lerat, *RA* 11/12 (1983) 207-218 and *BCH* 85 (1961) 338-357; P. Amandry, L. Lerat & J. Pouilloux, *BCH* 74 (1950) 328; P. Lemerle, *BCH* 59 (1935) 276; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 64; J. Pouilloux, *Topographie et Architecture. La région nord du sanctuaire, FD* II, Paris 1960, plan 24.

[2027] P. Amandry, L. Lerat & J. Pouilloux, *BCH* 74 (1950) 328; L. Lerat, *BCH* 85 (1961) 338-352; See also J.-M. Luce, *BCH* 116 (1992) 698-700 ("Yellow House"); 117 (1993) 623 ("Yellow House"), 623-626 ("Black House"); A. Pariente, *ibid.*, 823; E. French, *AR* (1992/93) 36. At least four floors and corresponding destruction layers were observed in connection with the "Black House", the earliest of which date around the middle of the 8th c. It is stated that all four floors yielded fragments of Thapsos skyphoi, which means that the house was in use during the second half of the 8th c. B.C. [*BCH* 117 (1993) 623]. It seems that the entire settlement suffered a destruction by fire around the middle of the 8th c. B.C. The pottery from the last floor of the "Yellow House" belonged to the last quarter of the 8th c. B.C.

[2028] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 3ff., with references.

rectangular room (7,60 X 5,60m), preceded by a shallow anta porch in the S long side.[2029] Two further well preserved houses, almost square in plan, were excavated by the harbour (Fig. 109).[2030] The southern one is square and was perhaps also preceded by an open porch. It is not clear whether the foundations which butt against the walls of the house represent roofed compartments or courtyards. The northern house is perhaps slightly later chronologically and approximately square as well. The entrance here is situated in the middle of the shorter side. Isolated rectilinear walls have been uncovered in various parts of the town, but no intelligible ground plan can be restored (Figs. 108, 111, 114).[2031] One structure which stands out, however, is a section of wall *c.* 5,00m long and 1,00m wide (Fig. 113, Wall V, measurements on the plan) and a cross wall of similar width which buts against its E side (Wall VI), discovered *c.* 200m SE of the sanctuary of Apollo (Fig. 101, no. 21). The excavator suggested that these walls may belong to a Geometric building with an upper storey.[2032] However, the direction of Wall V towards the NE and the excessive width of both walls, could indicate that this is a portion of the EA fortification wall (perhaps a tower?), traces of which have been revealed in the northern part of the settlement.[2033] If this assumption is confirmed, then it would follow that the sanctuary of Apollo was contained within the fortified area, contrary to my earlier suggestion.[2034] Lastly, in Building Plot 740 a straight wall (Wall 2, α-α' of the preliminary reports) may represent the back wall of a primitive "stoa" (Figs. 116, 118).[2035] The fragmentary preservation of the architectural remains of the Geometric period at the neighbouring settlements of **Xeropolis/Lefkandi** (Fig. 96) and **Chalcis** (Fig. 100) results to a similar confusion.[2036] On the other hand, in the Euboean colony of **Pithekoussai** (Figs. 120-122), there are three well preserved rectangular buildings.[2037] The earliest, Building III, dates in the middle of the 8th c. and consists of a rectangular chamber (6,00 X 4,50m), provided with a doorway in the middle of the long side. In front of the edifice extended a walled courtyard. The plan is very similar to the EG building at Thorikos, discussed previously. Moreover, both buildings were provided with benches in the interior and would have served the same purpose (workshops). At Pithekoussai, towards the end of the 8th c. a square building (II) with a small courtyard was erected next to Building III. The two edifices share party walls. Around 700 a rectangular building (IV) was constructed on top of the earlier oval building (p. 105f.). The location of the entrance is uncertain. Before taking leave of Euboea, two more sites should be discussed. At **Kirinthos** (modern Kastri) in NE Euboea, a complex of rooms constructed in the LG or EA period was partly excavated.[2038] **Archampolis**, in the E coast of S Euboea, is located on the slope of a steep narrow ravine.[2039] The houses of the historical period were constructed on successive terraces and were apparently rectangular. The six highest terraces were enclosed by a massive fortification wall. The surface finds, according to D. Keller, indicate, that the settlement was in use from the 8th and 7th c. B.C. down to at least the late Hellenistic period. In the bottom of the ravine there may have existed a sanctuary with altar, temple and temenos.[2040] Subsequent excavations

[2029] J.-P. Descoeudres, *AΔ* 23 (1968) Χρον., 239-242; K. Schefold, *AΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 209; *id.*, *AntK* 12 (1969) 72f.; P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972, 108-110.

[2030] L. Kahil, *AntK* 24 (1981) 85f.; *id.*, *DossAParis* 94 (1985) 33f.; *id.*, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 167-169. See also Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 4, fig. 3 at p. 7.

[2031] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 4-10 (nos. 4, 6, 9, 10 and 11, Fig. 101). Now add traces of rectilinear walls in Building Plots 725, 695 [E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 33 (1978) Χρον., 124f., fig. 2], 716 [E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 34 (1979) Χρον., 177-179, fig. 1], 686 [E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 35 (1980) Χρον., 227, fig. 3 (Wall 11)] and 98 [P.G. Calligas, *AΔ* 36 (1981) Χρον., 200], here Fig. 101, nos. 21, 23-25, 27.

[2032] E. Touloupa, *AΔ* 33 (1978) Χρον., 125, fig. 2 at p. 126 (Building Plot 695).

[2033] See Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 14-16.

[2034] *Ibid.*, 16.

[2035] *Ibid.*, 8, figs. 6-7 at pp. 12-13.

[2036] Concerning a small roughly square hut at Xeropolis/Lefkandi, dated between 900 and 750: M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 18 (here Fig. 96, no. 1). For the LG period see *ibid.*, 14-22 (especially in Trench 2).

[2037] G. Buchner, *AR* (1970/71) 63-67; J. Klein, *Expedition* 14, 2 (1972) 34-39; D. Ridgway, *L'alba della Magna Grecia*, Milano 1984, 106f.

[2038] A. Sampson, *AAA* 8 (1975) 35-37; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 784.

[2039] D.R. Keller, "Archampolis: An Early Iron Age Settlement and Sanctuary in Southern Euboea", *AJA* 88 (1984) 249 (Dr. Keller kindly provided me with the manuscript of his paper).

[2040] Letter by Dr. Keller, Jan. 18, 1985.

in this spot by M. Panagopoulou confirmed the assumption that the area was devoted to cult practice, but the earliest material connected with the cult belongs to the Classical period.[2041]

In **Athens**, fragmentary walls and habitation levels of the Geometric period have come to light, but no intelligible ground plan exists.[2042] One wall was assigned by its excavator to a "public" building, due to its important dimensions.[2043] At **Plasi**, where, according to certain scholars, the deme of Marathon was situated, there was a settlement from Neolithic down to Roman times.[2044] Geometric sherds were contained inside rectangular houses, which however, could have been LH buildings which were also used in the EIA.[2045]

The square -or approximately square- plan occurs at **Lathouriza** in Attica (Fig. 141).[2046] There, two, three or more square rooms are combined together and form agglutinative units. One house, XIII, consists of a shallow closed porch and a main room, as Room I of the chieftain's dwelling at the same site. On the other hand, House XVIII, which is perhaps of a later date, is divided into a main square anteroom and a smaller rear chamber (p. 144f., Fig. 152).

Building X-XI/XXII and perhaps, in my opinion, III at the lower slopes of Mt. Velatouri at **Thorikos** (Fig. 158, no. 2, Figs. 160-161) may be included in this section (*cf.* p. 147).[2047] It is likely that it served as a workshop for metal, for lumps of litharge were discovered in two pits which had been opened in the floor of Room X-XII. The unit consists of a rectangular room *c.* 9,00m long and *c.* 6,00m wide which was apparently entered through the W long side, and perhaps of Room III, set against the SE corner. In front of the entrance of the former room extended a walled courtyard (XXII). The edifice was built in the early EG period and was destroyed around the middle of the 9th c. (late EG II-early MG I).[2048] The plan may be compared with Building III (*c.* 750 B.C.) at Pithekoussai (Fig. 122), which served similar functions. Further up on the Velatouri hill a complex of rooms, dated in the SG period, has been excavated (Fig. 158, no. 6, Fig. 159).[2049] One unit comprises three rooms (G, J and L) sharing a common porch. Room G had benches along three sides and a central support. The N wall of rooms L, J and G extends further E and forms the S limit of a second complex of rooms, partly excavated (Rooms K, F and E). A similar, perhaps roughly contemporary house has been excavated at **Oropos** by the late A. Dragona (Fig. 75, area I, Fig. 76, Rooms A-Δ).[2050]

The settlements of Lathouriza, Thorikos and Oropos confirm the view previously expressed, i.e. that in Attica, during the LG and SG periods, it was customary to erect sacred or profane edifices, composed of several rooms set side by side and sharing a common porch, corridor or courtyard. It seems therefore, despite the fact that we know almost nothing of the architecture of late 8th c. Athens, that Heilmeyer correctly classifies the Geometric settlement among the "Konglomerat-siedlungen".[2051] In the light of recent excavations in the southern part of **Megara**, where a building of the Geometric period consisting of several rooms was found, one could tentatively suggest that this pattern may have characterised also the Megarid.[2052]

[2041] M. Panagopoulou, *Αρχάμπολη*, Athens 1995, esp. 31, 36f.

[2042] O. Alexandri, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 26f. See also Morris, *Burial* (1987) 228ff., nos. 15, 33, 44, 50 and 63, with references.

[2043] The wall lies in the junction of Syngrou Av. and Donta Str. See Ph. Stavropoullos, *ΑΔ* 20 (1965) Χρον., 87-93: uncovered length 9,00m, width 0,70m, pr. height 0,60/0,70m.

[2044] E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 3 (1970) 14-16; S. Marinatos, *ibid.*, 66 and 153f.; P. Themelis, *ΑΔ* 29 (1974) Χρον., 233-239; J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, 216; V. Petrakos, *Ο Μαραθών*, Athens 1995, 55-57.

[2045] E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 3 (1970) 16.

[2046] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 26-43.

[2047] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 25-34; *id.*, in *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 1-42; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 22; Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 53f.; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 163.

[2048] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 70. Room III was presumably repaired and reused in the LG period.

[2049] J. Servais, in *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 9-30; C. Krause, "Grundformen der griechischen Pastashäuses", *AA* (1977) 167; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 36; H.F. Mussche, *Thorikos: A Guide to the Excavations*, Gent 1974, 23. One more house, dated in the SG period has been excavated on the Velatouri but it remains unpublished (p.c. by the late P. Spitaels).

[2050] Publication in preparation by the author. The house perhaps passed out of use in the late Archaic period.

[2051] *FGK* (1982) 89f., fig. 86 at p. 111 and *id.*, *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 110.

[2052] Excavations by P. Zorides (public lecture, Athens, March 30, 1996, reported by A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, April 6, 1996).

The evidence from Geometric **Argos** is limited to a few walls and no complete ground plan (Fig. 207, areas marked "W").[2053] The same stands for **Corinth**[2054] and **Nafplion**.[2055] The plan of one well preserved house from Kastraki hill at **Asine** (Fig. 235: "Geometric Terrace") is almost square (5,00 X 4,00m approximately) and the entrance is located off-centre, in the longer side.[2056] It is not clear from the plan published, whether one should restore a shallow anta porch, as in the case of Building C at Eretria (Fig. 117), or a single anta as in the case of a house, excavated by L. Kahil at the same site (Fig. 109). Fragmentary straight walls were also discovered in the "Lower Town" (Fig. 236);[2057] traces of further buildings, of uncertain plan, came to light in the Levendis and Samaras plots (Fig. 233).[2058]

The best preserved Geometric settlements are located in the Cyclades and the East Greek World. Among these, only a few contribute to this typological survey, for in general they consist of agglutinative units. The houses at **Zagora** (Figs. 298-299, 301-305) are composed of square and rectangular rooms arranged around courtyards and free spaces.[2059] Moreover, the various units interlock with one another and share party walls. It seems that the settlement would have consisted of several such clusters of houses which would have been separated by streets or perhaps irregular free spaces. Several single rooms, sharing party walls were aligned against the fortification wall (Fig. 301). Some houses at **Ay. Andreas** on Siphnos (Fig. 293) can be compared with those of Zagora.[2060] Here also, houses lean on the fortification wall, but unlike Zagora, they are composed of several rooms the one behind the other, i.e. they appear to be elongated, but perhaps not entirely free-standing buildings. As at Zagora, the groups of rooms are separated by streets and open spaces. At the **Kastro**, also on the island of Siphnos (Figs. 289-292), a very small portion of the Geometric settlement has been revealed.[2061] There too, the houses were composed of several square and rectangular rooms which shared party walls. The excavated rectangular rooms upon the acropolis (Figs. 290-291), which were constructed around the middle of the 8th c., confirm once more that houses were set against the contemporary circuit wall, which descended towards the sea. Immediately above (within the peribolos wall) there was a sanctuary which was apparently active already by the middle of the 9th c. (p. 328).[2062] and flourished from *c.* the end of the 8th c. to the middle of the 6th c. B.C., or slightly later.[2063] The condition of the houses excavated on the NE slope of the acropolis is fragmentary (Fig. 292), so one cannot rule out the possible existence of free-standing houses. The picture of the Geometric settlement on the acropolis of **Koukounaries** on Paros is not yet clear.[2064] It seems however that as elsewhere in the Cyclades, we are in the presence of groups of rooms and free-standing oikoi separated by narrow passages (Figs. 320-321). Building E could perhaps be restored as a free-standing oikos with porch and main room, which may have been provided with off-centre doorways. At **Grotta** on Naxos (Fig. 331) the results of the excavations are

[2053] See in general R. Hägg, in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 297-307 and *id., Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 30-47.

[2054] C.H. Morgan, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 132, 139; S.S. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 246, 252; C.K. Williams, II & J. Fisher, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 3, 23, n. 20; 41 (1972) 144f.

[2055] S. Charitonides, *ΠΑΕ* (1954) 235-237; (1955) 233f.

[2056] O. Frödin & A.W. Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938, 39f.; Fusaro, *Architettura* (1982) 8, fig. 10 at p. 11.

[2057] Frödin & Persson, *op.cit.*, 129-139; Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 53, fig. 8, p. 50 (on top of PG tombs).

[2058] R. Hägg & G. Nordquist, *OpAth* 19 (1992) 65, fig. 6 (Room H) and I. and R. Hägg, ed., *Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine*. Fasc. 4, Uppsala 1980 (*Boreas* 4:4) 16, 27 (Room T, Wall A.73.98).

[2059] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1971; *id., Zagora* 2, Athens 1988; *id., Archaeology* 23 (1970) 303-309; *id., AE* (1970) 154-233; *id., ΠΑΕ* (1967) 103-111; (1969) 135-138; (1972) 251-273; (1974) 163-180; *id., Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἄνδρου. Οδηγὸς*, Athens 1981. See also Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 425f.; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 305-308; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 55f.

[2060] V. Philippaki, *Αἀ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 431-434; *id., AAA* 6 (1973) 93-103; *id., ΠΑΕ* (1975) 235-237; (1976) 284-286; (1977) 357-360; (1978) 192-194; (1979) 226-227; (1980) 287.

[2061] J.K. Brock, "Excavations in Siphnos", *BSA* 44 (1949) 4-10, 11-16; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 50f.

[2062] N. Kourou, in *Πρακτικὰ Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου "Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων", Φιλώτι 3-6 Σεπτ. 1992*, ed. J. Promponas & S. Psaras, Athens 1994, 272.

[2063] *BSA* 44 (1949) 3-5, 18-27; L.H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, Cambridge 1976, 184; Kourou, *op.cit.*, 271f. The divinity worshipped was presumably Artemis Ekbateria or Athena.

[2064] D. Schilardi, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 173-183; *id., ΠΑΕ* (1975) 210f.; (1976) 287-294; (1977) 363-374; (1978) 195-210; (1979) 236-248; (1980) 263-286; (1981) 269-292; (1982) 245-252; (1983) 271-296.

still largely unpublished and the situation is confusing, not only due to the fragmentary condition of the structures, but also due to the fact that it is not clear at which moment the area of the LBA settlement was resettled. The small fortified settlement at **Vathy Limenari** on the tiny island of Donousa (Fig. 343) was inhabited from the late 9th to the early 8th c. B.C.[2065] The houses usually consist of two rooms of approximately the same dimensions. Some are entered through the short side, others through the long side, depending on the configuration of the terrain. The houses inside the fortified acropolis of **Minoa** at Amorgos were partly hewn into the rock, often shared party walls and were usually entered through the long side (Fig. 347).[2066] One house consists of two adjacent rooms, one of which was apsidal and the other rectangular (p. 108, Fig. 350, House A1).[2067]

The East Greek settlements are more useful to this study. This is due to the fact that free-standing units are quite common. The houses at **Emporio** (Figs. 368, 372-381) can be divided into two main categories:[2068] the so-called "megara" which are elongated buildings and comprise a main room and a porch or anteroom and the "bench houses", roughly square in plan, generally consisting of one single room and occasionally (House U, Fig. 376), of two. I have already spoken of the Lower Megaron, which may have been initially an apsidal building (p. 85, Fig. 374). Some time during the 7th c. a bench house was erected in the place of the previous rear room (House A, Fig. 375). This led J. Boardman to assume that the "bench houses" at Emporio were chronologically later than the "megara" at the same site. In addition he suggested that "the bench-houses are obviously much poorer dwellings than the megara but this evidence suggests that they may also be later".[2069] However, in my opinion, the fact that the "bench houses" are more humble constructions than the "megara", does not imply a chronological distinction between the two types. Moreover, the fact that House A is later than the Lower Megaron, does not necessarily imply that *all* the "bench houses" at Emporio are later. If it were so, one would have to admit, that initially the settlement would have consisted of only three buildings: the Megaron Hall, the Lower Megaron and House I. The SG houses excavated at **Hephaistia** on Lemnos remain unpublished, but since their plan has been compared with that of the houses from Troy II, we may provisionally accept that they consisted of one or two rooms one behind the other and an anta porch (Table IIB:5).[2070]

The EG and MG houses at **Old Smyrna** are neatly arranged side by side (Fig. 407).[2071] It is not clear, however, whether each room represents a single house or one of the compartments of a larger complex. The rear part of the rooms leans onto the massive fortification wall of the settlement. All these rooms are entered through the S. In Rooms XLVI, XLVII the door is situated in the short side. Room XLI is broader and the entrance is located in the long side. During the MG phase a further room was added at the SW corner of XLI (XLa) which perhaps may have been provided with an entrance in the E long wall.[2072] The houses of the third quarter of the 8th c. were as a rule rectangular (Fig. 408).[2073] Rectangular and square rooms are clustered side by side; they are separated by narrow passages (as Rooms XLVI and XLVII, or XLII and the apsidal or oval House C1) and courtyards (as Room XLVII and a possible apsidal house which are separated by Courtyard XLIX). The rooms are simple oikoi. The rectangular rooms were entered through the short side. E. Akurgal considers the excavated complex of rooms as a single house arranged around a common open

[2065] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 390-393; 25 (1970) Χρον., 426-428; 26 (1971) Χρον., 465-467; 28 (1973) Χρον., 544-547; *id.*, *ΑΑΑ* 4 (1971) 210-214; 6 (1973) 256-258; *id.*, "Ο Γεωμετρικός οικισμός της Δονούσας", in *Ίδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 43-54; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 91f.; K. Fagerström, "Donousa-ett piratfäste från järnåldern?", *Medusa* 5 (1985) 9-15; *id.*, *GIAA* (1988) 69-72.

[2066] L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 196-198, fig. 9; (1989) 278-280, fig. 2.

[2067] *Id.*, *Έργον* (1984) 92-94; *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 380-387.

[2068] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 34-51; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 10-13, 47-50; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 110f.

[2069] *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 37.

[2070] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 50, 89. The pottery from this area is SG in style and has been compared with the pottery style from Troy, G 2-3, usually dated between 750 and 650 B.C.: A. di Vita, *ASAtene* 55 (1977) 348.

[2071] E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 22-27, figs. 12-13.

[2072] A rectangular house, built at the end of the EG period and in use during the MG period was also excavated in Trench B but only one of its corners was uncovered (letter by Dr. R.V. Nicholls, March 23, 1986).

[2073] E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I, Ankara 1983, 27-33, figs. 14-15.

space.[2074] However, the southern group of rooms (XLII and C1) is turned towards the opposite direction of the court (S instead of N), and this is also the case of my hypothetical apsidal house, to the E of Courtyard XLIX and of Tholos J. Perhaps Rooms XLVI, XLI and XLa form one house, while the rest of the houses consist of one room and eventually of a courtyard (as Unit XLVII/XLVII). In the last quarter of the 8th c. we witness a shift from rectangular to oval plans (Figs. 409, 414). The only rectangular house of this phase is House XXXVII, with the door in the middle of the long side (see also Fig. 412). Rectangular houses of the second half of the 8th c. have been revealed at **Miletos** as well but no intelligible plan exists (Fig. 417).[2075] A complex of rectangular rooms of the early 7th c. B.C. was recently discovered in the Kalabaktepe area (Fig. 418); the arrangement reminds us of Buildings A and II/3 at Aigeira (Fig. 248).[2076] Beneath these houses lay their predecessors of the LG period, which have not been discussed yet.[2077]

It is difficult to evaluate the evidence offered by the Geometric settlements of Crete. Apart from the settlements which have been discussed previously, such as **Kastro** (Fig. 438), **Vrokastro** (Figs. 443-445) or **Phaistos** (Fig. 481), Geometric houses have been uncovered at **Knossos** (for instance Fig. 473),[2078] on Prophetes Elias at **Gortyna** (Fig. 480),[2079] at **Prinias** (Fig. 476),[2080] **Kastelli Chanion**,[2081] **Eleutherna**,[2082] and elsewhere. It seems that the general pattern of agglutinated units separated by narrow streets may have characterised these sites as well.

CONCLUSIONS

As noted earlier, the main difference between apsidal and free-standing rectangular buildings is the rear curved wall of the latter, in contrast to the straight rear wall of the former, which meets the lateral walls at right angles. The majority of EIA free-standing rectangular buildings (and all similar apsidal buildings) were provided with an entrance, usually axial, on one of the short sides. Occasionally, there existed a secondary entrance on the long side, as in the case of several apsidal buildings. It may be significant that side entrances are often encountered in buildings of sacred character (Temples A and B at Kalapodi, so-called temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora and Pre-oikos of the Naxians on the island of Delos). Perhaps there is some sort of link between this device and the function fulfilled by these buildings. Rectangular edifices, as their apsidal counterparts, may or not be provided with a porch. They usually consist of one or two rooms (excluding the porch) placed the one behind the other on the longitudinal axis, as in the case of apsidal buildings (*cf.* Tables I-VIII).

[2074] *Ibid.*, 29.

[2075] A. von Gerkan, in *Milet* I, 8, ed. Th. Wiegand, Berlin 1925, 29f., pl. III; G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet*, Berlin 1968, 42; P. Hommel, *IM* 9/10 (1959/60) 38-42, Beilage 2.

[2076] M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 95 (1991) 144.

[2077] M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 99 (1995) 238.

[2078] L.H. Sackett, *AR* (1972/73) 63; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1976/77) 19f.; J.N. Coldstream, "Dorian Knossos and Aristotle's Villages", in *Aux origines de l'hellénisme: la Crète et la Grèce. Hommage H. Van Effenterre*, Paris 1984, 311-322; *id.*, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAW* G 272 (1984) 20f.; *id.*, "Knossos: An Urban Nucleus in the Dark Age?", in *Transizione* (1991) 287-299; *id.*, *BSA* 67 (1972) 64, 77; *id.*, in *Knossos. From Greek City to Roman Colony. Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion* II, ed. L.H. Sackett, London 1992 (*BSA* Suppl. 21) 3-5; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 820.

[2079] A. Di Vita, "Gortina in età geometrica", in *Transizione* (1991) 309-319; N. Allegro, "Gortina, l' abitato geometrico di Profitis Ilias", in *ibid.*, 321-330. The summit and the slopes of Mt. Prophetes Elias were inhabited from PG through LG/EO times. The area was probably deserted following an earthquake.

[2080] G. Rizza, "Gli scavi di Prinias e il problema delle origini dell'arte greca", in *Un decenio di ricerche archeologiche* (*La ricerca scientifica* 100) Roma 1978, 85-137; *id.*, "Prinias nelle fasi geometrica e orientalizzante", *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 45-51, esp. 47f.; *id.*, in *Creta Antica. Cento anni di archeologia italiana, 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, 234; M.A. Rizza, in *ibid.*, 228-230; G. Rizza, "Prinias. La città archaica sulla Patella", in *Transizione* (1991) 331-347.

[2081] M. Andreadhaki-Vlasaki, "The Khania Area, *ca.* 1200-700 B.C.", in *Transizione* (1991) 403-423, esp. 415; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 809; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 836, 837. See also a wall of mud bricks and a burnt floor, dated in the LG period at some distance from the nucleus of the EIA settlement: M. S. Markoulaki, *AΔ* 37 (1982) Χρον., 377, fig. 2 at p. 378.

[2082] P. Themelis, *Κρητική Εστία* 4 (1991/93) 247-252; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 831.

Concerning the manner of roofing of rectangular buildings the evidence is meagre.[2083] While apsidal and oval edifices usually require a steep roof, rectangular plans are compatible with pitched (Figs. 500, 505) and flat (Figs. 502-504, 506) roofs. It is generally assumed that the existence of an axial colonnade presupposes the presence of a ridge-pole and consequently a pitched roof. This is probable for narrow and elongated structures, such as the first Heraion at Samos or the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. In more broad buildings, however, the presence of an axial colonnade does not necessarily imply a steep roof, since the cross beams of a flat roof would certainly require support. The evidence provided by the building model of the Argive Heraion is of great value, for it depicts an edifice with a pitched roof above the main room and a flat one over the porch (Fig. 500). Thus, the presence of two columns between the antas of the porch or of a prostyle porch with no axial column, and an interior axial colonnade, favours a restoration similar to the roofing system of the Argive model, while a single axial column in the porch suggests a pitched roof (*cf.* the "Heroön" at Lefkandi, Fig. 89). The absence of columns between the antas also favours the restoration of a flat roof over the porch. To my knowledge, the only possible roof tiles of the Geometric period (prior to *c.* 680, date of the tiles of the temple of Apollo at Corinth) are those from Building B at Koukounaries,[2084] Vathy Limenari[2085] and of Building J at Kato Syme,[2086] and perhaps from the Ismenion at Thebes.[2087] It has also been suggested that the painted chequered pattern of the roof of the clay model from Aetos may be an imitation of roof tiles (Fig. 496).[2088] In most cases however, the shape of the roof can only be deduced by general observations such as the local climatic conditions, the available materials and the local architectural tradition, which often persists even to our own days. Consequently we may in general accept that in the Cyclades (*cf.* Figs. 302-303) and Crete (*cf.* Figs. 440, 449-450, 462), roofs would have been as a rule horizontal,[2089] while in mountainous regions of mainland Greece, roofs would have been steep. In the remaining areas of the mainland (*cf.* Figs. 25, 171, 151), in the East Greek islands (*cf.* Fig. 370) and in the W coast of Asia Minor (*cf.* Figs. 396, 412), roofs would have been sometimes sloping, sometimes flat.[2090]

[2083] Since the EIA "megara" and rectangular free-standing edifices do not differ in many respects from their counterparts of the 2nd millennium B.C., the basic arguments for or against sloping or flat roofs are the same in both eras. See in general A. Boethius, "Mycenaean Megara and Nordic Houses", *BSA* 24 (1919/21) 161-184; L.B. Holland, "Primitive Aegean Roofs", *AJA* 24 (1920) 324-341; W.B. Dinsmoor, "Note on the Megaron Roofs", *AJA* 46 (1942) 370-372; E.B. Smith, "The Megaron and its Roof", *AJA* 46 (1942) 99-118; C.W. Blegen, "The Roof of the Megaron", *AJA* 49 (1945) 35-44; C. Hopkins, "The Megaron of the Mycenaean Palace", *SMEA* 6 (1968) 45-53; J. Warner, "The Megaron and Apsidal House in Early Bronze Western Anatolia: New Evidence from Karatas", *AJA* 83 (1979) 141-143. See also Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 177-190. On roof tiles of the Mycenaean period see Smith, Dinsmoor and Blegen, *op.cit.* and also A. Åkerstrom, "Zur frage der mykenischen Dacheindeckung", *OpArch* 2 (1941) 164-173; S. Iakovides, *Έργον* (1961) 47, fig. 50; *id.*, *Αι μυκηναϊκαί ακροπόλεις*, Athens 1973, 162, 164; K. Kilian, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 58, fig. 11; W. Alzinger, *AAA* 11 (1978) 150, fig. 3; G.E. Mylonas, *Έργον* (1984) 61; R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque* I, Paris 1965, 68, n. 1-2, fig. 38; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 120, n. 127; V. Kaestner, "Kretish-mykenische Traditionen in der griechischen Sakralarchitektur", *EthnogrAZ* 21 (1980) 649-652; Ö. Wikander, "Ancient Roof-Tiles: Use and Function", *OpAth* 17 (1988) 204f.; S. Iakovides, "Mycenaean Roofs: Form and Construction", in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 Juin 1987*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 147-160 and G. Hiesel, *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 221-225.

[2084] D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 247 (one fragment only).

[2085] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, in *Ίδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 44.

[2086] A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 223f.

[2087] A. Keramopoullos, *ΑΔ* 3 (1917) 75-77.

[2088] M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948) 101f. *Contra* see Ö. Wikander, *OpAth* 17 (1988) 205, n. 21 with references.

[2089] It may be relevant that in the Cyclades, free-standing apsidal and oval plans which presuppose a pitched roof are rather exceptional while the presence of such edifices in Crete is altogether lacking.

[2090] S. Iakovides has presented an extreme view concerning the manner of roofing in the Mycenaean period, i.e., that flat roofs presumably did not exist and that all buildings had low-pitched sloping roofs and that "it is extremely unlikely ... that in the 14th-13th century B.C., buildings on the Greek Mainland would have more than one type of roof": *L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 Juin 1987*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 147-160, esp. p. 160.

PART 10

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TYPOLOGY OF EIA FREE-STANDING ANTA AND OIKOS BUILDINGS (INCLUDING A COMPARISON WITH MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS)

It has become clear that there are four main categories of EIA buildings: apsidal, oval, round and rectangular. The characteristics of oval and circular structures have been already described. Here, I will concentrate on the apsidal and rectangular plans for the following reasons: they were preferred in sacred architecture (as well in their use as chieftains' dwellings), to oval and circular plans, they present the same range of possibilities of interior arrangement and of types of facade, and lastly because the plans of Archaic temples seem to derive from them.

There are two basic categories of apsidal and rectangular buildings: those in which the facade consists of protruding antas, i.e. in which the front is open, and those which are provided with a front wall and door, i.e. which have a closed facade. The former are known as "anta buildings", the latter as "oikoi".[2091] Anta and oikos buildings can consist of a single room with no porch, or of a porch and one, two and occasionally more rooms, usually arranged along the longitudinal axis of the edifice. There are naturally slight variations to this scheme which I will point out in the following pages.

One-room buildings with open front ("Π"- and "U"-shaped) (Table I)

Buildings of this form consist of a single room with an open front between antas. As a free-standing construction this type of plan occurs very often in sacred contexts, for instance at Kommos (Temples A and B), Tegea (Building II, and perhaps I), Lathouriza ("suburban" shrine), Samos H1 (*cf.* also "Treasury III" at the same site.),[2092] Vroulia ("suburban" chapel, dated however well into the 7th c.) and Neochoraki. Concerning Building B1 (and perhaps A1 as well) in the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria and other buildings at the same site, one cannot be certain that originally the front was open. Perhaps at Eretria, and elsewhere, vertical posts would have sometimes divided apsidal edifices into a shallow porch and a main chamber, as in the case of the two early 7th c. apsidal houses at Old Smyrna (Table IIB:1-2).[2093]

"Π"-shaped buildings serving domestic functions occur at Lathouriza (Rooms VI and XV), Karphi (Rooms 19, 20 etc.), Vrokastro (Rooms 1 and 22 of the Upper Settlement) and perhaps at Koukounaries (a group of two or three rooms set side by side). It may be significant that in all these sites the "Π"-shaped rooms form part of larger agglutinative units. A small "Π"-shaped (?) MG room found below a later sanctuary at Argos (Fig. 210) also appears to form part of a larger unit.

As a rule, the dimensions of "Π"-shaped cult buildings are modest, though there may be some notable exceptions as the first *hekatompedon* at Samos. Occasionally we encounter a post in the middle of the facade (Kommos A (?) and B; Lathouriza, "suburban" shrine). In certain elongated temples there is an interior axial colonnade (Samos H1, and also the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, which according to Drerup would have been provided with an open facade).

It may be worth noting that "Π"-shaped shrines already existed in Late Mycenaean times. One is Room 93 in the palace of **Pylos** (Table IC:3) which is often interpreted as a shrine due to the square altar which is axially placed *c.* 3,00m in front of it.[2094] The shrine dates as the rest of the palace in the LH IIIB period and measures internally *c.* 3,40 by 3,20m, i.e. it is roughly square. The

[2091] Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969).
[2092] Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 83, fig. 71.
[2093] "Π"-shaped cult buildings are more common than "U"-shaped ones. This could be fortuitous for the facade of several apsidal cult buildings has not been preserved. *Cf.* for instance: Asine, LG building on the summit of the Barbouna hill (Fig. 238); Eretria (Temple D, Fig. 104).
[2094] C.W. Blegen & M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* I, Princeton 1966, 301-305; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 57; *id.*, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 13f.; R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material", *OpAth* 8 (1968) 42; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Wroclaw 1972, 282 and *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 18f., 193, 199.

main difference however with EIA similar shrines is that the room at Pylos forms part of a more elaborate complex of rooms.

A modest "Π"-shaped shrine, dated around the middle of the LH IIIC period has been discovered in the Lower Citadel of **Tiryns** (Building 110, Table IC:2).[2095] Unlike Room 93 at Pylos, the Tiryns edifice is free-standing, despite the fact that the cyclopean fortification wall was used as a rear wall. The shrine is also a modest structure measuring *c.* 3,20m in length and 2,20m in width. It should be noted that the N anta makes a slight return towards the S but this looks more like a re-enforced anta than like a true front wall.

A third possible "Π"-shaped edifice of late Mycenaean date was excavated in 1980 in the sanctuary of **Philia** in Thessaly (dim. *c.* 5,00 by 3,00m, Table IC:1).[2096]

It is natural that "Π"-shaped plans were almost exclusively applied for buildings which did not serve for habitation purposes, for the winter cold would have penetrated easily from the open facade and rendered the interior inaccessible during the winter season. It is therefore not surprising that this category of EIA shrine was usually erected in "suburban" or "extraurban" sanctuaries which were less frequently visited than urban shrines. In secular contexts such edifices would have served secondary functions (storerooms, workshops, etc.).

Anta buildings with porch and main room (Table II)

This plan was equally applied in sacred and profane free-standing buildings. It is encountered as a rule in rectangular buildings and only exceptionally in apsidal constructions (Building A at Eretria, where however the protruding antas are extremely short, the first phase of Unit IV-5, which is uncertain and the two early 7th c. houses at Old Smyrna in which the porch was cut-off from the main chamber by a row of upright posts). A possible explanation of the rarity of apsidal buildings of this category may be that such buildings usually have the apse partitioned from the rest of the building and therefore belong to the category of two-room buildings with porch (Table III). Moreover, as noted previously, the facades or the front part of a substantial number of apsidal buildings has been obliterated and therefore one cannot tell whether they were provided with a porch. In that respect, it may be useful to note, that some LBA apsidal houses consisted of an anta porch and a single room [Units III-3 and II-7 (?) at Nichoria and perhaps two houses at Kastanas].[2097]

Rectangular buildings with anta porch and main room may acquire a wide range of proportions: elongated, normal rectangular, roughly square and even oblong (i.e. entrance in the longer side as in House C at Eretria and perhaps a LG house at Asine, Table IIB:7-8).

Such edifices appear in Greece for the first time during the Neolithic period. Thereafter, we observe an unbroken continuity of the use of this plan until well into the 7th c. B.C. In temple architecture this plan was favoured throughout antiquity. In fact it became the usual plan of the cella and pronaos of the Classical Greek temple, regardless of whether there was a peristyle or not. The only main difference is in the opisthodomos, which was not invented before the 7th c. and anyway did not communicate with the cella. Smaller cult buildings, such as "treasuries" also present this plan.

The question whether the plan of the Greek temple is a derivation of the Mycenaean "megaron" will be discussed in due course for the term "megaron" includes other categories of buildings as well (depending of course on the definition that one gives to the term). Here let me simply remark that Building B below the later Telesteria at **Eleusis** presents such a plan.[2098] In its

[2095] Concerning the three successive LH IIIC shrines of the Lower Citadel see K. Kilian, "Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausubung in Tiryns", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 49-58, esp. 53-58; *id.*, *AA* (1978) 460-465; (1979) 389-397; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 185-189; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 104-110.

[2096] A. Pilali-Papasteriou & K. Papaeuthymiou-Papanthimou, *Ανθρωπολογικά* 4 (1983) 49-67.

[2097] See A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Late Bronze Age Apsidal and Oval Buildings in Greece and Adjacent Areas", *BSA* 84 (1989) 270f., figs. 1-2 and pp. 278f, figs. 11-12, respectively.

[2098] K. Kourouniotes, *AΔ* 13 (1930/31) Parart., 18-23; 14 (1931/32) 1-9; K. Kourouniotes & G.E. Mylonas, *Archiv fur Religionwissenschaft* 32 (1935) 56-63; *id.*, *ΠΑΑ* 15 (1940) 273; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 33-49; *id.*, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 147; *id.*, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 15-18; Ch. Kardara, *AAA* 5 (1972) 123-126; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, München 1955, 340; *id.*, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 468-470; Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 43; R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im

initial phase (LH II) the edifice which measured 9,70m in length and almost 7,00m in width, was a free-standing unit (Fig. 167, Table IIC:1). The LBA building is usually considered as the first temple of Demeter, but in my opinion this is unlikely.

Anta buildings with porch and two or more rooms (Table III)

This plan occurs both in sacred and profane contexts and applies equally to apsidal and rectangular edifices. The presence of more than one room results usually in a rather elongated plan. It has been possible to identify the largest among these buildings as temples or as chieftains' dwellings. The Lower Megaron at Emporio (in its first building phase) would have belonged to an aristocratic family but not to the one of the chieftain, since the latter's dwelling was probably inside the fortified acropolis (Megaron Hall). Smaller similar houses, such as apsidal (?) Building LV-LVI at Old Smyrna and a few houses at Vroulia were seemingly nothing more than dwellings of ordinary people.

The commonest type of building consists of an anta porch followed by a main room and a small rear chamber (Old Smyrna: House LV-LVI; Emporio: first phase of Lower Megaron; Building A at Smari; temple at Paralimni).

All these edifices recall the tripartite division of the megara of the Mycenaean palaces (Table XI), but I should stress that there seems to be no true link between the two types of buildings; the Mycenaean palatial megara have a porch, a second vestibule and a large rear chamber. EIA "megara" usually have a single porch; the main room follows next and last comes a smaller chamber, i.e. the sequence of the two rear compartments is reversed. The LH IIIC anta building (T) which lies inside the LH IIIB2 megaron of Tiryns was perhaps originally divided into three compartments as well (Table IIIA:7): a porch, a second roughly square room and a slightly more elongated rear chamber. Some houses at Vroulia conform to this plan, but we are left with a large gap in our sequence.

A building which deserves a separate treatment is the so-called "Heroön" of Lefkandi (Table IIIA:1). This is the only EIA anta building which is divided into more than three compartments. The porch is extremely shallow in regard to the remaining length of the edifice (*c.* 1/30 of the total length). The following compartment is roughly square and is divided into two parts by a row of posts. Next comes a spacious room *c.* 22,00m long and 9,00m wide, doubtless the main hall of the anaktoron. This room in its turn communicates with the rear apsidal compartment through a central corridor on either side of which there were two roughly square small chambers. There is no exact parallel yet to this last feature in EIA architecture, though it appears that the back room of Megaron B at Thermon was also partitioned into smaller rooms. The edifice of Lefkandi reflects a totally new architectural tradition. This is the first time that an apsidal building attained such monumental proportions. Whether the influence came from the North (*cf.* Toumba at Thessalonike) or from the East (*cf.* my restoration of Unit U2 at Tarsus) is impossible to tell. It would be perhaps more prudent to dissociate monumentality from the plan and furthermore from any sort of external influence and regard instances such as the "Heroön" at Lefkandi as reflections of a chieftom-based organisation of the society, in which the ruler wishes to manifest his right to rule. It is worth noting that the main room of the Mycenaean megara of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos is only half as long as the main room of the anaktoron of Lefkandi, though the width of the former is slightly larger.

A so-called Mycenaean "temple", said to have been destroyed at the end of the LH IIIB period was discovered at **Mouriatada** in Messenia (Table IIIC:1).[2099] It consists of an anta porch, a main room and a smaller rear chamber (overall dimensions: 16,80 by 7,95m). In the central room there were four wooden columns, arranged in the "Mycenaean manner", but no central hearth was detected. Close to the rear wall of the same room, a row of poros slabs was tentatively interpreted as a base for the cult image. However, since free-standing cult bases were presumably unknown in Mycenaean times (though perhaps not cult statues) and since no votive offerings were recovered from the interior, this edifice is unlikely to have served a religious function. One could even go

archäologischen Material", *OpAth* 8 (1968) 46f.; Schweitzer, *GKG* (1969) 237f.; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Wroclaw 1972, 279 and *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 189-193.

[2099] S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1960) 203-205; *Ἔργον* (1960) 149-151; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 16 (1960) Χρον., 116; Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 42, 93f.; B.C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin & New York 1974, 139.

further and doubt that the building dates in the Mycenaean period, for it seems that no datable sherds were collected. The first unquestionable appearance of free-standing cult bases falls around 700 B.C. (Old Smyrna, Samos H1, Kalapodi A), though the massive base in the first Artemision at Ephesos dates *c.* 50 years earlier; the four interior columns arranged in a square, occur in Geometric and EA buildings as well (for instance at Zagora and Emporio). It is therefore recommended to omit from the discussion this problematic edifice.

Lastly, one may mention here Building 110a at **Tiryns** (Table IIIC:2), since the main compartment is partitioned in two parts by two sorts of buttresses.[2100] This modest chapel (4,70 X 2,20m) is set against the fortification wall like its forerunners, 110 and 117, and dates in the LH IIIC period.

Anta buildings with main front room and smaller rear chamber (cf. Table VIII)

One possible case of the application of such a plan is Unit IV-5 at Nichoria (Table VIIIA:2). Other possible instances are House D of Asine (Fig. 230), House B at Eretria (Fig. 117) etc. However in all these uncertain cases, the facades of the apsidal edifices are not preserved and therefore one cannot exclude that there had existed a porch (*in antis* or closed), or simply a closed front. Indeed, technically it seems unlikely that one would construct an interior cross wall and leave the building's facade open. Therefore, it is more probable that all these buildings had either a closed front or more plausibly an anta porch (see the hypothetical restoration of Unit IV-5 at Nichoria (Fig. 269), Unit U2 at Tarsus (Table IIIA:2) and of the MG house at Asine (Table IIIB:2). One of course cannot exclude a restoration of the kind depicted in Table VI or VIIIA:1. Therefore, I tentatively conclude that anta buildings with main front room and small rear chamber were rare in the EIA and presumably not applied in domestic architecture. On the other hand, such an arrangement may have been used in religious architecture: the apsidal *hekatompedon* at Ano Mazaraki appears to present such a plan, though the facade is preceded by an unusual semicircular porch.

This plan is encountered also in sacred buildings during the Mycenaean period. Temple Γ (Table VIIIC:4, LH IIIB) which lies inside the "Cult Centre" of **Mycenae** was planned in this manner during its second building phase (originally it consisted of a roughly square room).[2101] Mylonas restores an open facade, while other scholars, mostly British, accept Tsountas' old plan and restore a closed front (*cf.* Table IVC:1).[2102] However, there is no way to confirm any kind of connection between the LBA and EIA religious buildings of this type.

One-room oikoi (Table IV)

The oikos which consists of a single room and no porch was the most widespread building plan during the EIA. Simple oikoi can be combined easily and form larger units. Agglutinative settlements were as a rule composed of groups of interlocking oikoi. Free-standing oikoi are encountered in equal proportions as cult buildings and dwellings. The plan of such buildings is usually rectangular; there is however a substantial number of apsidal one-room oikoi which proves once more, that the shape of the facade was not determined in any way by the plan of the building (excluding of course oval and circular plans).

Oikos buildings may acquire various proportions ranging from a roughly square plan to an extremely elongated shape. I should also stress that extremely elongated oikoi (and anta buildings), having no internal divisions can usually be identified as temples. Drerup believed that simple rectangular oikoi rarely attained the slender proportions of anta buildings. For this reason, he was

[2100] K. Kilian, "Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausubung in Tiryns", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 49-58, esp. 53-58; *id., AA* (1978) 460-465; (1979) 389-397; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986,185-1899; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 104-110.

[2101] Ch. Tsountas, *ΠΑΕ* (1886) 74-79; A.J.B. Wace, *JHS* 71 (1951) 254-257; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977 19-22, 41-45; *id., Το Θρησκευτικόν Κέντρον των Μυκηνών*, Athens 1972, 16-34; *id., Πολύχρυσοι Μυκήναι*, Athens 1983, 133-138; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 175-177; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 22-25.

[2102] For instance see W.D. Taylour, *Well Built Mycenae*. Fasc. 1: *The Excavations*, Warminster 1981, plan 2; E. French, "Cult Places at Mycenae", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 42, fig. 1. Could it be that originally there was a front wall which was removed when the outdoor altar was constructed?

inclined to restore the partially preserved temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta as an anta building (Table IA:11).[2103] However, since Drerup's study was written, new discoveries have proven that there had been in existence a few one-room oikos temples at least which were *c.* three times longer than wide as for instance Temple A at Kalapodi. Building C at Koukounaries seems to present the proportions of the temple at Sparta, but it is not an anta building. For these reasons one should not exclude the possibility that the latter was an oikos as well (Table IVA:25).

The front wall is usually provided with an opening for the door on the longitudinal axis of the edifice. The entrance is sometimes slightly off-axis, as in apsidal Building IV-2 at Antissa, in the so-called temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora, and often near one corner, as at the Kabeirion on Lemnos and in several houses at Assiros, Kastanas, Emporio (H, U, E and A). Occasionally there were one (Ay. Georghios at Phaistos, provided that a dating in the LG/EA period is confirmed) or two (South Building at Assiros, Kalapodi A) columns between the parastades. Lastly, one should mention the oblong oikos (Drerup's "Breithaus") which are discussed later on (*cf.* Table VII).

Simple oikoi served also during the Mycenaean period as cult buildings. The two closest parallels with the EIA similar shrines are Temple Γ1 at **Mycenae** (Table IVC:1)[2104] and Building 117 at **Tiryns** (Table IVC:2),[2105] for they are free-standing units. These are modest structures, roughly square, measuring *c.* 5,50 X 5,00m and *c.* 3,00 X 2,20m, respectively. The entrance of the former is situated in the middle of the longer side, while that of Building 117 at Tiryns is off-centre and in the shorter side. Temple Γ1 is dated in the LH IIIB period, while Building 117 is slightly later (early LH IIIC).

Rooms B1-3 flanking Building B at **Eleusis** (Fig. 168) are traditionally dated in the LH IIIB period but we have seen that they were probably reused during the Geometric period. The building of Eleusis is a typical example of the manner in which simple oikoi can be combined together and form larger agglutinative units. A small LH IIIC structure roughly square (4,00 X 3,00m) was also uncovered in the sanctuary of **Kalapodi** (Table VIIC:2). The entrance may have been located in the N extremity of the E long side.[2106] Lastly, the household shrine in House K in **Dimini** in Thessaly appears also to have been an oikos, though agglutinative.[2107]

Oikoi with porch and main room (Table V)

We encounter such edifices both in sacred and profane contexts. As a rule their plan is rectangular (the only exception at present may be the unexcavated temple at Oikonomos in Paros) but this is explained by the fact that apsidal buildings often have the apse cut off from the main room and therefore form a distinct group (Table VIA). The length of oikos edifices is usually twice the width. This, as demonstrated above, is less often the case of similar buildings with anta porch, which can acquire more elongated proportions (see Table II). One possible reason of the preference of antas for elongated buildings is that light could not easily penetrate into the main room if the porch was closed. The more elongated the main room would have been, the less light would have reached the back. The building models of the Geometric period and a tumbled wall of a LG house at Zagora[2108] suggest that windows were often small. It seems that their primary function was to help in the evacuation of the smoke of the hearth. There was of course sometimes an opening in the front gable (either over the front wall of the porch or over the cross wall between porch and main room), but this naturally presupposes the existence of a pitched roof (in the latter case only above the main room),

[2103] *Baukunst* (1969) 91.
[2104] Ch. Tsountas, *ΠΑΕ* (1886) 74-79; A.J.B. Wace, *JHS* 71 (1951) 254-257; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977 19-22, 41-45; *id.*, *Το Θρησκευτικόν Κέντρον των Μυκηνών*, Athens 1972, 16-34; *id.*, *Πολύχρυσοι Μυκῆναι*, Athens 1983, 133-138; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 175-177; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 22-25.
[2105] K. Kilian, "Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausubung in Tiryns", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 49-58, esp. 53-58; *id.*, *AA* (1978) 460-465; (1979) 389-397; Rutkowski, *op.cit.*, 185-189; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 104-110.
[2106] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 4f.; G. Touchais, *BCH* 107 (1983) 777.
[2107] V. Adryme-Sismane, in *Νεότερα δεδομένα των ερευνών για την αρχαία Ιωλκό*, Volos 1994, 24f., figs. 3-4, p. 35, fig. 17.
[2108] A. Cambitoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1971) 263f., fig. 7.

something which is usually difficult -if not impossible- to determine when one is dealing with a free-standing building which has been reduced to ruins.

The entrance is usually located in the middle of the front wall and occasionally it is off-centre (Emporio I, Vroulia, Koukounaries E and also Rooms α-α' at the Academy). When the door is situated at the extremity of the front wall, near a corner, one hesitates for a moment how to call the edifice (an oikos or an anta building?). However, if one imagines the wooden door closed one realises that the building would have had the appearance of an oikos.

Oikos buildings with porch and main room often formed part of larger units. This is the case of Rooms α-α' of the Sacred House of the Academy at Athens. The oikoi at Lathouriza (Unit I of the chieftain's dwelling) and at Paros [temple (?) at Oikonomos] were each flanked by an apsidal building, with which they shared the same long wall.

The question whether the oikos with porch and main room derives from the less pretentious Mycenaean "megara" is not worth pursuing here, for as in the case of anta buildings with porch and main chamber, this plan goes back at least in EH times.

I know of no clear example of a Mycenaean cult building of this kind. Megaron 2 in the Cult Centre at **Mycenae** (Table VC:1) appears to have had a closed porch, but unlike similar EIA buildings, the entrance was situated in the side wall of the porch.[2109] The so-called Temple excavated just W of Megaron 2 (Table VC:2) is rather hybrid in shape.[2110] It is also approached from the side, via a kind of "porch" where there was a staircase which presumably led to an upper storey. The "porch" was preceded by a rectangular room which occupied the E half in front of it. This room did not have an entrance towards the outside but simply communicated with the temple's porch.[2111] The nucleus of the building consists of the "porch" and the roughly square room to the N. In the rear left corner of the latter there was a triangular alcove while a staircase led upstairs to a small square chamber which is known as the "Room with the Idols", due to the rich deposit of clay statues discovered inside. These annexes and the complicated form of the entrance create an hybrid plan. I simply mention this edifice here since its two main rooms are the "porch" and the square chamber.

Oikoi consisting of two roughly equal rooms (cf. Table V)

No cult building presenting this plan has been securely identified yet. The only possible instance of such a temple is a small rectangular building situated on the highest point of the acropolis of Ay. Andreas at Siphnos. However, I argued that the cross wall which has been restored by V. Philippaki is hypothetical and unlikely.

Free-standing rectangular dwellings presenting this plan are not very numerous. House U at Emporio, House I at Ay. Andreas on Siphnos, Rooms H28-H29 at Zagora (second building phase) several houses at Vathy Limenari and House 8 at the Kastro near Kavousi were free-standing units. In this last site (House 3-4) and at Vroulia, we find more dwellings of this kind but they are not free-standing units. Here we should also mention, the triangular house at Vathy Limenari (X6).

As a rule the rooms are roughly square and of equal proportions. Only at Vathy Limenari the form and the dimensions of the two rooms differs, perhaps due to the conformation of the terrain. The door is usually located in one of the short sides, with the exception of some houses on Donousa (again due to the conformation of the soil).

[2109] E. French, "Cult Places at Mycenae", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 44f.; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 177f.; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 26f.

[2110] Lord W. Taylour, *Antiquity* 43 (1969) 91-97; 44 (1970) 270-280; *id.*, *AAA* 3 (1970) 72-80; *id.*, *AJA* 75 (1971) 266-268; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 22-24; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Wroclaw 1972, 29f. and *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 178-180; J.T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece*, London 1976, 203f.; F. Schachermeyr, *Die Mykenische Zeit und die Gesittung von Thera* (*Die Ägäische Frühzeit* 2) Wien 1976, 110-114; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 31-36.

[2111] It seems that this room was an addition to the original plan. In plan 2 of W.D. Taylour, *Well Built Mycenae*. Fasc. 1: *The Excavations*, Warminster 1981, this room is represented as a passage which led from "Tsountas' House" to the "Temple".

One may consider as two-roomed oikoi, certain Mycenaean cult buildings, such as the so-called first Artemision on **Delos** (Ac, Fig. 312),[2112] the E chapel at **Phylakopi**[2113] and in a way the "House with the Frescoes" in the Cult Centre of **Mycenae**.[2114] None of these edifices is a free-standing unit and in each case the entrance was located in the longer side. The building at Mycenae was also provided with a small annex, Room 32. It has been suggested that the "Pro-Erechtheion" on the Athenian **Acropolis** presented a roughly similar plan, but palpable proof in favour of this assumption is lacking.[2115] In general there seems to be no connection whatsoever between the two-roomed Mycenaean cult buildings and the two-roomed houses of the EIA.

Oikoi with porch and two or more rooms (Table VI)

As with the same category of anta buildings, three-room oikoi usually acquire elongated proportions. The plan may be apsidal or rectangular. Such edifices, due to their important dimensions, served mainly as cult buildings or chieftains' dwellings. The main room in a tripartite oikos is usually the middle one (even in the apsidal unit at Toumba in Thessalonike, where we have several rooms in a row). Occasionally the front porch is very deep (Phases 4 and 3 at Toumba Thessalonike, Thermon B). In apsidal buildings the rear compartment is separated as usual from the main room by a cross wall. In Crete the oikos is more common than the anta building. This is basically due to the fact that Cretan settlements and often temples are agglutinative.

No tripartite oikos temple of the Mycenaean period has been uncovered yet, unless one would be willing to consider the Temple at Ay. Irini in **Kea**[2116] as a building with an open facade and roughly presenting a tripartite division (Room 6; Rooms 3-5; Rooms 1-2).[2117]

[2112] R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos* I: *Les monuments*, Paris 1944, 8-14; H. Gallet De Santerre & J. Tréheux, *BCH* 71/72 (1947/48) 148-254; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 90f.; *id.*, *BCH* 99 (1975) 247-262; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 148; R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material", *OpAth* 8 (1968) 48; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Wroclaw 1972, 280 and *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 193. Several scholars, including Desborough [*LMTS* (1964) 44f.] and Rolley (*FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 139-142) are sceptical about the religious nature of this building, and I personally share their scepticism. One can either suggest that the foundation deposit contained heirlooms which were handed down from generation to generation and were included in the foundation deposit of Artemision E, or that these objects would have been contained in this particular room of the Mycenaean complex and would have been discovered by the builders of Artemision E. In both cases, however, continuity of worship in this area appears to be most unlikely. As for the most recent plan of Artemision Ac (Ph. Bruneau & J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983, fig. 33 at p. 154) it is once more incomplete, for the cross wall which divides the interior into two compartments has been omitted (*ibid.* fig. 23 at p. 132).

[2113] C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, *BSA* Suppl. 18 (1985); *id.*, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 67-80; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 181-1859; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 53-103.

[2114] Lord W. Taylour, *Antiquity* 43 (1969) 91-97; 44 (1970) 270-280; *id.*, *AAA* 3 (1970) 72-80; *id.*, *AJA* 75 (1971) 266-268; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 22-24; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 178-180; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 37-47.

[2115] J.A. Bungaard, *Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights*, Copenhagen 1976, 103-111, fig. 73a, followed by A. Orlandos, *Η αρχιτεκτονική του Παρθενώνος*, B', Athens 1977, 3-10.

[2116] J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 278-283; 33 (1964) 326-335; 35 (1966) 367-371; 40 (1971) 113-126, 384-386; 41 (1972) 400f.; *id.*, *Archaeology* 16 (1963) 284f.; 17 (1964) 277-280; M.E. Caskey, "Ayia Irini, Kea: The Terracotta Statues and the Cult in the Temple", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 127-136; *id.*, "The Temple at Ayia Irini, Kea: Evidence for the LH IIIC Phases", in *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, ed. J.A. MacGillivray & R.L.N. Barber, Edinburgh 1984, 241-253; *id.*, *The Temple at Ayia Irini. The Statues, Keos* II, 1, Princeton 1986; R. Eisner, "The Temple at Ayia Irini: Mythology and Archaeology", *GrRomByzSt* 13 (1972) 123-133; Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 44; *id.*, *GDA* (1972) 280f.; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 146f.; *id.*, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 18f.; R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material", *OpAth* 8 (1968) 47f.; E. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, Chicago 1972, 285-287; *id.*, *Götterkult*, *AHom*, 1974, 34-37;B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Wroclaw 1972, 275-279 and *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 169-175; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 395; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 116-119.

[2117] For a more happy classification of the Kea temple see the following category (Table VIII).

Oblong oikoi with entrance in the longer side (Table VII)

There is a considerable number of free-standing rectangular houses with the entrance in the long side, occasionally giving on to an enclosed courtyard (Drerup's "Breithaus").[2118] This plan was rarely applied in temple architecture. It occurs in Crete where there was a tradition of such plans going back to Minoan times (cf. the LM IIIC "Temple" at Karphi). The Geometric (?) temple at Olous is an isolated structure (judging from the ruins preserved). On the other hand, the EO temple at Arcades (Afrati) is flanked to the E by a small square chamber. Isolated rectangular houses consisting of one single room entered through the long side, have been uncovered at Old Smyrna (House XXXVII), Miletos (House C, early 7th c.),[2119] Vathy Limenari (House X5 and perhaps the southern room of X7), Minoa (houses partly hewn into the rock and sometimes sharing party walls, Fig. 347), Eretria (House C, in area 12) and Asine (LG house on the Kastraki hill). The two houses from Eretria and Asine are preceded by a shallow anta porch. The entrance is usually located in the middle of the side wall and occasionally is off-centre (Asine). Two buildings, at Thorikos (X-XI/XXII) and Pithekoussai (III), consist also of one room but are preceded by a walled courtyard. House 5 at Assiros may have also been a "Breithaus" which gave onto a walled courtyard, and some rooms of the agglutinative units at Kastanas (phase 8) were also entered through the long side.

A variant of the "Breithaus" with court, consists of a row of rooms sharing a common porch, corridor or courtyard. Each room however is entered through the short side but the overall form of the building is oblong. We encounter such buildings at the very end of the Geometric period in Attica (Eleusis, Thorikos, Oropos) and slightly later at Corinth. This plan is often regarded as the precursor of the "pastas" house type which was to become so widespread in the following centuries.[2120]

A variant of the normal "Breithaus" is encountered in the Cyclades (Tsikalario, Xobourgo, Vathy Limenari, Minoa, and perhaps at Koukounaries) where two or more rooms placed in a row form architectural units which open towards the same direction. In certain cases, as in Houses X4 and X6 at Vathy Limenari, there was only one doorway serving the two rooms. However, only at Xobourgo (Rooms IV:1, IV:2) one encounters a common porch, and it presumably dates in post-Geometric times; elsewhere the doorway opens directly on the outside. In Crete (Kastro Kavousi), House A consisted of four rooms set in a row and communicating with one another (41-44), but the only entrance to the complex was through a door in one of the middle rooms (43), which presumably served as an entrance hall.

As already mentioned, EIA free-standing temples with the main entrance in the long side are rare, except in Crete, where this plan seems to have been more widespread. The only mainland instance of the presence of such a plan has been uncovered at Halieis. There, the two rear rooms of the temple of Apollo do not communicate with each other, nor with the main cult room; instead, each is provided with a door in the middle of the W long side. The temple of Apollo at Halieis is a building which is yet unparalleled and the actual plan is presumably post-Geometric. It is significant, however, that the cult room in which the cult image would have been standing, was entered through the short side. The two rear rooms with the side doors were auxiliary compartments and it would have been difficult to reach them if they communicated directly with the cella, due to the extreme narrowness of the edifice (4,46m as opposed to the 27,30m of the entire length).

Oikos buildings with main front room and smaller rear chamber(s) (Table VIII)

During the PG and Geometric periods there is practically no temple presenting such a plan. The only possible instance may be the Telesterion at the Kabeirion on Lemnos, for which we do not have a detailed plan yet (Table VIIIA:7, practically based on the excavator's description, and consequently, highly hypothetical). On the other hand, this is a characteristic plan of Archaic cult buildings in Sicily and S Italy,[2121] a fact which seems to imply that the plan in question was developed in post-Geometric times. We have seen that for reasons which do not depend on the

[2118] *Baukunst* (1969) 81, 90.
[2119] V. von Gerkan, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 72, fig. 2.
[2120] See in general H. Drerup, "Prostas und Pastashaus", *MarbWPr* (1967) 6-17; C. Krause, "Grundformen der griechischen Pastashauses", *AA* (1977) 164-179; Fusaro, *Architettura* (1982) esp. 10-15.
[2121] *Cf.* S.K. Thalmann, *The "Adyton" in the Greek Temples of Southern Italy and Sicily*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1980.

ground plan, House XVII at Lathouriza should perhaps be also placed in the EA period. Exceptions to this rule are certain apsidal houses, such as the North House at Assiros, House I at Pithekoussai and perhaps House LIII-LIV at Old Smyrna. More apsidal buildings might have had such a plan, but this is a matter of speculation since the front portions of these edifices are missing. On the contrary this plan is well attested in Crete at least from LM IIIC times onwards (see Vronda A and D, Kastro 9-11 and Vrokastro L3-5), while the central house of phase 9 at Kastanas could be restored in such a way.

Thus it seems then that EIA rectangular oikoi (houses and temples) with main front chamber and smaller back room were exceptional. This does not appear to be the case of LBA cult buildings. The W shrine at **Phylakopi** (Table VIIIC:6) in Melos is essentially of this kind, the basic difference being in the cross wall which divides the rear space into two small rooms.[2122] This shrine was in use continuously from LH IIIA until the end of LH IIIC, though it underwent several alterations during its long existence, notably when the E shrine was added during the LH IIIB1 period and when a blocking wall, constructed during the LH IIIC period along the longitudinal axis of the edifice, rendered its S half inaccessible.

The "domestic" LH IIIC sanctuary at **Asine** (Rooms XXXI-XXXII of House G, Table VIIIC:3), though not a free standing unit, consists also of a main room and a smaller chamber.[2123] Sadly, the location of the entrance is uncertain. Room XXXI communicates with Room XXXII by means of a threshold but since there is no indication of an opening towards the exterior, one hesitates whether Room XXXI should be dubbed a "porch" or a rear chamber. The location of the cult bench in the NE corner of the main room, however, may suggest an entrance in the opposite direction, i.e. from the S (compare with the household shrine inside the main room of Building D at Vronda, Table VIIIC:2).[2124] If this assumption is correct, the smaller room would represent an "adyton" -or whatever its function might have been.

One should also mention here the temple of Ay. Irini at **Kea** (Table VIIIC:5).[2125] Unfortunately the facade of this elongated edifice (pr. length 23,50m, width *c.* 6,00m) has been destroyed. It is thus impossible to tell whether there existed a front porch or not. By comparison however with other elongated buildings entered through the short side in the same town (for instance House B) one is inclined not to accept the existence of a porch, but to restore a front wall with an axial (?) doorway instead, through which one would have had direct access to the main ceremonial room, which contained the benches and the altar.

Lastly, the shrine at **Vronda** (Building G, Table VIIIC:1), dated in the late LM IIIC period may have presented such a plan, though the location of the doorways remains unknown.[2126]

Anta and oikos buildings with prostyle porch

Very few buildings of this type have been identified yet, but this could be due to the fact that it is difficult to detect a prostyle porch which consists of wooden columns (stone bases supporting the columns can easily move from their original position, while clay bases or post holes are sometimes difficult to detect). Our evidence chiefly comes from the clay building models of the sanctuaries of

[2122] C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, *BSA* Suppl. 18 (1985). See also *id.*, "The Sanctuary at Phylakopi", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 67-80; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 181-185; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 53-103.

[2123] O. Frödin & A.W. Person, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938, 63f., 66, 74-76, 89f., 98, 298-305, 308-310; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 110-114; R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material", *OpAth* 8 (1968) 44; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 146; *id.*, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 24f.; J.T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece*, London 1976, 204f.; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Wroclaw 1972, 281 and *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 218; R. Hägg, "The House Sanctuary of Asine Revisited", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 91-94; J. Wright, in *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Classical Greece*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 63f.; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer*, Oxford 1994 (*BAR* 596) 112-115.

[2124] J. Van Leuven, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 94.

[2125] *Cf. supra* p. 265.

[2126] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 78-80.

Hera at Perachora (Fig. 499a, f) and Argos (Fig. 500). These also prove that prostyle porches existed in front of rectangular and apsidal edifices. Some LG/EA apsidal buildings, such as Building A at Oropos (Fig. 77), Building A in the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria (Fig. 105) and the *hekatompedon* at Rakita (Fig. 252) were provided with a prostyle porch (the latter was semicircular). I have argued that the apsidal chthonian shrine at Mycenae (Fig. 204) and the apsidal temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora (Fig. 186), were perhaps also preceded by a prostyle porch. EA monumental rectangular temples, such as Temple B at Kalapodi (Fig. 61) and Temple III at Iria (Fig. 334) were also provided with a prostyle porch. The excavators of Building A at Aigeira have restored the edifice according to the building model of Argos (Fig. 249), but I have reasons to believe that this restoration should be disregarded (Fig. 250). It has also been suggested that the oblong temple at Olous had a porch which would have consisted of four columns placed at equal distances from one another, but it is not possible to confirm this assumption (Fig. 452).

One final remark: the clay models of Argos and Perachora depict buildings which have very short protruding antas. This is also the case of Building A at Eretria. However, there is no way to assert that the columnar porch should be considered as a derivation of the simple anta porch, despite the fact that one is tempted to do so.

CONCLUSIONS

Anta and oikos buildings were equally important during the EIA. The simplest and most widespread plan was the one-room oikos for it offers a wide range of possibilities when combined with other similar oikoi. One-room oikos dwellings were usually roughly square and less often the ratio between length and width was 2:1 (ex. a LG apsidal house and Room XLVII at Old Smyrna, and House Γ at Donousa). One notable exception to this rule is a LG apsidal house at Eretria which presents a ratio of 3:1. The same plan when encountered in a cult building can become extremely elongated: the ratio of Temples A and B at Kalapodi is 3:1 and the same stands for the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, given that one accepts that this was an oikos building, as I personally suspect. Most one-room temples or chieftains' dwellings present a ratio of 2:1 (with the exception of agglutinative units: see Zagora H19, Phaistos AA). Lastly, there is a substantial number of roughly square cult buildings of the one-room oikos type.

Drerup concluded from the evidence available at the time he was compiling his catalogue of EIA buildings that rectangular oikos buildings in general were not very elongated.[2127] He pointed out as exceptions the temple of Apollo at Asine (2:1), Megaron B at Thermon (3:1) and the three-room Cretan oikoi (for ex. Karphi 138-140 and Kastro 9-11, both presenting a ratio of 3:1). Concerning one-room oikos buildings he was more categorical, excluding the possibility that they could acquire a ratio of 3:1. We have seen, however, that rectangular oikos temples with a single room sometimes attained a ratio of 3:1 and one can point out further examples of two, three, or more roomed oikoi of elongated proportions (see for instance so-called Temple B at Prinias and perhaps the temple of Apollo at Porto Cheli). Drerup was correct in not inserting in his remarks the apsidal buildings; at that time, he could quote only two elongated oikos buildings (Antissa III and Mycenae -though in my opinion the latter building was shorter than the excavator suggested). Today, the list of such edifices has increased, by the new discoveries at Toumba in Thessalonike (Phases 4-3), Eretria (LG house mentioned earlier and perhaps Temple D), Oikonomos isl. and Nichoria (Unit IV-1).

Drerup's assertion that anta buildings were usually more elongated than oikos buildings is in a way still valid (see Tables II and III). We should also note that certain anta cult buildings, especially of the "Π"-shaped category were roughly square (see Tables I and II).

One last remark concerning Drerup's opinions. The German scholar concluded that anta buildings were unknown in Crete and that three-room oikoi were encountered only in Crete, with the single exception of Megaron B at Thermon. Though it is true that the anta plan was unpopular in Crete one can no longer maintain that it was never used in religious architecture (e.g. Kommos A and B). Concerning the second point of the German scholar, a glimpse of Table VI is enough to prove that the three-room oikos is also found in mainland Greece and in the Cyclades.

[2127] *Baukunst* (1969) 90ff.

D. Fusaro has put forward some interesting ideas concerning the domestic architecture of the LG and EA periods.[2128] At first, the author argues that one should examine separately public edifices (i.e. temples) and dwellings, for the function of a building usually influences the plan. This is certainly justified when one examines the EA period, but in PG and Geometric times in very few instances can one deduce the building's function from its plan. Fusaro groups in one single category "anta-megaron" houses (defined as an elongated rectangle with porch and two columns *in antis*) and apsidal houses, for she claims that apsidal dwellings were as a rule anta edifices and quotes as a typical example the restored apsidal house of Old Smyrna. I have shown however that this graphic restoration is not representative of the domestic architecture of LG Old Smyrna.[2129] The other two examples mentioned by Fusaro are the so-called apsidal house at Xeropolis/Lefkandi, which I believe was probably an oval building and a LG apsidal house in the Barbouna area of Asine which is only partially preserved and might even have been oval. Moreover, Fusaro does not take into account the oikos dwellings with porch, which are grouped in Tables V and VI (*cf.* also Table VIIB), where the apsidal houses are also present. It should also be made clear that Fusaro's definition of the "megaron" as an anta building with porch and two columns *in antis* is not appropriate, since certain anta buildings have only one column *in antis* (for instance the "Heroön" of Lefkandi and Building T at Tiryns) and more often none at all.

The Italian scholar draws general conclusions about the social standing of the families which lived in anta "megara" and apsidal houses on one hand and square oikos dwellings on the other, but totally ignores all the apsidal oikoi, the rectangular elongated oikoi and even the so widespread oval house. This erroneous approach led Fusaro to the assumption that the majority of "megaron" and apsidal houses would have been owned by powerful, aristocratic families, while the humble square oikoi by the poor. This claim is unfounded for several "megaron" and apsidal houses are too humble to have been owned by the upper social class. Nevertheless, it is true that several outstanding apsidal buildings, especially of the 10th c. B.C. (Toumba at Thessalonike, Nichoria IV-1, Asine C, "Heroön" at Lefkandi and perhaps Koukounaries A) would have belonged to the élite.

[2128] *Architettura* (1982) 5-30.
[2129] Based on information by R.V. Nicholls (letter of March 23, 1986).

CHAPTER II

CRITERIA FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF CULT BUILDINGS AND RULERS' DWELLINGS IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

One of the main problems which faces the scholar wishing to study the architecture of the EIA is in determining the function of an edifice. Here I will try to set out the main criteria through which one could hope to make a distinction between cult buildings and chieftains' dwellings. Detailed arguments concerning each building have been presented in the previous chapter.

PART 1

RULERS' DWELLINGS

The terms "Ruler's Dwelling", "Leader's Dwelling" and "Chieftain's Dwelling" have been used as synonyms throughout this study. By "rulers", "leaders" or "chieftains" I do not have in mind officials who were elected to office by the members of a community, but individuals who held the right to manage the communal affairs of the community either on a hereditary basis, or accordingly to their social rank or personal virtues. The question how can one distinguish between the various categories of rulers can rarely be securely answered. A hint in favour of a hereditary ruler may sometimes be the occupation of a dwelling for a period exceeding one generation.

The archaeological evidence indicates that during the EIA there was no uniform type of government in the Greek World. One expects to recognise an evolution of the socio-political structure of the Greek communities during the long period which separates the fall of the Mycenaean civilisation and the beginning of the 7th c. B.C. Moreover, the evolution did not affect all the areas of Greece at the same time; one should not be surprised if a diversity in the political institutions during the same period is detected.

Historians, and sometimes archaeologists, have focused their attention on the literary sources, roughly contemporary (Homer, Hesiod), or later, in order to reconstruct the political and social structure of Greek society in the EIA. My own concern throughout this study has been to detect the political or religious structure of the EIA communities primarily through the study of the archaeological record, and specifically through the analysis of the houses of the members of the élite and the sanctuaries and cult buildings. The sites which have revealed edifices which could be identified as "rulers' dwellings" fall into two broad categories:

a. Sites which had at their head one single ruler.

b. Sites which had at their head more than one ruler.

Within these categories it is possible to create more subtle ones, depending on the extent of power concentrated in the hands of the ruler(s). It is likely that in some places there existed two strata of "aristocrats": a governing and non-governing élite.[1] In fact, certain of the so-called rulers' dwellings included in this study may have belonged to the second category. Some rulers' dwellings were not integrated inside a nucleated settlement, but must be considered to have been dispersed *oikoi*.[2] These classes cannot be materialised unless each case is analysed on an independent basis (see Chapter I), though quite often, the search for an answer proves vain. In fact, due to the insufficient data available at present it is hazardous to be categorical and assign the buildings under consideration

[1] *Cf.* Morris, *Burial* (1987) 95f.

[2] *Cf.* W. Donlan, "The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece", *ClPh* 80 (1985) 293-308. "*Oikos* is the basic kinship, residential, and economic unit, comprising both the "house" (dwelling, land, animals) and the "household". The household consists of the family (often an extended one of three generations) plus servants and adopted members" (p. 299). "The Homeric oikos constituted only a small nucleus of relatives" and "all wider groups formed within the comprehensive *demos* were associations of independent *oikoi*" (p. 300).

to one or the other category. Moreover, in several cases it is rather difficult to dismiss the possibility that a building under consideration was not the dwelling of a member of the élite, but a communal "gathering" or "feasting hall" instead. The probabilities are, however, that the majority of these buildings were dwellings of the élite, unless one prefers to argue that all literary evidence concerning early Greek "kings" is pure fiction. Indeed, if we postulate that leaders of any kind existed in EIA Greece, it would be inconceivable to claim that the tangible evidence for their existence has altogether vanished.[3] Moreover, these buildings, with a few exceptions, such as Building C at Koukounaries (Fig. 322), and like other contemporary dwellings, are divided into several compartments, and rarely consist of one single room, as would suit a "feasting" or "gathering hall", while the movable finds often indicate a plurality of activities and not simply dining. The decision is sometimes subjective but the emerging pattern seems to be coherent and does not come in contradiction with the conclusions reached by other scholars who have used "unreliable" criteria in their effort to reconstruct the picture of the society in EIA Greece.

Certain facts, often combined together, provide indications that a building under consideration, served as a "ruler's dwelling". The main criteria are the following:

a. Certain exceptional architectural features, especially when compared with other houses, preferably belonging to the same settlement or to the surrounding geographical or cultural milieu.

b. The prominent position of the edifice inside or in proximity of the settlement.

c. The interior furnishings of the building.

d. The finds associated with the building and their distribution.

A. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Practically all the buildings which I have grouped under the broad title "Rulers' Dwellings" were lavish structures, often of considerable dimensions and occasionally of unusual plan (Table X). In a period during which investment of wealth would have been a concern of the individual and not of the state, the size and complexity of a dwelling would have been a display of wealth and one of the means of maintenance of power and of emulation between members of the élite.

The dimensions of edifices such as the two apsidal edifices at Assiros (approximately 15,00 by 8,50m), the apsidal building at Toumba in Thessalonike (17,00 by 5,00m), Megaron B at Thermon (21,40 by 7,30m), Units IV-1 and IV-5 at Nichoria (15,90 by *c.* 8,00m and 20,20 by 5,50m, respectively), Building T1 at Tiryns (20,90m by 6,90m), Building C at Asine (pres. length *c.* 12,00m by *c.* 8,00m), the so-called "Heroön" of Lefkandi (*c.* 47,00 by 10,00m), Building A at Koukounaries (width *c.* 6,50-7,00m; estimated length *c.* 15,00m), Building C at the same site (13,70 by *c.* 6,00m), Buildings III and IV at Antissa (17,25 by 6,50m and 14,00 by 6,10m, respectively), the Megaron Hall (18,25 by 6,40m) and the Lower Megaron (17,00/17,50 by 7,00m) at Emporio, Building A at Smari (17,80 by 7,60m) or Building B at Prinias (*c.* 18,50 by *c.* 6,50m), attest that we are in the presence of no ordinary structures, certainly not houses of poor or powerless people.

Several rulers' dwellings were composed of interlocking rooms which were not always spacious, but the overall dimensions of the unit were considerable. In this category one could include the central buildings at Kastanas (phases 12-9), the edifice at Toumba in Thessalonike, Building B/B1-3 at Eleusis, Unit I-IV at Lathouriza, the "farmstead" at Praisos, Buildings 8-9/11-18 and 135-144 at Karphi, Buildings A-B at Smari, Units A-B at Vronda, 9-11/12 and Building A at the Kastro, near Kavousi, Unit U16-17/12-13 at Vrokastro, and Room AA and its numerous dependencies at Phaistos. Room H19 and its dependencies at Zagora was a large complex in its final phase (Figs. 306, 307c) but looks less impressive when compared with some other houses of the same settlement (*cf.* Fig. 299).[4] Yet, this does not mean that the house did not belong to a wealthy and powerful individual, for several houses excavated at Zagora were smaller.[5]

Sometimes, edifices supposedly belonging to members of the élite appear more humble. Yet, each case should be examined in its own context: such edifices have sometimes been identified as

[3] In the same manner, one could argue that the central unit of the Mycenaean palace, the megaron, is not a ruler's dwelling, but a cult building or gathering hall, instead.

[4] Professor Cambitoglou's opinion (letter of Apr. 10, 1985), which I share.

[5] *Cf.* especially some of the houses in area J and those in area E/F (alongside the fortifications), Fig. 298.

rulers' dwellings for they are the largest houses of the settlement in which they are inserted (for instance Houses X6 and X7 at Vathy Limenari on Donousa, according to Ph. Zapheiropoullou, Figs. 343-345). The "Megaron" in the area of the Sacred House at Eleusis goes in pair with the modest burial in front of it (Fig. 174), but the honours presented to the dead man, and the construction soon afterwards of the Sacred House (Fig. 179), imply that the occupant of the "Megaron" was a distinguished individual. Building A at Aigeira was also an unpretentious structure (7,70 X 5,00) but it seems that it was one of the detached elements of a larger complex (Fig. 248 and Table X:20).[6] Building A in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria also gives the impression of a rather modest structure (9,75 X 6,50m, Fig. 105) but the numerous posts set against the exterior face of the wall and the steep thatched roof presumably conferred to the edifice a perception of massiveness. As at Eleusis, it seems that in the LG period eminent individuals could have perfectly well occupied rather simple dwellings.

Despite these exceptions, however, the important dimensions may be regarded as one of the safest ways to identify an edifice as the residence of a prominent individual or family, for these require an important investment of wealth. Yet, additional criteria are always required in order to determine whether this person or family occupied a leading position inside the community. From the architectural point of view, one may mention the eventual presence of an upper storey (not a single sure case as yet),[7] the manner of roofing[8], the complexity of the plan,[9] the presence of annexes or rooms which may have served economic functions such as collection and distribution of assets,[10] and lastly the plan itself, which may be either exceptional,[11] or may stand out compared to the remaining houses of the same settlement.[12]

B. LOCATION

The location of the edifice plays a vital role in one's effort to establish its function. As in the case of cult buildings one expects rulers' dwellings to occupy a prominent position inside or in close proximity to a settlement. The so-called "Heroön" of Lefkandi is built on the summit of a low hill, but it is not yet clear whether it represents an autonomous unit[13] or whether it should be related with

[6] In his letter of Oct. 28, 1986, Professor Alzinger argues that the edifice could not have been a "palace" for it is too isolated. I should stress however that the residences of DA rulers, as the present evidence shows, rarely deserve to be called "palaces" and were often free-standing structures and/or were isolated from the neighbouring houses of the settlement.

[7] No actual upper storey has been preserved. Its existence is suggested either by the unusual thickness of the walls (Nichoria IV-5, Vronda, Vrokastro) or by the discovery of a structure which appears to have been a base of a staircase leading upwards (NE corner of Central Room of the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi, SW corner of Room H19 at Zagora, Room Q at Phaistos). A loft may have existed beneath the pitched roof of several apsidal or rectangular buildings, as suggested by the clay building model from the Argive Heraion. The case of the "farmstead" at Praisos is different, for there, it is the nature of the terrain and the preservation of the ruins which prove the existence of a ground floor and a basement floor. A LG house at Delphi may have been provided with an upper storey: J.-M. Luce, *BCH* 116 (1992) 698-700; 117 (1993) 623-626, here Fig. 66.

[8] A tiled roof could be an indication of wealth during this early period. However, the only roof tiles from domestic contexts in the Geometric period are those mentioned in connection with the MG settlement at Vathy Limenari (*c.* 800 B.C.: see Ph. Zapheiropoulou, in *Ίδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 44) and the isolated find from Building B at Koukounaries [D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 247]. The roof tiles associated with Unit I-IV at Lathouriza represent an addition of the 4th c. B.C. [Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 20, n. 33, 55].

[9] *Cf.* Toumba Thessalonike, Kastanas, Toumba at Lefkandi, Lathouriza I-IV, Eleusis B/B1-3, Aigeira A (if associated with Unit II/3), Zagora H19 and dependencies, Praisos, Vronda A-B, Smari A-B, Karphi 8-9/11-18 and 135-144, Phaistos AA and dependencies.

[10] For instance the rooms of the rectangular annexe of the apsidal edifice at Toumba in Thessalonike, Room III at Lathouriza, the annexe behind Building T at Tiryns, perhaps Room II-3 at Aigeira, the pithos stands in Unit IV-5 at Nichoria, the apsidal compartment in the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi, Rooms a, k etc. at the "farmstead" at Praisos, Unit B at Vronda, etc.

[11] Such as the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi or the so-called farmstead at Praisos.

[12] *Cf.* Thermon B, Lathouriza I-IV, Nichoria IV-1 and IV-5, Koukounaries A, Emporio (Megaron Hall and Lower Megaron), Karphi 8-9/11-18 and 135-144 and Prinias B.

[13] As Dr. Calligas claims, though none of the neighbouring hilltops has yielded evidence for the presence of other autonomous architectural units: *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 266 and fig. 3, p. 267, here Fig. 79.

the neighbouring settlement of Xeropolis, or some other nearby community (Figs. 78, 80). Likewise, buildings such as the Megaron Hall at Emporio and presumably Building A at Aigeira or Building A at Smari occupied prominent positions, the former alone, inside the fortified acropolis (Fig. 368), and the other two (Figs. 248 and 470), on the highest point of the settlement and flanked by dependencies which, due to their limited extent, would have housed other members of the same family and/or fulfilled functions which were closely connected to the occupations of the powerful individual who lived in the central unit. The Macedonian rulers' dwellings at Toumba (Thessalonike), Kastanas and Assiros also occupy the summit of a hill. Those of the two first sites were surrounded by further structures (Figs. 1, 13), and at Kastanas (Fig. 13), the settlement may have extended on the opposite promontory. The two apsidal buildings at Assiros seem to have been isolated, though a few traces of rectilinear walls of the same period were identified further to the NE (Fig. 9). Building T at Tiryns not only occupies a central position in the Oberburg (Fig. 216) but also succeeded on the same spot the successive megara of the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIB2 periods, which were doubtless the residence of the *wanax*.[14] It is not clear, however, whether more houses existed around this building during the LH IIIC and DA periods. The presumed rulers' dwellings at Nichoria, Zagora, Vronda, Prinias and perhaps at Thermon also occupy a prominent position but the main difference with the structures already mentioned is that they are surrounded or flanked by other houses or rooms; moreover, the two buildings at Nichoria are located in the more sheltered position of the ridge (Fig. 256), while the edifices at Zagora and Vronda, like those at Lathouriza or Prinias open onto the central free space of the settlement which could have functioned as a primitive agora (*cf.* Table IX:d, i, h and j, respectively); the same may be true concerning Building A at Eretria (Fig. 101, no. 14) for the later agora was located *c.* 150m further S.[15] In other places (Vrokastro, Koukounaries) the buildings are situated at the edge of the acropolis, thus being visible from a distance (*cf.* Figs. 449-450 and 320).

It is thus apparent that many of the buildings which I have taken to represent "aristocratic" dwellings, were not only exceptional for their dimensions but also for their prominent location. There are, however, several exceptions to this model, such as Unit B/B1-3 and the "Megaron" at Eleusis (Fig. 164), Houses X6 and X7 at Vathy Limenari (Fig. 343), the Lower Megaron and House I at Emporio (Fig. 368) and Buildings III-IV at Antissa (Fig. 356), Buildings 9-13 and A at Kastro near Kavousi (Fig. 438), or Building AA and its dependencies at Phaistos (Fig. 481). In these cases the explanation might be that the occupants of these units were the leaders of a clan or expanded family and not of the community as a whole, or simply members of the non-governing élite. The cases of Crete could additionally be explained as a specific local habit, since only few chieftains' dwellings occupy central positions in settlements (the exceptions are Vronda, Smari and Prinias).

Last but not least, one should also take into account the proximity of the buildings to the communal open-air sanctuary (Table IX). For instance, there was an altar or hypaethral cult place near the presumed leaders' dwellings at Eretria, Lathouriza, Tiryns (Building T), Zagora, Emporio (Megaron Hall), and Prinias, to quote the clearer cases only. This arrangement has its roots in the LBA, for instance at Tiryns (LH IIIB), Vronda (LM IIIC) and Karphi (the LM IIIC-SMin "Great House").

C. INTERIOR FURNISHINGS

Benches, hearths and the like, seldom provide tangible proof that the edifice under consideration was a ruler's dwelling. The obvious reason is that such structures are also encountered in ordinary houses. This kind of evidence contributes towards a better understanding of the function of the edifice, only after it has been established that it served as a chieftain's dwelling. In two instances, at least, the interior furniture could suggest that the building was no ordinary dwelling.

I have argued that floor of the LH IIIB2 palatial megaron at Tiryns may have been reused when Building T was constructed on the same spot. One could perhaps assume that the base of the throne of the former was also reused for the same purpose. If this assumption is correct, then, this

[14] Concerning the long sequence of "palatial" buildings at Tiryns see H.W. Catling, *AR* (1985/86) 26f. and fig. 31, and G. Touchais, *BCH* 110 (1986) 688 and fig. 34 at p. 689]. Now see K. Kilian, in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, ed. R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1987, 21-36; *id.*, *OJA* 7 (1988) 291-302.

[15] P. Calligas, *AAA* 15 (1982) 3-9, esp. fig. 1, p. 5; *id.*, *AE* (1983) 106-136.

detail would corroborate the assumption that Building T was the new ruler's dwelling. I should stress, however, that this is a circular argument, since it is not unanimously accepted that the bases in the Mycenaean palatial megara were throne bases[16] (*cf.* also the similar feature in the 12th c. B.C. house at Kastanas, Fig. 14), and even if the "throne theory" proves one day to be correct, this does not necessarily imply a similar function of the reused base in Building T.

The large hearth in the central house of phase 10 at Kastanas is unusual in size (Fig. 20). The great hearth in the centre of Room AA at Phaistos (Fig. 482) can only be paralleled with the central hearth of the palatial megara of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos (Table XI): it is elliptical in shape and measures 2,60 by 1,42m. Such exaggerated dimensions suggest that the hearth had a ceremonial rather than a purely utilitarian function.[17] This definitely implies that the owner of the house was no ordinary person, or at least that the room was a ceremonial hall of gatherings.

The dimensions of the central hearth in Building B at Prinias (Fig. 477) are also exceptional: 2,75 by 1,00-0,90m, but since it is commonly assumed that this building was a temple, it would be a circular argument to use this feature as a criterion that the edifice was a ruler's dwelling or some sort of public building.

D. THE CONTENTS OF THE BUILDINGS

The finds from inside or in connection with the presumed chieftains' dwellings will be examined in due course (Chapter III, p. 293ff.). Here, I will discuss the cases in which the contents of the building (i.e. the manufactured objects) indicate that it may have been as a chieftain's residence.

The case of Lefkandi is the most suggestive example of all; the contents of the twin burial (a selection only in Figs. 93-95) and the huge krater (Fig. 92), regardless whether we take it to be a *sema* placed over the graves or a cult vessel used in the funerary cult meal, leave no doubt concerning the social status of the deceased couple: the cremated warrior could not have been anyone else but the leader of a powerful *oikos* and the woman inhumed next to him, adorned with her precious jewels, would have been his wife. What has to be determined still is whether the warrior had also ruled the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlement of Xeropolis.

The four horses associated with the human burials at Lefkandi (Fig. 90) is a further indication of the status of the deceased warrior, who appears to have possessed a chariot.[18] Another interesting fact is the excavators' plausible assumption that in front of the building at Lefkandi there had once stood a huge tripod.[19] The exaggerated dimensions of the tripod and its location (outside the wall which retained the fill of the tumulus) would suggest that it was a status symbol placed there after the erection of the tumulus. In the Homeric epics tripods appear among the most precious gifts offered or received by a hero.[20] Bronze tripods do not occur often in ordinary domestic contexts. For this reason the discovery of the single fragment of a bronze tripod at Karphi (Fig. 467), in Room 137, the main chamber of the central unit of Building 135-144, should give rise to certain thoughts:[21] indeed, one may put forward two suggestions; either we are dealing with a votive offering, in which case the building should be identified as a sanctuary, or it should be regarded as a prized belonging of the owner of the house. Since Karphi possessed a public sanctuary (Room 1 and its dependencies),[22]

[16] See for instance the discussion concerning the Throne Room at Knossos: W.-D. Niemeier, "On the Function of the 'Throne Room' in the Palace at Knossos", in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, ed. R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1987, 163-168.

[17] *Cf.* G. de Pierpont, "Le rôle du foyer monumental dans la grande salle du palais mycénien", in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 Juin 1987*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 255-262 who insists on the hierarchy of the hearth in the LBA.

[18] J.H. Crouwel, "Chariots in Early Iron Age Greece and in Homer", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 311 who suggests that "the iron mouthpieces of bits in their mouths" indicate that the horses of the warrior were "driven rather than riden animals".

[19] M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 214. The cauldron's diameter is estimated to have been *c.* 1,00-1,20m.

[20] Il. IX, 121-156. See Finley, *WO* (1979) 61f.: either as an athletic prize or as a gift.

[21] J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) pl. XXIX, 2, no. 638.

[22] *Ibid.*, 75f.; Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 79; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 167.

and since the tripod fragment is an isolated find, the latter hypothesis appears more credible. The significance of the tripod discovered at Aigeira is harder to understand (Fig. 251).[23] One would be willing to accept that it was a dedication to a sanctuary if more objects of a similar character and date had been discovered on the summit of the acropolis. Yet, the only objects which may have been votive offerings are three bases of large kraters, dated around 700 B.C.[24] The tripod at least, may be explained as a personal belonging of a wealthy and powerful individual living on the small plateau on the summit of the hill.

In general, the material recovered from inside the buildings which I have classified under the term "Rulers' Dwellings", includes items of ordinary household use, such as cooking and storage vessels, spindle whorls, loom weights, etc. The main problem consists in determining the social rank of the occupants of a house. The presence of fine ware among the clay vessels, especially if the pottery recovered from neighbouring houses is of inferior quality, may suggest a wealthy family. It should be stressed here that fine ware, considered independently from other evidence, can either be interpreted as a proof of material wealth or as dedications.[25] Metal finds, including tools, may also be safely regarded as indications of material wealth.[26] In a few cases weapons were found, attesting that the head of the house may have been a warrior (Lefkandi, Antissa -Fig. 364-, the latter case being uncertain). The weapons associated with Building A at Vronda may belong to a tomb post-dating the abandonment of the house. The bronze "phalaron" discovered inside Unit IV-1 at Nichoria (Fig. 271), if identified with a shield-boss (other interpretations are also possible)[27] would suggest a warrior as well. A similar disc discovered in Room U11 at Vrokastro (Fig. 447) has been plausibly identified as a horse frontlet.[28] I have argued that the deposit was perhaps originally contained in Room 17; one could venture to claim that the owner of the house possessed horses, though its explanation as a votive offering in a domestic shrine located inside the same building is equally possible. Lastly, the presence of jewels inside a building strongly suggests that the building in question was either a house of a rich individual or, alternatively, a cult building.[29]

A further indication of the material wealth of the families which dwelt in those houses is provided by the existence of many large storage vessels (mainly pithoi) or related evidence (for instance pithos nests or bases, bins, etc.) in them.[30] In certain cases, due to the proportion of the accumulated agricultural assets, as suggested by the finds, it is possible to argue that the edifices served important economic functions which involved other members of the community apart from the restricted group which dwelt in the house. The case of the house centred around courtyard H21 at Zagora is different; pithoi and pithos nests (Fig. 306) were discovered in Rooms H19 and H28, but these were also encountered in the other houses of the settlement (*cf.* Figs. 303-305), suggesting that the material wealth of many households at Zagora tallied with that of the owner of this house.[31]

[23] W. Alzinger, *AAA* 9 (1976) 163f. and 11 (1978) 151f.; *id.*, *ÖJh* 53 (1981/82) Beiblatt, 12; *id.*, *Klio* 67 (1985) 449f.

[24] G. Schwarz, in *Klio* 68 (1986) 326-329.

[25] Substantial quantities of fine wares have been found at Nichoria (IV-1), Lefkandi, Zagora (especially in Room H23), Vronda (Annex B of House A), Kastro near Kavousi (Room 11), Phaistos.

[26] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 196-199.

[27] Concerning the various interpretations of the "phalara" see A. Snodgrass, "Bronze 'Phalara'-A Review", *HambBeitrA* 3:1 (1973) 41-50. These may either represent cymbals, belt attachments, horse-frontlets or shield-bosses.

[28] N.V. Sekunda, "A Bronze Horse-Frontlet from Vrokastro, Crete", *BSA* 77 (1982) 251-253.

[29] See for instance the jewels associated with the apsidal building at Thessalonike (Toumba), Unit IV-1 at Nichoria and Buildings III and IV at Antissa.

[30] See for example the rectangular unit at Toumba (Thessalonike) which yielded several fragments from large storage jars, the pithos nests dug in the floor of the apse of the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi, Room III at Lathouriza which was presumably a granary, the room with the imprints left by pithoi behind Building T at Tiryns, the apsidal compartment in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria and the round bases for pithoi in the main compartment of Unit IV-5 at the same site, the numerous pithoi in the various rooms of the "farmstead" at Praisos, storage vessels in Annexe B of the ruler's house at Vronda, the presence of numerous pithoi in Building A at Smari and Building B at Prinias, storage vessels in Unit AA and its dependencies at Phaistos.

[31] It has been suggested that this edifice could have been a primitive *prytaneion* [N. Himmelmann, in J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAWG* 272 (1984) 19, n. 44], but this is unlikely on account of the pithos nests which are a typical characteristic of most houses at Zagora.

Foundation sacrifices are usually encountered in connection with cult buildings, but also with important architectural programs of the private or communal domain.[32] Such sacrifices have been identified or suspected to have taken place in connection with the PG rulers' dwellings at Asine (Building C, *cf.* Fig. 225),[33] Lefkandi Toumba,[34] and perhaps with Building A at Eretria,[35] and the EG workshop at Thorikos[36] and were known already from Mycenaean times.[37]

From what has been said up to now it becomes clear that there exist very few general criteria which may be applied with success in order to determine whether a house once belonged to a ruler. Each settlement constitutes a separate case which should be studied independently according to the information available. In a number of cases the conclusions can only be regarded as tentative, either because the data recovered is insufficient and unintelligible, or because the publication is incomplete.

PART 2

CULT BUILDINGS[38]

There existed in the PG and Geometric periods various categories of cult buildings (Map 5). One has to establish (a) the *nature of the cult*, and (b) the *function* of the edifice.

The two main categories of cult buildings are (1) those connected with the cult of a divinity and (2) those connected with the cult of a hero or an ancestor. In the first category the divinities may be classified as "Olympian" or as "chthonian". In the second category one should make a distinction between a cult of a mythical hero (which sometimes could derive from the remote recollection of a historical figure), who may have been regarded as semi-divine, that of an impersonal hero, that of a distinguished historical figure regarded as a hero immediately or not long after dying, and lastly that of an ancestor or relative who was venerated after his death, but not as a hero. In the case of mythical or remote historical figures, cult practice would have usually been a public or at least a communal concern, while in the case of anonymous heroes and of the veneration of ancestors or deceased relatives, the cult would have usually concerned only a restricted group of individuals (in the latter case the closer relatives of the deceased person).[39]

The second step, after having established the nature of the cult, consists in determining what precise function(s) did the building in question fulfil. In the case of a building associated with the cult of a deity one has to establish whether the edifice served: (1) to house the cult image, (2) to house the votive offerings, (3) for ritual activities, (4) some subsidiary function, or (5) a combination of two or more of the above mentioned. In the case of a building associated with the cult of heroes or ancestors, one should seek to determine whether the building served: (1) for depositing offerings, (2) for cult activities, (3) as a heroön, (4) as a shrine of a chthonian divinity, (5) some subsidiary function, or (6) a combination of two or more of the above mentioned.

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[32] A case for a "communal" initiative has been argued in connection with the LG fortification wall of Asine: see B. Wells, "Early Greek Building Sacrifices", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 259-266.

[33] *Ibid.*, 265.

[34] See L.H. Sackett, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 74.

[35] C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 62.

[36] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Bruxelles 1967, 29f.; Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 163.

[37] C.W. Blegen & M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* I, Princeton 1966, 88, 91f.; G. Säflund, *OpAth* 13 (1980) 241; P. Rehak, *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 101.

[38] In the almost total absence of contemporary literary and epigraphic sources, one must rely almost exclusively on the archaeological record. In that respect, there is an overlap with the criteria applied in a Bronze Age context. These have been set out by C. Renfrew [*The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, *BSA* Suppl. 18 (1985) chapter I] and J.C. Van Leuven ["Problems of Prehellenic Naology", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 11-26]. For an attempt to set criteria for the identification of EIA temples see Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 162-164.

[39] A. Snodgrass, "Les origines du culte des héros dans la Grèce antique", in *Mort, morts* (1982) 108 makes roughly the same distinction but assumes two types of cults, those of heroes and those of a person which died recently. It should not be excluded, however, that cults were presented to a dead person periodically, several years after the person's death, without necessarily implicating a hero cult.

A. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

1) GROUND PLAN. Ground plans, and doubtless the external appearance of cult buildings of the EIA were as a rule similar to those of edifices of normal domestic functions (*cf.* Table II-VIII). This is one of the basic reasons for which the identification of cult buildings at such an early date is difficult. In earlier years, the discovery of an edifice with an apsidal end was sometimes regarded proof enough favouring the identification of the remains as a cult building.[40] Nowadays, it has been amply demonstrated that the apsidal form was equally favoured in sacred, as well as in domestic architecture (Tables I-VIII).

Features such as an anteroom with columns *in antis*, a prostyle porch, an axial interior colonnade or a small rear chamber, occur both in sacred and profane structures (*cf.* Tables I-VIII). The opisthodomos, which is a feature confined to religious architecture, is not encountered during the PG and Geometric periods,[41] and an adyton does not differ from an ordinary rear chamber.

There are a few features which may sometimes contribute in identifying a cult building: the total absence of internal divisions in an edifice of important dimensions (Tables I, IVA), the extreme elongation of a building as opposed to its small width (Tables IA:1, 10, IIIA:10, IVA:9-11 & VIIIA:8), and perhaps the open front in free-standing one-room buildings (Table I). Fagerström has argued that "the internal colonnade is in fact a very strong temple criterion",[42] but this claim cannot be sustained since several profane buildings have internal axial posts closely set to one another. It is in fact the elongation and the absence of internal divisions of sacred buildings, especially of the *hekatompeda*, which make these internal colonnades more impressive (*cf.* the so called "Heroön" at Lefkandi). Moreover, in large elongated buildings (not small or square), three naves or more could serve as a criterion for a public function, though not exclusively of a sacred character.[43] Lastly, it should be made clear that the free-standing position of an edifice does not constitute a criterion *per se*, for profane buildings are very often free-standing as well (especially apsidal ones). The argument may withstand criticism only if it has been established that all the houses of a settlement in which this building was found were agglutinative.[44]

2) DIMENSIONS AND INVESTMENT OF WEALTH. An edifice of monumental proportions could have served one of the three following functions: as a residence of a wealthy and powerful family, as a public building or as a cult building. The answer is usually provided by a correlation with other criteria. Yet, monumental extremely elongated edifices presenting no internal divisions (Tables IA:1, 10, IVA:9-11) may be safely regarded as temples, for such structures are not fit for habitation; the possibility of some other public function deserves however consideration if no further correlates can be adduced in favour of the temple hypothesis.

On the other hand, extremely modest free-standing one-room structures, unfit for habitation or other domestic use, often turn out to represent cult edifices (Tables I and IVA).

The care of construction, the building techniques and the material used are occasionally indicative of the function of buildings.[45] Roof tiles would also corroborate towards this direction, but

[40] One example of this reasoning can be found in W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 45 (concerning Buildings III and IV at Antissa).

[41] One of the earliest occurrences is in the temple of Hera at Olympia [Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 100f. and fig. 3]. The opisthodomos of Temple C at Thermon should not be included here, for the temple may be much later than scholars usually believe. Concerning the "opisthodomos" of the pre-oikos of the Naxians see my doubts exposed in p. 181.

[42] *GIAA* (1988) 163.

[43] *Cf.* for example Temples II and III at Iria and Temple B at Ephesos.

[44] There are no known examples of the PG and Geometric periods, but a good demonstration of this criterion would have been Zagora (Fig. 299), if the temple there had been contemporary with the settlement: *cf.* A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1970, 32; A. Cambitoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1967) 109, at which time the date of the temple had not been elucidated yet.

[45] As examples one could quote the fine limestone wall at Eretria (Fig. 104, Wall G), the orthogonal blocks used for the construction of monumental temples at Kalapodi, Corinth, Iria (Temple II), Delos ("Pre-oikos" of the Naxians), Samos H1 and the polygonal masonry of Building IV at Antissa and Mytilene and of the "Tholos" at Lathouriza. None of these buildings however (excluding Wall G at Eretria and Temple II at Iria), was erected prior to *c.* 700 B.C.

their reinvention, or at least their massive production, lies beyond the limits of the Geometric period.[46]

3) THE PERISTYLE. Until recently it was believed that the peristyle was an innovation of the late 8th c. A peripteral apsidal temple of that date has indeed been discovered at Ano Mazaraki, though the exact date of its construction has not been fixed with accuracy yet (presumably around 700 B.C.). The interesting feature of this early peristyle is that there was no stylobate but each wooden column rested on a free-standing base (Figs. 252-253). The same technique is encountered at Thermon (apsidal "peristyle", though presumably unrelated to Megaron B and perhaps of post-Geometric date, Fig. 44), ?Kalapodi (Temple A, Fig. 61), Delos (Heraion 1) and perhaps at the Acropolis of Athens (two bases out of context). The technique of placing posts on free-standing bases appears to have been the first technique used in peristyles in the LG and EA periods. A distressing feature is that the introduction of the peristyle in religious architecture seems to have developed from the periphery to the centre. Indeed, it sounds rather unorthodox to have a peripteral temple in a rural and remote sanctuary like Rakita, while in nearby Argolid and Corinthia (Argive Heraion, Isthmia) its invention follows after a period of one or two generations (*cf.* Figs. 194, 214-215). Indeed, Mallwitz's latest study had as a result the lowering of the date of the earliest peripteral temples to the early 7th c.[47] Yet, the peripteral temple of mid-8th c. date recently found at Ephesos (Temple B, Fig. 424) seems to point once more towards an independent earlier tradition proper to the east Greek World. It is intriguing that here too the bases of the wooden columns are free-standing, as in mainland Greece. The fact that the peristyle appears to have preceded the construction of the surviving cella wall (Fig. 425), something which implies that the walls were not structurally related to the peristyle, and the evidence indicating the existence of a cult statue already in the LG period, underline the symbolic character of the Ephesian *peristasis*, and may denote an influence from the East.[48] The *peristasis* of the first Heraion on Delos is also of the *baldachin* type and therefore closer to the Eastern than to the mainland tradition (*cf.* also the *baldachin* at Lathouriza, Table IXh).

The discovery of the peripteral apsidal building at Toumba Lefkandi has led to a further re-examination of the question of the origins of the peristyle (Fig. 89). To my mind, the peristyle there, which dates in the first half of the 10th c. B.C., seems to have been functional and not symbolic. Perhaps it should be regarded as a parallel development of the technique which consisted of placing vertical posts along the outer face of the exterior wall of a building, a technique sufficiently documented today in Greece, especially in the Peloponnese and Euboea.[49] At the same time, however, the peristyle at Lefkandi may have aimed towards producing an impression of power and wealth. In fact I am almost convinced that even down to the late 8th c. B.C. a *peristasis* was not a feature restricted to religious architecture.[50] The fact that domestic buildings of apsidal and oval plan at Eretria (Figs. 116, 119, Building B) and Oropos (Fig. 77, Building A) were provided with such

[46] *Cf.* for instance very primitive roof tiles from Delphi, Thebes, Temple Hill at Corinth, Isthmia, Halieis, etc. In general on architectural terracottas of the Archaic period see *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 1-323. Roof tiles of a very primitive kind are also connected with the LG/EA cult Building J at Kato Syme [A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 223f.]. Concerning roof tiles of the Mycenaean period in general, see A. Åkerstrom, *OpArch* 2 (1941) 164-173; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 120, n. 127; V. Kaestner, *EthnogrAZ* 21 (1980) 649-652; Ö. Wikander, *OpAth* 17 (1988) 204f. and S. Iakovides, in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 Juin 1987*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 147-160.

[47] *Architektur* (1981) esp. 621-642. The earliest peripteral temples would have been the first Argive Heraeum (*ibid.*, 634f., here Fig. 215) and the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia (*ibid.*, 636-639, here Fig. 194). Whether the temple of Apollo at Corinth had also a peristyle cannot be determined (*ibid.*, 635). On the origins of the peristyle see in general H. Drerup, "Zur Entstehung der griechischen Tempelringhalle", in *Festschrift für F. Matz*, Mainz 1962, 32-38; H. Walter, "Zur Ringhalle des frühgriechischen Tempels", in *Symmikta philologica Salisburgensia G. Pfligersdorfer*, ed. J. Dalfen *et al.*, Roma 1980, 263-271. *Cf.* also Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 96-100, and more recently, W. Martini, "Vom Herdhaus zum Peripteros", *JdI* 101 (1986) 23-36. See also J.V. O'Brien, *The Transformation of Hera*, Lanham 1993, 132, n. 51 who speculates that the peristyle in Hera sanctuaries "would have grown out of a Heraian column cult".

[48] *Cf.* for instance R. Tölle-Kastenbein, "Zur Genesis und Entwicklung des Dipteros", *JdI* 109 (1994) 74f.

[49] *Cf.* Kastanas (Layers 11 and 9), Nichoria IV-1, Tegea, Eretria A and B in the sanctuary of Apollo.

[50] Even if the Lefkandi building finally proves to be a heroön, its plan should be regarded as a reflection of a ruler's dwelling.

"peristyles" in the LG period corroborates this claim.[51] My personal feeling is that the *peristasis* as a structural cohesive element of a roofed structure existed throughout the PG and Geometric periods and that the Lefkandi instance was not an isolated experiment, a "parenthesis in the history of Greek architecture", forgotten for centuries.[52] The difference between the examples from Eretria and Oropos and those from sacred contexts lies in the fact that the posts at the former sites are sunk into the earth. By the early 7th c., peristyles seem to have acquired a symbolic significance, since they were presumably exclusively applied in religious architecture. One concludes then that for the PG-LG periods, the existence of a peristyle is not a safe argument in favour of sacredness.[53]

B. FACILITIES

1) ALTARS AND RELATED STRUCTURES. There is a danger of circular argument here, for one has to prove first that a structure or deposit represents an altar or the residues from sacrifices. Different kind of altars, serving various functions existed in the EIA,[54] the main category being a stone structure on which the animals were sacrificed and the parts offered to the deities were burned. Yet, one may dub "altar" a free-standing structure located in the open air which did not serve for burnt sacrifice, but for the placing of unburnt offerings (material or edible) or for the pouring of libations.[55]

In some places, enigmatic structures inside buildings could be interpreted as "altars" in the wider sense of the term,[56] as for instance the so-called "tripillar shrine" which was contained inside Temple B at Kommos (Figs. 491-492), which presumably denotes Phoenician connections,[57] and the "*Keraton*" inside the temple at Dreros (Fig. 459).[58] A rectangular structure inside the "adyton" of the first Kabeirion at Lemnos (Table VIIIA:7) has been dubbed an altar;[59] this is quite likely, since in the context of Mystery cults, as at Samothrace or Eleusis, altars were located inside the main sacred building.[60] The large rectangular base in the first Artemision at Ephesos was presumably not an altar since practically no burning or animal bones were associated with it (Fig. 424).[61] Rather enigmatic hypaethral roughly circular pavings which seem to be connected with chthonian cults, may have also been regarded as altars, though not always in connection with burnt animal sacrifice, and usually, though not exclusively, in association with the cult of the dead.[62]

Certain temples were also provided with "offering tables", which could be movable, like the wooden (?) one in Temple I at Iria, or fixed, as in the temple of Athena at Koukounaries, which, however, is post-Geometric in date.

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[51] The posts were set parallel and at a distance of the exterior wall of the LG oval (?) house at Eretria [P.G. Themelis, *ΠΑΕ* (1981) 143, fig. 1 at p. 142] and of the LG apsidal building at Oropos.

[52] Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 161, 163. Fagerström is not specifically referring to the peristyle but to the unit as a whole.

[53] *Cf.* also *ibid.*, 162f.

[54] C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949 and D. Rupp, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 101-107, with earlier literature. See also the collected articles in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991 and especially H. Cassimatis, R. Étienne & M.-Th. Le Dinhaet, "Les autels: problèmes de classification et d'enrégistrement des données", in *ibid.*, 267-273.

[55] For example, Altar A at Emporio may have been "the focus for the deposit of unburnt offerings" [J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 8]. The altars which would have served for libations (though not exclusively) were pierced with a hole in the middle of their core. As possible altars of this kind, one could mention those at Tiryns -which, however, may not have been a hollow structure, Eretria (F), Kato Syme and perhaps even the altar at Kommos.

[56] In general see G. Roux, "L'autel dans le temple", in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 297-302.

[57] J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 233-236; *id.*, "Phoenicians in Southern Crete", *AJA* 93 (1989) 165-183; O. Negbi, "Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal", *AJA* 96 (1992) 608f.

[58] S. Marinatos, *BCH* 60 (1936) 224, 241-244.

[59] L. Beschi, *Αρχαιολογία* 50 (1994) 36.

[60] G. Roux, in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 297f.

[61] A. Bammer, *RA* (1991) 73; *id.*, *AnatSt* 40 (1990) 148.

[62] Chapter I, pp. 122f. Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 189-193; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 199-207.

One should of course be able to establish that there is a connection between the altar (provided it has been correctly identified) and the building in question. This problem becomes more pertinent when more than one buildings are located in close proximity to the altar, as in the case of Altars F and H at Eretria (Fig. 104); and one should not reject *a priori* the possibility that altars may sometimes be associated with profane edifices, as was the case of the household altar in dwellings of the Classical period.

2) HEARTHS. The presence of a hearth inside or outside a building does not on its own constitute proof of sacredness, for hearths are a common feature of domestic architecture as well.[63] However, unlike the temples of the Archaic and Classical period, EIA temples and other cult buildings were very often provided with an *eschara*,[64] which in a few cases coexisted which the altar proper which was situated outside.[65]

3) BENCHES. The function of a bench may sometimes be determined by its dimensions (length, width, height) or by some distinctive features, such as the existence of round cavities serving as stands for storage vessels (Zagora). There exist various kinds of benches inside cult buildings. Sitting benches do not constitute on their own a criterion of sacredness. Such benches are usually more easy to identify, for as a rule they are longer than the other categories of benches and sometimes run along all four walls of a chamber.[66] Benches for the positioning of votive offerings and perhaps in some cases of the cult image of the divinity also, usually lean onto the back wall of the temple or onto one side wall of the main chamber. These benches may either occupy the entire length of the wall[67] or only a portion of the wall, often near the back corner.[68] It is not always possible to establish the function of benches of this kind. The safest way is of course the discovery *in situ* or in front of the bench of votive offerings, but such instances are rare.[69] Extremely modest edifices, not fit for habitation and presenting benches along the wall(s)[70] often turn out to be cult buildings. Some benches which do not occupy the entire width of the wall and which are set in the rear corner of a room or against the back wall of the edifice, show a tendency to become square,[71] but the function is once more determined by the finds connected with them. It should be stressed that sitting benches and cult benches are not mutually exclusive (*cf.* the case of the Archaic Temple B at Hypsile, Fig.

[63] The hearths inside EIA temples would have been endowed with a sacred meaning, especially in those cases where no altar existed outside the temple (in which case the hearth would have been a substitute of the altar). The hearths inside early temples would have sometimes served to roast the meat which was consumed by the participants in the sacrifice, especially in those sites where an altar existed as well (as at Kommos B). See in general M. Guarducci, "La eschara del tempio greco arcaico", *SteMat* 13 (1937) 159-165; M.P. Nilsson, "Archaic Temples with Fire-places in the Interior", in *Opuscula Selecta* 2, Lund 1952, 704-710; F. Oelmann, "Homerische Tempel und nordeurasische Opfermahlhäuser", *BJb* 157 (1957) 11-52; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 123-128; D. Rupp, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 104; Ch. Börker, "Festbankett und griechische Architektur", *Xenia* 4 (1983) 9-45, esp. 10; W. Martini, "Vom Herdhaus zum Peripteros", *JdI* 101 (1986) 23-36.

[64] Poseidi, Temple B at Kallipolis, Kalapodi (Temple A and five or six superimposed hearths in the earlier temples beneath it, ash deposit from a hearth inside Temple B), Areopagus, Academy, Perachora (Hera Limenia), Temple A on the Barbouna hill at Asine, Naxos (pit containing ashes in the PG enclosures at Mitropolis Sq.), Temples II and III at Iria, Building A and Unit B at Tsikalario, a hearth (?) inside Room IV at Xobourgo, Apollo temple at Dreros, Temples A and B at Kommos, are the ascertained examples. The hearth at Lathouriza (in VIII) appears to have been originally an hypaethral altar. The "hearth" at Solygeia was presumably located in the open air and may be post-Geometric.

[65] As for instance at Kallipolis and Kommos (Phase B2).

[66] Areopagus, Tourkovounia, Asine, Mantineia, Iria II and III, Koukounaries, Kabeirion on Lemnos, Samos H1, Kommos A and B. The presence of a hearth in the same room may suggest that the bench served as a seat for the participants in a feast, as at Areopagus, Temple A at Asine, Temples II and III at Iria, Kommos (*cf.* also the EA "Tholos" at Lathouriza).

[67] Ay. Irini on Kea, Kavousi. *Cf.* also Vroulia in the EA period.

[68] Kallipolis, Eleusis (Room I of the Sacred House), Tiryns T (reused throne base?), Halieis (Room 3), Building II at Tegea (?), Delos H1, Minoa K1, Tsikalario B (Room 7), Xobourgo (Room V), Dreros.

[69] *Cf.* for instance Delos H1, Pachlitsani Agriada near Kavousi, Dreros.

[70] *Cf.* Table IVA:31, 33-34.

[71] In the rear corner: Eleusis (Room I), Halieis (Room 3), Dreros. In the back wall, near the rear corner: Kallipolis.

297); in some cases it is possible to argue that the bench on which the votaries left their dedications also served for sitting.[72]

4) FREE-STANDING CULT BASES. These are quite rare and it is not always easy to determine their precise function.[73] Cult bases of this kind are not encountered earlier than the end of the 8th c., and are usually located near the back of monumental elongated edifices which for other reasons have been convincingly identified as temples (Kalapodi A, Fig. 61, first Heraeum at Argos, Fig. 215 -see however the restoration by I. Strøm on Fig. 215-, Samos H1, Fig. 388 and first temple of Athena at Old Smyrna, Fig. 401). It is generally believed that these bases supported the cult image of the divinity and it appears that they developed out of the semi-free standing cult benches mentioned above.[74] The massive base in the Artemision at Ephesos presumably reflects a different tradition.[75]

5) BOTHROI, LIBATION CHANNELS, BASINS AND PITS. The presence of such facilities is rarely a safe criterion; installations of this kind often occur in purely profane contexts as well. Bothroi and channels for the pouring and evacuation of liquids have been uncovered in a few buildings[76] and are usually regarded as being connected with chthonian cults. A basin and a drain existed also in the Pre-oikos of the Naxians on Delos (Fig. 314), but it could have served purposes of cleanliness. A rectangular pit of uncertain function was also discovered in Temple B at Kalapodi (Fig. 61). In the two cult buildings at Tegea (Fig. 279) there were numerous small pockets of earth dug in the floor which, according to one interpretation, may have been aniconic offerings.[77] In the apse of the earlier building (I) twelve small holes were bordered by a little wooden fence, but the nature of this installation is obscure.[78]

C. LOCATION

1) BUILDINGS DETACHED FROM A SETTLEMENT ("SUBURBAN" AND "EXTRAURBAN"). This is not a conclusive argument, for houses and other buildings of domestic functions were surely erected in the outskirts of settlements. Moreover, in various places the settlements consisted of groups of houses or isolated units scattered in a large area.[79] In other places, where isolated buildings have been discovered, it has not been determined yet whether a contemporary settlement existed nearby or perhaps in the same spot.[80] In some places cult buildings were erected just outside the fortification wall, but here too, one should not be dogmatic.[81]

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[72] This may have been the case of the benches in Temples A and B at Kommos, of Hymettos B, and perhaps even of the chthonian shrine at Anavyssos. *Cf.* also the EA "Tholos" at Lathouriza.

[73] *Cf.* for instance the "altar" inside the Kabeirion at Lemnos which theoretically may have also been a cult base, and from a domestic context the ambiguous case of the free-standing base in Room 11 at Kastro Kavousi.

[74] *Cf.* E. Walter-Karydi, *AntK* 23 (1980) 3-12; *id.*, *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 172-183.

[75] The first Artemision was constructed towards the middle of the 8th c., but the base appears to have been added some time later: A. Bammer, *RA* (1991) 73.

[76] Academy (two libation channels in Room ε), Sacred House at Eleusis (bothros and drain in Room II), Gortyna (bothros).

[77] E. Østby, in *Archaeology in the Peloponnese*, ed. K. Sheedy, Oxford 1994, 61. It would now seem, however, that these are traces left by wooden (?) furniture: *cf.* G. Nordquist, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 101 ("interior installations").

[78] G. Nordquist, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 101.

[79] *Cf.* Heilmeyer, *FGK* (1982) 85-109, and 110f., fig. 86; *id.*, "Die Einordung Milets in die Siedlungszonen der griechischen Frühzeit", *IM* Beiheft 31 (1986) 105-112. Concerning the archaeological evidence for synoecism see J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAW* G 272 (1984) *passim*. As examples of scattered housing one could mention Asine, Nichoria, Eretria, LG II Old Smyrna, Miletos, and presumably Athens, Corinth and Argos.

[80] See for instance Kallipolis and Olous.

[81] As at Xobourgo. At Mytilene, it is not clear whether the oval building was situated inside or outside the massive wall, while the function of the latter is also uncertain (fortification or peribolos?).

2) PROMINENT LOCATION. This may be the summit of a mountain or hill (sometimes the settlement's acropolis, sometimes in the country),[82] or the centre of the settlement, where the settlement's gathering place was often located.[83] Other prominent locations may be the edge of the settlement (sometimes next to the fortification wall),[84] or a place viewed from far away. Caution however is recommended, for other buildings serving communal functions (including chieftains' dwellings) occupied analogous positions.

3) BUILDINGS LOCATED INSIDE A NECROPOLIS, OR IN THE VICINITY OF ONE OR MORE TOMBS. The degree of proximity between building and tomb(s) needs to be established before pursuing any further the debate. Unfortunately, it is not possible to set out a maximum accepted distance between building and grave(s).[85] Each case has to be examined separately. One should exclude from the discussion child burials, for these were often located in the midst of settlements.[86] In the case of adult burials one should be cautious since it seems that there was not always a clear separation between the quarters of the living and those of the dead.[87] In fact it not easy to decide whether Building S at Asine (Fig. 231), the apsidal edifice at Mycenae (Fig. 199, no. 2), the oval building at the Areopagus (Fig. 126), Buildings III/XXVI and XXX at Thorikos (Fig. 160), etc. represent normal dwellings or chthonian cult buildings. There is, however, ample evidence suggesting that often buildings located in such places fulfilled functions related to the cult of the dead. One has to concede however that it is rarely possible to determine the exact nature of the cult (addressed to deceased relatives, ancestors, heroes or some chthonian divinity?).[88] I should also mention here that buildings located in proximity to cenotaphs, in which case one assumes that the cult would have been addressed to heroes or at least to distinguished ancestors, have not been found yet in an EIA context.[89]

4) BUILDINGS LOCATED INSIDE SANCTUARIES. Provided that the identification of the place with a sanctuary is correct, one has to concentrate all efforts in defining the function of the edifice(s) within this sanctuary (temple? treasury? *hestiatorion*? priest's house? workshop? etc.).[90] However, it cannot be claimed that a building should be identified with a temple, simply because it stands on top or underneath an edifice of earlier or later date, which for independent reasons appears to have been a cult building. Indeed, a simple compilation of LG cult places established upon earlier habitation quarters or cemeteries, of the PG-EG/MG periods proves that sanctuaries often encroached

[82] Athenian Acropolis, Hymettos, Tourkovounia, Lathouriza VIII, Aigeira A, Tiryns T2, Asine Barbouna A-B, Ay. Andreas (?), Hypsile A-B, Minoa K.

[83] Lathouriza VIII, Oikonomos isl., Dreros.

[84] Old Smyrna and *perhaps* Mytilene (see above n. 81) and the chapel (?) S of the Olympieion in Athens (though the picture which would have presented Geometric Athens is still obscure: scattered villages or houses widely spaced around the acropolis?), Kastro Kavousi (provided that the traces of walls reported from "Plaï tou Kastrou" belong to a roofed building), Paralimni and Halieis, etc.

[85] On this question see Morris, *Burial* (1987) 62-69 and K. Dickey, *Corinthian Burial Customs ca. 1100 to 550 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr 1992, 120-134.

[86] As for example at Eretria: Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 16, fig. 12, here Fig. 101, Iolkos [A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 734] and elsewhere. *Cf.* also D.C. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, Ithaca & New York 1971, 55.

[87] Especially in Attica [Athens, Marathon -H.W. Catling, *AR* (1984/85) 11-, Oropos, Thorikos, see for instance Morris, *Burial* (1987) 62-69] but also in the Argolid (see for instance A. Papadimitriou, "Η οικιστική εξέλιξη της Τίρυνθας μετά τη μυκηναϊκή εποχή", in *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et Urbanisme, Table Ronde École Française d'Athènes, 28/4-1/5/1990*, in press, concerning the proximity of PG houses at Tiryns to tombs, and the PG-LG apsidal houses at Argos and Asine and perhaps Mycenae (shrine? house?).

[88] As in Attica (Areopagus, Academy, Anavyssos, Eleusis, ?Thorikos), the Argolid (?Mycenae and ?Asine), the Cyclades (Grotta, Tsikalario, Xobourgo) and Crete (Karakovilia at Vrokastro). In some places, mainly Cycladic, graves were placed inside a special room, while cult was restricted to another chamber [PG Grotta, and perhaps Tsikalario C and Xobourgo. See Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976)]. In the Areopagus, the EG I grave seems to antedate the erection of the oval structure.

[89] The case argued by Lauter for Tourkovounia (p. 88f., Fig. 135) is mostly unlikely. At Olympia, the location of Pelopion appears to have been instigated by the presence of a EH tumulus, but no cult building of the EIA has been found (p. 74, Fig. 254).

[90] The cases of Perachora (Fig. 185) and Kommos (Fig. 485) are most informative.

upon previously inhabited areas (*cf.* Pherai, Delphi, Corinth, Old Smyrna, Phaistos, etc., Chapter III, Part 3, p. 308ff.). The chances of it being a temple increase if the surrounding area has been sufficiently explored and it has been established that the building in question is not part of a settlement.[91] The movable finds are usually the best guide.

D. ORIENTATION

The orientation of PG and Geometric cult buildings cannot serve as a criterion, for this was often dictated by the climatic conditions, the landscape, or the available space. Many buildings follow an E-W orientation, but the entrance is often situated to the W and not to the E as one would expect.[92] A N-S orientation is also a frequent occurrence, the entrance usually, but not always, facing S in order to avoid the N winds.[93] Only towards the end of the 8th c. do we observe a systematisation of the orientation to the E.[94]

E. WRITTEN SOURCES

These are rarely relevant for all, excluding Homer and Hesiod, post-date the period with which we are dealing. Nevertheless, they sometimes prove useful in identifying the sanctuary, the name of the divinity or divinities worshipped there, and provide enlightenment concerning rituals and cult practice.[95]

The only sanctuaries in which inscribed dedications have been found, the earliest of which date around 700 B.C. are that of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos, and of Apollo on Thera and Kalymnos. However, these of the former site provide little help in determining the exact function of the three buildings which were discovered.[96]

F. THE EVIDENCE FOR RITUALS AND CULT PRACTICE

1) ANIMAL SACRIFICE. Animal sacrifice is usually attested by the existence of a certain category of altar, sometimes of an *eschara*, or by burnt deposits ("pyres"). In all these cases the discovery of animal bones is required.[97] One expects the animal bones resulting from a burnt sacrifice to be calcinated, but caution is recommended for the litter of an ordinary dinner which has been swept into the hearth, and a building which has been involved in an intense conflagration, will contain burnt bones as well.[98]

[91] As in the cases of Kalapodi, Kea, Delos, Samos, Kato Syme. One the main reasons for which Buildings A at Aigeira, B/B1-3 at Eleusis, A at Eretria, B at Thermon and B at Prinias have been identified by most scholars as cult buildings is that they lie beneath or in close proximity to a later cult building.

[92] See for instance the orientation of the Pre-oikos of the Naxians, Temple B (and presumably A) at Hypsile, of the temple (?) at Oikonomos and of Building A at Tsikalario and the first Artemision at Ephesos.

[93] Poseidi (SE?), Thermon B (of uncertain function) and apsidal peristyle (S), Kallipolis B (S-SW), Gonnoi (S-SE), Neochoraki (S), ?Oropos 34 (SE), Eretria D (SE), Hera Limenia "temple" at Perachora (N-NE), apsidal building at Mycenae (N), Tiryns T2 (S), Asine Barbouna A (S), Halieis (S-SE), Ano Mazaraki (NE), Ay. Irini (SE), Delos Γ (NW) and H1 (S), Iria I-III (SW), Tsikalario A (SW), Pachlitsani Agriada (SW), Dreros (NE).

[94] Kalapodi A-B, Haliartos (?), Paralimni, Perachora (Hera Akraia), Corinth (?), Isthmia, Argive Heraion, Aigeira B, Sparta (Artemis Orthia), Tegea I-II, Delos Art. E, Koukounaries, Minoa K, Samos H1, Old Smyrna, all belonging to the LG or EA period, with the exception of Kommos A-B.

[95] Wherever such evidence exists, it is discussed in the appropriate section of Chapter I.

[96] For a recent "corpus" of the earliest known inscriptions see B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 119-186.

[97] *Cf.* I. Morris, "Burning the Dead in Archaic Athens: Animals, Men and Heroes", in *Culture et cité. L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 25-27 Avril 1991*, ed. A. Verbanck-Piérard & D. Viviers, Bruxelles 1995, 57f., n. 44.

[98] The quantity of the animal bones and/or the species represented by these sometimes help in determining the nature of such deposits, as for instance at Lathouriza VIII, Halieis, Minoa, Kommos, Dreros, Kato Syme.

2) FOOD OFFERINGS. Food offerings are difficult to detect and are more often attested in connection with burial rites.[99] Food may either be offered unburnt, on a platform, an offering table, a kernos, or in a vase, but it may also be thrown in a pyre, as in Building A at Tsikalario. Unfortunately, it is very rarely possible to identify food remains, especially if these are not burnt.[100]

3) LIQUID OFFERINGS. These are not easy to identify, and one has to infer their presence by the facilities provided for libations (bothroi, libation channels, drains, etc.), or by the presence of vessels which presumably held such liquids. Sometimes vases were intentionally pierced with a hole through which the liquid would escape (Tourkovounia). Liquid offerings would have usually consisted of water, oil, honey or wine; a jug associated with a circular paving at Grotta may have contained sea water for purification, but the laboratory analysis did not confirm this assumption.[101]

4) RITUAL DINING. Recent excavations at sanctuaries, such as Kalapodi, Iria or Kommos[102] have contributed towards the better understanding of the function of early Greek temples. It is now definitely established that ritual meals were taking place in certain EIA cult buildings, a fact which had been vigorously argued by some scholars in earlier years.[103] The main elements which could suggest that sacred meals were performed inside a building are the presence of unburnt bones, hearths, sitting benches, spits, cooking pots and eating and drinking vessels.[104] One has to concede, however, that even if all these elements are grouped together, as at Kommos, they can equally serve as indications of normal meals. Thus, one has to establish first by other correlates the sacredness of the edifice, or at least of the spot in which the building in question is located.

5) FOUNDATION SACRIFICES. These become quite common during the Geometric period. Such evidence has been recovered in association with the cult buildings at Iria (Temple I, Fig. 335),[105] Minoa (in connection with a possible temenos wall in the Lower Town, Fig. 351),[106] Delos (Art. E, Fig. 317)[107] and presumably Gortyna (Fig. 479a).[108] The case of Tourkovounia (in association with the stone kerb near the oval building, Fig. 135) is highly uncertain.[109] The practice of such sacrifices is not decisive, however, since similar ceremonies are encountered in connection with chieftains' dwellings (Lefkandi "Heroön", Eretria A, Asine C), fortification walls (Asine, Fig. 220, nos. a-c), workshops (Thorikos, Fig. 161),[110] and even tombs (as at Knossos).[111] It seems that the specific ritual was introduced from the Orient around 800 B.C.[112]

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[99] D.C. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, Ithaca & New York 1971, index; M. Andronikos, *Totenkult*, *AHom* III, W, 1968, 91-93.

[100] The presence of food offerings is usually inferred by the discovery of the structures or containers in which these offerings would have been presented.

[101] The original hypothesis that it may have contained sulphur [*Εργον* (1984) 78] was not confirmed: V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 336; *id.*, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 240, n. 17.

[102] I should perhaps clarify here that despite the fact that Phoenicians would have frequently visited this sanctuary, the majority of the visitors would have been, in my opinion, Cretans. See on these questions J. Shaw, *AJA* 93 (1989) 165-183; O. Negbi, *AJA* 96 (1992) 608f.

[103] As for instance Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 123-128 and B. Bergquist *Herakles on Thasos*, Lund 1973.

[104] For details concerning each site, one should refer to the catalogue.

[105] V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 214.

[106] L. Marangou, *Εργον* (1985) 66f., fig. 72; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 180-182, fig. 2 and pls. 90β and 91.

[107] H. Gallet de Santerre & J. Tréheux, *BCH* 71/72 (1947/48) 148-254.

[108] G. Rizza & V.S.M. Scrinari, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina* I, Roma 1968, 24-26.

[109] Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 41-45. *Contra* see Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 194f. (see *supra* p. 88f.).

[110] J. Bingen, in *Thorikos* II, 1964, Brussels 1967, 29, figs. 14, 16; *id.*, in *Thorikos* III, 1965, Brussels 1967, 32f., figs. 35-36.

[111] J. Boardman, *BSA* 62 (1967) 57-75.

[112] B. Wells, "Early Greek Building Sacrifices", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 264f.; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, Cambridge Mass. & London 1992, 53-55; F. de Polignac, "Influence extérieure ou évolution interne?", in *Greece between East and West: 10th-8th Centuries B.C.*, ed. G. Kopcke & I. Tokumaru, Mainz 1992, 117-119. Wells, followed by Burkert, suggest that the introduction or reintroduction of this practice should be placed around 800 B.C. The latest material from the Minoa deposit is SPG [L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1985) 180, n. 12]. This leaves us with Thorikos and Lefkandi as the only possible candidates for foundation sacrifices before the 9th c., but the later case is ambiguous (*Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 74).

6) MANUFACTURED OBJECTS

a) CULT IMAGES. The evidence may be of a direct (Dreros, Fig. 458b, and perhaps Ay. Irini on Kea, Figs. 287 & 285, the first Artemision at Ephesos, the shrine at Pachlitsani Agriada and Pit 15 at Sybrita) or an indirect kind (bases on which the cult image would have been placed). In the former cases, one may encounter difficulties in distinguishing between a cult image and a votive item, especially if the latter is of large proportions, as one would expect the *xoanon* to be.[113]

b) CULT UTENSILS. Here too one is presented with difficulties in distinguishing between an object which served a ritual function, and one which was meant to be a dedication. Moreover, when a sanctuary developed inside the limits of a settlement, as at Delphi, it is practically impossible to distinguish certain classes of material which would have served domestic needs from those which would have been dedicated in the sanctuary.[114] Regarding pottery, the size of some vessels, such as kraters, is sometimes regarded as a criterion in favour of the latter use, though this line of argument is also dubious.[115] Cult utensils would have either been stored inside the temple (or somewhere inside the sacred precinct) or would have been brought by the worshippers, in which case the objects, after fulfilling their function, would have been left behind, sometimes intentionally smashed. As examples of cult utensils, one could mention movable offering tables,[116] perirranteria,[117] libation vessels, spits (provided that they do not represent dedications),[118] vessels for storing ashes and/or animal bones,[119] etc.

c) VOTIVE OFFERINGS. Once again, it is sometimes not easy to distinguish votive offerings from objects of domestic use.[120] A few classes of objects however, such as the human or animal figurines of terracotta or metal,[121] and miniature vessels,[122] were presumably intended from the moment of their manufacture to serve as votives. It is often the discovery of *quantities of the same class of objects* in one single area which leads one to identify them as votives.[123] The discovery of isolated items which could have equally been personal belongings or dedications (fine pottery,

[113] On cult images in general see I.B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images*, Ph.D. diss., Philadelphia 1980; *id.*, "Early Greek Idols", *Expedition* 24, 3 (1982) 3-13.

[114] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 112f.

[115] *Ibid.*, 112. See also the case of the three large krater feet from Aigeira: G. Schwarz, in *Klio* 68 (1986) 326-329, figs. 118-119 at p. 328; W. Alzinger, in *Πρακτικά XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας*, Δ', Athens 1988, 23.

[116] As at Temple I at Iria and Vrokastro (Karakovilia).

[117] As at Tsikalario (Building B) or Mytilene.

[118] Spits have been discovered in the cella of the temple of Apollo at Halieis, in the sanctuaries of Hera at Argos and Perachora, of Athena at Zagora and Emporio, inside Temple B3 at Kommos, and elsewhere. The bunch of spits discovered in the Argive Heraion would have been an offering of monetary value [P. Courbin, "Obéloi d' Argolide et d'ailleurs", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 149-156] and this may have been the case in the other sanctuaries as well, except for Kommos, where the spit lay inside the hearth; yet, one should not rule out the possibility that spits were dedicated to the deities at the end of a ritual feast.

[119] As in the Sacred House at Eleusis, at Thermon, and perhaps at Xobourgo.

[120] For an insight of the problem see Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 282f., Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 257ff. and Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 332-338. For an interesting theory concerning the origins of votive offerings see S. Langdon, "Geometric Gift-Exchange: Observations on Bronze Votive Offerings", *AJA* 89 (1985) 338; *id.*, "Gift Exchange in the Geometric Sanctuaries", in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of he Uppsala Symposium 1985*, ed. T. Linders & G. Nordquist, Uppsala 1987 (*Boreas* 15) 107-113, which may account as one of the reasons for which it is difficult to make a distinction between a votive and a profane object. See also W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge 1902, out of date but still useful and recently F. Brommer, *Griechische Weihegaben und Opfer*, Berlin 1985.

[121] The human ones could either represent the votary or the divinity. The animal figurines may have been substitutes for sacrifices [Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 282]. *Cf.* also R.V. Nicholls, "Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity, c. 1200-700 B.C.", in *Auckland Classical Essays presented to E.M. Blaiklock*, ed. B.F. Harris, Auckland & Oxford 1970, 1-38.

[122] For instance, this is one of the reasons which have led me to identify the apsidal edifice at Mycenae as a cult building.

[123] One such instance is the discovery of large quantities of hydriai of the late 8th and 7th c. near Structure H, a few metres to the N of the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria.

jewels, pins and fibulae, armour and weapons, and even metal tripod cauldrons which are usually thought to occur exclusively in non-domestic contexts) cannot be used as a conclusive argument in favour of sacredness.[124] It is an undeniable fact that "metal was not in widespread use at most Iron Age sites",[125] but it is sometimes difficult to decide which groups of valuable objects were votives, since the desire for display and investment of valuable goods was expressed within three levels: the *oikos*, the grave and the sanctuary. The comparisons between the early dedications of Olympia with the metal items from area IV at Nichoria may serve as a guide towards a better understanding of this complex topic.[126] The quality and the richness of the manufactured objects should also be taken into account, though one should expect to encounter similar objects in the house of a wealthy individual as well. And one should also bear in mind that in the period which elapsed between the manufacture of a votive object and its dedication in a sanctuary, its owner could have kept it in his home.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the effort to draw a clear dividing line between cult buildings of all sorts and rulers' dwellings in EIA Greece, this has proven to be almost impossible. In fact, the majority of the criteria set forward in the previous pages concern both categories of buildings. Ground plans, building materials and techniques, location, interior furnishings, even the contents of the buildings, are not clearly differentiated. Features such as orientation towards the E, peristyles, altars, free-standing built structures or foundation sacrifices, which are usually thought to characterise exclusively religious buildings, are also found in connection with secular constructions, such as rulers' dwellings. Perhaps, the safest criterion remains the movable finds, i.e. manufactured objects, especially large quantities of similar categories of objects and not isolated items, which cannot have been anything else but dedications to the gods. Large idols, or palpable evidence for their existence, that one could immediately identify with the cult image of the divinity, are unfortunately restricted to a few sites and the exact significance or context of these idols is not always clear (Ay. Irini, Ephesos, Dreros, Pachlitsani Agriada and Sybrita). Therefore, in the absence of written documents, one is often compelled to take subjective decisions in his effort to understand the attitude of the early Greeks in matters of religion and politics. In order to draw some conclusions on such matters, tentative as they may be, one is left alone with the overwhelming archaeological data, which is often insufficient, confused or contradictory, and he must try to solve a jigsaw puzzle which unfortunately comprises also pieces which do not have a single match, but several!

[124] Here for instance we could mention the discovery of fibulae in the houses at Zagora (A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἄνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 73) and Karphi, of weapons at Vronda (though perhaps associated with a later burial), Vrokastro and in the lower level inside Megaron B at Thermon (which now could be associated with burials), of a fragment of a leg of a bronze tripod in Room 137 at Karphi, of jewels inside the apsidal complex at Toumba in Thessalonike, and of the comparatively numerous metal objects in area IV at Nichoria, and inside Unit IV-1 in particular.

[125] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 196.

[126] *Ibid.*, 65-79, 196-199.

CHAPTER III

INTERACTION BETWEEN SACRED AND PROFANE

PART 1

RULERS' DWELLINGS AND CULT PRACTICE: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Several of the so-called "Rulers' Dwellings" of the EIA hint that one of their functions was to serve for certain religious ceremonies, the most important presumably being ritual dining. Therefore, each feature which could turn out to be related in one way or another with cult practices is discussed. In order to be objective, I have included here the totality of the rulers' dwellings (Map 2 and Table X), and I have discussed also the cases in which there is no evidence pointing towards religious activities. The data is confined on one hand to what one may dub "Architectural Features" and on the other to the movable finds related to the buildings.

A. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

1) ALTARS (Table IX): Altars for burnt sacrifices are as a rule raised stone-built or rock-hewn free-standing structures, usually located in the open air, on which the victims were sometimes slaughtered and the parts of the animal which were offered to the gods were burned.[127] A special category of altar is that known as "walled pit" or "bothros"; these were cylindrical or square structures with a circular or square pit in the centre. The destination of these altars is not yet well understood: perhaps they received offerings and/or libations, though burnt sacrifices may have been practised in the central pit as well.[128] Altars could have also been formed gradually by the continuing practice of burnt animal sacrifice, in which case they could consist simply of a mound of ashes, animal bones, burnt matter and even accumulations of manufactured votive offerings. It should be stressed that altars and portable "offering tables" for unburnt food offerings or libations existed as well.[129]

The altars near the presumed rulers' dwellings at Zagora and Emporio share several common features. Altar A at Emporio (Table IX:a) seems to date in the last quarter of the 7th c. B.C. but the presence of votive offerings from the late 8th c. onwards suggests in my opinion that there may have existed an earlier altar on the same spot.[130] The altar of Zagora (Table IX:d) rested on a layer which was laid in the LG period, which layer, according to the excavator "must have been the walking surface of an original hypaethral sanctuary".[131] On both sites the altars remained the focus of the cult

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[127] D. Rupp, "Reflections on the Development of Altars in the Eighth Century B.C.", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 101-107 and H. Cassimatis, R. Étienne & M.-Th. Le Dinahet, "Les autels: problèmes de classification et d'enregistrement des données", in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.-Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 267-273, for a brief review of the types of Greek altars, and their development. See also C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949.

[128] At Eretria [J. Konstantinou, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 125-131; A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 156f.] and Kato Syme [A. Lebessi, *ΠΑΕ* (1972) 194-196; (1974) 222-224; (1975) 325; *id.*, *AAA* 6 (1973) 104f.; *id.*, *AE* (1981) 9f., 12 and pl. A between pp. 11 & 12] animal bones were found in the central bothros.

[129] See C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 54 and D. Rupp, in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.-Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 303.

[130] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 5-10 (dating at p. 8). The trapezoid shape of the altar could be taken as an indication that Altar A represents a repair of an earlier structure. If this assumption is correct, the late 7th c. sherds recovered from the altar's fill could be used to date this repair.

[131] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 168, 171; A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 83f.; *Cf.* also letter of Apr. 10, 1985.

after the abandonment of the settlements and in the 6th c. B.C., in each site, a temple dedicated to Athena was built, incorporating the old cult installation in the cella.[132]

The altars associated with Building T at Tiryns[133] and Building A at Eretria[134] are usually considered to have been of the "walled pit" type (Table IX:b and IX:c, respectively), though it seems that the former was filled in with earth.[135] On both sites, the rectangular element which enclosed the cylindrical structure represents a later addition. The "altar" at Tiryns was presumably in use in the LH IIIB-C periods (phases 1 & 2), while that of Eretria perhaps already by the MG II period. Therefore, it seems that the altars in these two sites coexisted with the edifices, as was presumably the case of the altar at Zagora and perhaps of that at Emporio. The altars at Tiryns and Eretria were doubtless renovated when both places were exclusively devoted to cult practice (e.g. *c.* 750 B.C. at Tiryns -altar phase 3- and *c.* 725 (?) B.C. at Eretria).

The upper part of the "bothros" in front of Building B at Koukos near Sykia was presumably associated with an earlier structure lying beneath Building B (Table IX:e). It was lined on three sides by a Π-shaped stone structure, 2,40m on a side, 0,35-0,40m high, while the northern side was formed by the outcropping rock. The pit was *c.* 1,00m deep and contained moisty black earth, a few burnt animal bones, four small nodules of melted bronze, sherds, fragments from clay tripods and peculiar dishes.[136] The excavators tentatively suggested to identify the structure with an altar-bothros, connected with sacrifices, but I have argued that the hypothesis of a purely utilitarian structure appears more credible.

There seems to have been an ash altar enclosed by a stone kerb at Prinias, just NE of "Temple B" and below Temple A (Table IX:j). The deposit related to this structure consisted of ashes, charcoal fragments, animal bones and sherds, ranging from LM IIIB/C to LG times.[137]

Occasionally the altar was situated inside the building itself. In Unit IV-1 at Nichoria there was a raised circular paving in the back of the main compartment (Fig. 264).[138] This structure was covered with a thin layer of carbonised matter, while a concentration of animal bones mixed with charcoal was recovered nearby. I should recall here, that the structure could not have been a raised hearth, since there was one in the middle of the same room. A similar structure of unknown function and uncertain date was contained inside Building U2 at Tarsus.[139]

Two roughly circular elevated platforms, recalling the paving in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria were discovered in the two S corners of the E room of the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi (Fig. 85).[140] Nothing betraying their function was found on the surface, or in association with these two structures. The absence of traces of burning and/or of animal bones, added to the fact that both pavings are set against the building's walls, do not favour the assumption that these served for burnt

[132] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 10-22; A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἀνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 84.

[133] W. Dörpfeld, in H. Schliemann, *Tirynthe*, Paris 1885, 320-322; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 35f.; P. Gercke, in *Führer durch Tiryns*, ed. U. Jantzen, Athen 1975, 98; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 44f.; D.W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese c. 750/725 to c. 300/275 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor 1975, 123-129; J. Wright, "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid", *JHS* 102 (1982) 201.

[134] J. Konstantinou, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 125-131; A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 156f. The earliest sherds connected with the altar appear to belong in the MG II period: p.c. by Prof. L. Kahil (letter of April 12, 1985).

[135] K. Müller, *Tiryns* III, Augsburg 1930, 137f.; R. Hägg, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988*, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990, 181, n. 36 and K. Kilian, in *ibid.*, 184.

[136] *ΑΕΜΘ* 4 (1990) 446f.

[137] L. Pernier, "Templi Arcaici sulla patela di Prinias", *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 25f., 34f. & 75; S. Alexiou, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 414; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 454; I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 23f.

[138] W.D.E. Coulson, in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 29f., 38; Hägg, *Funerary Meals* (1983) 192. Altars were sometimes located inside temples and public buildings, such as *prytaneia* and *bouleuteria* as well: see G. Roux, "L'autel dans le temple", in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.-Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 297-302.

[139] H. Goldman, *Tarsus* III, Text: *The Iron Age*, Princeton 1963, 3-5.

[140] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 11; J. Coulton, in *ibid.*, 51f. See also H.W. Catling, *AR* (1983/84) 17.

sacrifices; J. Coulton suggested that the platform at the SE corner served perhaps for the preparation of food, though he compares the platform of the SW corner with those usually thought to have been related with chthonian or ancestral cults.[141] According to P. Calligas, these structures were ovens,[142] but this seems unlikely since the wooden posts which were set at regular intervals against the inner face of the exterior wall would have easily caught fire. It is more likely that these pavings served domestic uses, as perhaps in the case of a similar EG paving excavated at Old Smyrna (Fig. 410a), or those recently discovered at Mende[143] and Halai (in general see Chapter I, p. 122).[144]

There is one further, though highly uncertain, example of an altar inside Building 9-11 at the Kastro near Kavousi (Fig. 439). H. Boyd reported the discovery of a rectangular raised platform in Room 11 of this unit.[145] The platform, which is no longer visible, may have served ordinary household needs,[146] but an identification as an altar or the base of an offering table is equally possible, especially when one compares the similar arrangement between bench and altar in the temple at Karphi (Fig. 463).[147] The presence of a bench and of pottery of fine quality in this room and the parallel with Unit IV-1 at Nichoria lend some additional support to the latter hypothesis.

The recent investigations at Thermon have proven that there existed an hypaethral cult, perhaps of heroic nature, before the construction of Megaron B,[148] which, in my opinion, would have been contemporary with the final period of use of Megaron A. The arguments which favour the presence of an altar are the ash and bone stratum immediately above the stone paving and the numerous pithoi which were full of the same kind of fill (Table IX:f). Rhomaios believed that there existed an altar inside Megaron B,[149] a statement now confirmed by J. Papapostolou, who suggests that sacrifices were taking place in the front part of the edifice, though it is not clear yet whether Megaron B was still in use.[150] However, as in the case of Unit IV-1 at Nichoria, the extent and depth of this second bone stratum inside and above the edifice is better understood as the litter left by large-scale banquets than as the traces left by burnt sacrifices, though a combination of the two is also possible. Indeed, K. Rhomaios noted that occasionally, large and complete unburnt bones were encountered among the burnt bones, suggesting the practice of feasts in connection with sacrifices.[151]

It would be an omission not to recall here, that in front of the SE corner of Megaron B two stone-built bothroi were discovered (Fig. 44).[152] The best preserved one yielded small animal bones (bird?) and plain sherds. Since both structures lay directly on the paving which extended in front of the edifice, they must be contemporary with its earlier occupation period, before the construction of Megaron B.[153] Another pit containing ashes, burnt matter and an iron knife was found in the same area during the recent excavations.[154]

Concerning Lathouriza I have argued previously that the circular cult building (VIII) would have been erected some time after the rest of the village's buildings and that there probably existed an altar on this spot, prior to the erection of the "Tholos" (Table IX:h). This hypothesis however cannot be confirmed until the finds from the early excavations have been studied.

At Vathy Limenari on Donousa (Fig. 343) neither a ruler's house nor a sanctuary have been positively identified. The two enormous hypaethral pyres located near the houses could perhaps be explained as ash altars, though Fagerström suggests bonfires for entrapping ships.[155]

[141] *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 51f.
[142] *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 256.
[143] J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 4 (1990) 399f.
[144] E. French, *AR* (1992/93) 49f.
[145] *AJA* 5 (1901) 138, n. 1.
[146] G. Gesell, L.P. Day & W.D.E. Coulson, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 340: "Possibly this oblong served as a base for wooden objects or furniture".
[147] J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 75f.; B. Rutkowski, *SMEA* 26 (1987) 257-279.
[148] J. Papapostolou, *Έργον* (1992) 51; (1993) 46-49; (1994) 43.
[149] *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 246f.
[150] *Έργον* (1994) 44f. Now see *Έργον* (1995) 40 but also 42.
[151] *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 246; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 69.
[152] K. Rhomaios, *ΑΔ* 1 (1915) 248f.: one consists of a stone slab, (0,70 X 0,75m) surrounded by stones leaving a hole in the middle 0,40 by 0,25m and 0,30m deep (both structures have similar dimensions).
[153] J. Papapostolou, *Έργον* (1993) 50f.
[154] *Ibid.*, 51f.
[155] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 390f.; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 70, 72.

The exact function of the altars or presumed altars mentioned in the previous pages is not always easy to determine. At present it will suffice to note that only in a few cases is there firm evidence for burnt animal sacrifices (Thermon, Nichoria, Eretria, Zagora and Prinias). In the remaining cases this is either less certain (Koukos, Tiryns and Lathouriza) or impossible to determine (Emporio & Kastro Kavousi).

2) HEARTHS: The term "altar" is frequently applied to the hearths which were discovered inside temples.[156] The same terminology cannot be applied to the hearths discovered inside the dwellings of the aristocrats since practically all houses of this early period possessed a hearth which served equally for heating, lighting and cooking. Neither the form nor the axial or off-centre position of the hearth can help in explaining its precise function. Moreover, the contents of a hearth are practically the same in all contexts: ash and charcoal are almost always present while animal bones and sherds are often encountered. The animal bones are usually calcinated, but this does not mean that one is in the presence of a burnt sacrifice in which the sections set apart for the gods have been thrown in the fire; the most natural explanation is that the litter which was left after a feast, was afterwards thrown into the hearth. The annoying thing is that a ritual meal leaves behind the same traces as an ordinary one. Nevertheless, it seems natural to imagine that the hearth of an EIA ruler's dwelling would have served a multitude of domestic functions, but at the same time it would have been endowed with a religious meaning and may have been simultaneously a symbol of unification for the entire community, as the altar-hearth (κοινὴ ἑστία) of the later Greek *prytaneion*.[157] One even suspects that these hearths, whenever required, served also as altars, a fact which could lead one to understand better the reason for which early temples often possessed an interior hearth, even if there existed simultaneously an exterior altar.[158]

The unique instance of a "sacred" hearth from an EIA domestic context is the one of MG II date from the acropolis of Koukounaries. Among the ashes there was a small clay phallus, suggesting the practice of a household cult inside a dwelling.[159] The case of the pit which contained two terracotta horse figurines inside Building B at Miletos (Fig. 419) could perhaps be explained in a similar manner, but the evidence is inconclusive.[160]

At Kastanas, the presumed chieftain's house of Layer 10 (PG) was furnished with a very large hearth which could have served ceremonial as well as functional needs (Fig. 20). Large hearths were also found in the presumed rulers' dwellings of phases 12 (Figs. 14-15) and 11 (Figs. 17), and the layout of Room 1 of phase 12 pinpoints towards influence from the palatial megara of southern Greece. The large apsidal building at Toumba in Thessalonike (Phase 4, belonging to the end of the Bronze Age) seems to have been furnished with several "informal" hearths, especially inside the apsidal compartment, while large ovens were found in the rectangular annexes.[161] The location of the hearths in the apsidal compartment is intriguing. It may be interesting to note that the horseshoe-shaped clay hearth found inside the southern apsidal building at Assiros was also situated approximately in the centre of the apse.[162]

At Lathouriza, the stone-lined hearth was located in the open air, in front of Room II of the chieftain's dwelling (Fig. 149-151).[163] This hearth presumably served only for cooking and for roasting the meat before feasting. Its location in front of Room II and the spacious bench inside this room suggests, as indeed H. Lauter maintains, that the apsidal chamber was a dining room, perhaps of official character. If an altar existed in close proximity of the ruler's house (see above), it would not be exaggerated to accept that the hearth served for the preparation of political and sacred feasts.

[156] C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, 59-70; D. Rupp, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 104.
[157] *Cf.* S.G. Miller, *The Prytaneion*, Berkeley 1978, 13-16; G. Roux, in *L'espace sacrificiel. Colloque, Lyon 4-7 Juin 1988*, ed. R. Étienne & M.-Th. Le Dinahet, Paris 1991, 297.
[158] Roux, *op.cit.*, 298 who notes that the Telesterion at Eleusis possessed such a sacred altar-hearth, because it was regarded the *megaron* or *anaktoron* of Demeter and Kore. Indeed, since humans possessed sacred hearths in their homes, it would have been inconceivable for the Greeks to imagine that divinities did not.
[159] D. Schilardi, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 175, 177; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 203f.
[160] V. von Graeve, *IM* 23/24 (1973/74) 80, n. 40.
[161] S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 263.
[162] K.A. Wardle, *BSA* 82 (1987) 315-318.
[163] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 18f., pl. 5b.

A pit hearth in a non axial position was discovered inside Building C at Asine (Fig. 228): it was lined with mud brick and enclosed an extensive area of burnt soil which included numerous charcoal pieces.[164] On account of the impressive bench, which brings to one's mind the bench of Room II at Lathouriza, one might be willing to accept that communal feasts were held in this house. The limited extent of the excavation and the fragmentary preservation of the edifice, however, leave grounds only for assumptions.

In Unit IV-1 at Nichoria, in Rooms H19 and H22 of the presumed ruler's dwelling at Zagora and in Building A at Eretria there existed a central hearth. As we have seen, in these three sites there were altars for burnt sacrifices closely related with the buildings. The Nichoria example is the most significant among the three, for the "altar" was situated in the same room as the hearth (Fig. 264).[165] It would not be unreasonable to assume that following a sacrifice, the meat of the victim would have been roasted over the hearth by the participants in the ritual banquet. The same hearth, however, may have also fulfilled normal household functions. The same may be true concerning Eretria and Zagora, though in these cases one cannot be categorical.[166] At Zagora, the formal dining room was presumably in the MG II-LG IIa period inside the main chamber (H19) but in the LG IIb period it may have been transferred to Room H22 (Figs. 306-307).

The case of Lefkandi is once more problematic. In the NW corner of the E room and the SE corner of the central room peculiar "boxes" of mud brick, were excavated. The first (Fig. 85) was full of earth and pebbles[167] and the second (Fig. 86) contained ashes and some very small fragments of burnt animal bones.[168] The box in the central room could perhaps be identified as a container in which the remains from a ritual meal or those from a burnt sacrifice were placed (at Thermon for instance, such remains were placed in huge pithoi).[169] Likewise, the function of the container (?) in the E room is enigmatic: this structure could hardly have been a hearth or an oven,[170] since two of the wooden posts which are set against the inner face of the exterior wall would have been incorporated in it. If a hearth existed in the central room it would have been situated either in the area which was subsequently occupied by the burial pits or further to the W, in which case, it has been destroyed.[171]

A hearth, axially placed, was discovered in Building IV at Antissa.[172] It consisted of a thick layer of burnt earth resting upon a layer of stones (Fig. 361). It may be that its shape was circular or elliptical. In the former case its diameter would not have exceeded *c.* 1,30m.

The only self-sustained clue which may come to one's assistance in determining the sacred character of a hearth within an otherwise domestic context is the exaggerated size. The huge dimensions of the central hearths in the Mycenaean megara in the palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos (Table XI)[173] have been taken by several scholars as an indication of their sacred character and as a proof that the *wanax* was responsible for performing certain rituals within the megaron.[174] A comparable hearth was discovered in the middle of Room AA at Phaistos (Fig. 482).[175] The

[164] B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 31.

[165] The hearth was of the simple pit type and "was filled with extremely soft back soil mixed with numerous carbonized fragments": W.D.E. Coulson, in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 27. The excavators claim that the hearth was perhaps no longer in use during the second building phase (*ibid.*, 36) but no arguments demonstrating this were presented.

[166] Concerning the hearth in Building A at Eretria see C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 65, 67; P. Auberson, *AntK* 17 (1974) 64. Concerning the hearths in Rooms H19 and H22 at Zagora see Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1970, 18f.; *id.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 86, 91; A. Cambitoglou, *AE* (1970) 187; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1967) 107.

[167] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 51; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 1f.

[168] Coulton, *op.cit.*, 50; Popham, *op.cit.*, 99.

[169] Remains to be determined whether the residues should be related with the funeral rites at the funerary ceremony of the couple or, less likely, with some other rites performed during the lifetime of the couple.

[170] P. Calligas, *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 256, 258, concerning the latter identification.

[171] *Cf.* also *ibid.*, 258. Calligas, however, assumes that the central part of the building would have been divided into two roughly square chambers by a partition wall.

[172] W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 46f.

[173] 3,70, 3,50 and 4,02m in diameter, respectively.

[174] J. Wright, "The Spatial Configuration of Belief", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 57-60 who speaks about the hearth-*wanax* ideology.

[175] D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 410 & fig. 55 at p. 411. The interior consisted of a layer of burnt earth and contained ashes.

ceremonial character of this hearth, like the one at Kastanas mentioned above, can hardly be doubted. Whether it served religious purposes as well remains yet to be proven.

At Phaistos, except for the ceremonial hearth in Room AA, hearths were discovered in Rooms CC, P, R3, EE and FF (*cf.* Fig. 482).[176] Special attention should be paid to the three hearths contained in Room R3: these were simple pits inside the paved floor, lined with slabs and included ashes and pottery.[177] In my opinion, the contents of these hearths and the presence of the bench (see below) suggest that Room R3 may have been a dining-room.

The tripartite buildings at Prinias, Karphi and Smari were all three provided with an axial hearth in the middle of the central chamber. The ceremonial character of the large hearth in Building B at Prinias (Fig. 477) is beyond doubt,[178] though once more one cannot be categorical about its sacred function, given of course that one is in agreement with me that the building may not have been a temple. At Karphi, not only the central unit (138-140) but also the two adjoining buildings were provided with axial hearths (Rooms 137 & 136, Fig. 466).[179] Laviosa suggested that these represent traces left by wooden posts for the roof. This interpretation however implies that the complex was destroyed by fire, something which has not been proven by excavation.[180] On the other hand permanent hearths would have been indispensable at Karphi, for as V. Desborough rightly observed, "even in late spring the nights are bitterly cold".[181] The central hearth in the main room of Building A at Smari (Fig. 471) consists of a layer of burnt earth which was enclosed by slabs.[182] Since banquets were held in this room, one assumes that one of the primary functions of the hearth would have been to roast the meat which was consumed.

3) BENCHES: As in the case of dwellings of ordinary people, the benches inside chieftains' dwellings were used for sitting, sleeping and occasionally also for the storage of provisions or for industrial activities (as in the rectangular unit at Toumba in Thessalonike[183]). Cult benches for the positioning of votive offerings do not seem to have existed inside such buildings. The bench in Room 11 of the presumed chieftain's dwelling at Kastro near Kavousi could be an exception to the rule (Fig. 439), but the supporting evidence in favour of this assumption is unfortunately weak.[184]

Several chieftains' dwellings which were provided with a hearth were furnished with benches: at Kastanas (12th c.), the "podium" was set against the long wall, facing the central hearth (Fig. 14), recalling the similar but earlier, arrangement in the megara of Mycenae, Pylos and Tiryns (Table XI). In Unit IV-1a at Nichoria, there may have been benches on either side of the door of the central room (Fig. 265a). In the second building phase, the bench was presumably moved along the S long side of the same room (Fig. 265b). In Building C at Asine, a continuous bench presumably ran alongside the stone socle (Fig. 228). Room II of the chieftain's house at Lathouriza (Fig. 149) was furnished with a similar bench, which evidently served to accommodate the participants in the banquets (*c.* 22-24 seated persons, i.e. perhaps all the adult male members of the small community). In the living quarters of the ruler (Room I) there was also a bench along three walls, which would have served for sitting and sleeping. The existence of a bench in circular Room III is uncertain, but if this hypothesis is retained, it would have been used exclusively for the positioning of storage vessels.

[176] D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 414, 407, 403, 417 & 416, respectively.
[177] *Ibid.*, 403: the hearths were situated in the NE, SE and SW corners.
[178] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 42. The hearth was lined with stones and it contained ashes and calcinated animal bones.
[179] J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 71.
[180] C. Laviosa, "La casa TM III a Festos: osservazioni sull'architettura cretese in eta micenea", in *Antichita Cretesi. Studi in onore di D. Levi* 1, *CdA* 12 (1973) 87; concerning the peaceful abandonment of Karphi see J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 136.
[181] "Crete in the First Half of the Twelfth Century B.C.: Some Problems", in *Πεπραγμένα Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* A', Athens 1973, 67.
[182] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *Lyktos* 1 (1984) 18 & fig. 9 at p. 19.
[183] S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 263.
[184] Domestic shrines appear to have existed in Crete as late as the EO period: see for instance a room of a house at Karnari, on the SW slopes of Mount Juktas, in one corner of which there was a bench, on which stood a terracotta animal figurine. Near the bench there was a hearth: A. Karetsou, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 241-245, esp. 241f. The excavator originally suggested that the room was a shrine: *Έργον* (1974) 115.

Unlike Lathouriza, the benches in the presumed chieftain's house at Zagora (Fig. 306), may have served multiple functions: practically all the benches in the Geometric houses of the settlement had circular hollow "nests" in which storage pithoi were placed. This is also the case of the "Π"-shaped bench in the central room of the complex (H19): one then should doubt whether this precise bench could have accommodated the participants in a banquet: the portions of the bench which were not occupied by pithos nests could accommodate only a limited number of seated persons. As argued earlier, it is possible that the chieftain's dwelling at Zagora, like the similar one at Lathouriza, was provided towards the last period of its use (transitional LG I/II) with a separate dining room, Room H22. This hypothesis is supported by the finds (*infra*), the new door which was opened in the W wall and the fact that this room was at that time provided with an axial hearth. The bench along the N wall of this room and the informal hearth, belong to the previous phases, during which the room served a multitude of functions. No pithos nests appear to have been detected in the preserved portion of the bench but one has to concede that this may be due to its bad state of preservation.[185] It seems however that houses which were composed of several interlocking rooms were sometimes provided with separate dining rooms. A typical example is the SG house excavated at Thorikos (Fig. 159) which included a kitchen (J) and a dining-room (G).[186] One further relevant example, is the house at Phaistos (Fig. 482). No benches were found in the "ceremonial" room with the elliptical hearth. In an adjacent room, however, there were hearths and a "Π"-shaped (?) bench (Room R3). One interesting fact, perhaps purely coincidental, is the exactly similar arrangement between Rooms H19 and H22 at Zagora and that of Rooms AA and R3 at Phaistos.

The main room of Building A at Smari was furnished with a bench along all four sides (Fig. 471). This bench would have certainly served to accommodate the participants to a banquet. The adjacent unit, B, was also furnished with a continuous stone bench but it has not been established yet which of the two represents the living quarters of the ruler's family.

So far we have examined these chieftains' dwellings in which, in addition to the benches there was also a hearth. Benches were also discovered in the rulers' dwellings at Tiryns (Fig. 219) and Kastro near Kavousi (Fig. 439), but their location, size and the apparent lack of a hearth suggest that they did not serve at any moment as seats during a feast. At Kavousi, one cannot decide whether the bench served as a cult bench (provided that the platform at the opposite end of the room represents the base of an altar or offering table), or a bench for the placement of provisions (supposing that the platform belongs to a structure -a table?- of domestic use). At Tiryns, the benches are located in the porch. There the ruler and the members of his family would have sat on certain occasions.[187] It seems permissible to assume that the seat of the ruler (e.g. the throne base) was maintained throughout the LH IIIC and DA periods.

It is essential to note that stone-built benches do not represent the only interior furniture of chieftain's dwellings. This statement is naturally also valid concerning the ordinary houses of the same period. Movable furniture, mostly wooden, was certainly present in practically all the buildings of the PG and Geometric periods, but no actual remains have survived.[188]

Lastly, it should be emphasised, that as with the case of hearths, the presence of benches inside chieftains' dwellings does not on its own, prove that the buildings in question were used for cult purposes. As I hope to be able to show, it is the correlation of several features and facts which points in this direction.

B. THE FINDS

1) ANIMAL BONES: In securely identified sacred contexts the presence of animal bones attests the practice of animal sacrifice and of ritual dining.[189] In purely domestic contexts such

[185] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 89-96.
[186] J. Servais, in *Thorikos* III, 1965, Bruxelles 1967, 9-30; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 36.
[187] Compare with Od. III, 405-409, where Nestor sits outside, by the entrance of the *megaron*, on stone seats.
[188] See G. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London 1966, esp. 3.
[189] At Tegea for instance, several of the animal bones were burnt, thus suggesting the practice of animal sacrifice. The unburnt bones on the other hand could point towards the practice of ritual meals: G. Nordquist, in E. Østby *et al.*, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 99.

deposits presumably represent the litter from ordinary meals. In the case of certain chieftains' dwellings however, it is possible to suggest, that a portion of the animal bones represents burnt sacrifices and/or ritual meals.

Animal bones were recovered in most of the houses at Kastanas but there is not a single clue that ritual dinners were also performed. In one room of a house of the Geometric period (Phase 8, Fig. 23), however, a decapitated owl was found inside a bowl at the extremity of a built podium, something which has led B. Hänsel to suggest that some "Black Magic" household ritual ("magischen häuslichen Praktiken") was perhaps regularly performed at Kastanas.[190] In the possible dining room of the Central House of the same phase, numerous animal bones were found.[191] It may be interesting to note that in the NW corner of the same room, traces of poppies were detected, suggesting perhaps the use of drugs, such as opium.[192] At Vitsa Zagoriou, numerous bones of sheep/goat and bovines have been reported from the various levels of the nomadic settlement.[193]

At Thermon, the numerous animal bones mixed with ashes of the lower stratum predate the construction of Megaron B.[194] Several pithoi, scattered in the area contained the same kind of fill (Fig. 44).[195] The pithos which was found inside Megaron B was placed there before the construction of the edifice, but remained in use throughout its life span and even afterwards.[196] Whether these ashes and animal bones represent burnt sacrifices, litter from cult meals, or both, is difficult to determine any longer.[197] Small pithoi and amphorae which also contained ashes and animal bones were discovered inside Megaron A (Fig. 45a).[198] These vases were inverted, a practice usually related with chthonic cults, especially in connection with the cult of the dead,[199] and might have contained the residues from sacrifices and/or of ritual meals which were perhaps performed in honour of the persons who were apparently buried inside Megaron A, shortly before its final abandonment towards the end of the LBA or in the early years of the first millennium B.C. It is not clear yet at which moment the hero cult changed into Olympian and exactly how Megaron B fits into the sequence. The presence, however, of a warrior's grave (?) in front of Megaron B suggests that the latter was not designed to serve as a temple from the beginning.

Among the most significant examples of this combination of profane with sacred, is once more Unit IV-1 at Nichoria (Fig. 264). Considerable amounts of bones were collected from the central and apsidal rooms of the edifice, belonging to goats, sheep, pigs, bovines (mostly cows) and small roe deer which were hunted in those days, in the forests around the village.[200] As already mentioned, a concentration of animal bones (sheep and goat), mixed with charcoal fragments was discovered W of the circular paving and according to the excavators looked as if it had been swept away from it. It therefore seems that the victims were slaughtered on the paving (?) and the parts offered to the gods, heroes or ancestors were burned on it, while the rest of the meat would have been roasted above the hearth and consumed by the participants in the banquet (some of the bones bore "knife and chew marks"). Moreover, a large amount of astragalus bones was recovered on the floor

[190] B. Hänsel, *Kastanas*, Band 7, Teil 1, Berlin 1989, 256; C. Becker, *Kastanas* 5: *Die Tierknochenfunde*, Berlin 1986, 219, fig. 74; A. Hochstetter, *Kastanas. Die Handgemachte Keramik, Schichten 19-1*, Berlin 1984, pl. 162:10. The rituals may have been in relation to the primary concerns of the inhabitants, on matters of death, weather forecast, medicine, etc. In general on Black Magic see W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, Cambridge Mass. & London 1992, 65-73.

[191] Hänsel, *op.cit.*, 246.

[192] *Ibid.*

[193] J. Vocotopoulou, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 89.

[194] J. Papapostolou, *Εργον* (1992) 51; (1993) 46-49.

[195] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 175-179.

[196] J. Papapostolou, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 99-102.

[197] L. Preston-Day, W.D.E. Coulson & G.C. Gesell, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 371.

[198] G. Soteriades, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 19f.

[199] One could mention the inverted bowls in Tomb 3 at Salamis on Cyprus (end of 7th c.) and several inverted vases in the Thesmophorion of Bitalemi at Gela (mid-7th to mid-6th c.): see P. Åström, *JPR* 1 (1987) 7-16; *cf.* also the ritual which consisted in inverting vessels which contained water (?) during the Eleusinian Mysteries (W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, 73).

[200] W.D.E. Coulson, in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 26, 37, 39f. In p. 26, canine bones are also mentioned.

of the main room. These were perhaps used for games. No animal bones are reported in the final publication from Unit IV-5.

Ash and calcinated animal bones were collected inside the altar/bothros (Structure F) in front of Building A at Eretria (Fig. 104).[201] The altar was in use several decades earlier than the erection of the monumental temple of Apollo (Building D).[202] Numerous ashes, animal bones and charcoal fragments were associated with the votive deposit further to the N; those of the Geometric period belonged mostly to the forelegs of ovicaprines and were fragmented, while those of the Archaic were more varied.[203] From Building A at Eretria no animal bones are specifically mentioned, but the presence of a hearth inside the edifice[204] and the limited details presented in the preliminary reports of the Greek and Swiss excavations suggest in my opinion, that animal bones may have been encountered inside the edifice but have not been mentioned yet.

Numerous animal bones, mostly of piglets and sheep, were discovered in the hypaethral sanctuary in front of the presumed chieftain's dwelling at Zagora (Fig. 308).[205] It is not specified whether animal bones were present both in the pre-temple and temple phases of the sanctuary, though this is the natural assumption (*cf.* the altar of the pre-temple period). At Zagora, practically every house yielded animal bones (sheep, goat, pig, bovine, hare and also fish);[206] such deposits are specifically mentioned by the excavator in connection with Room H19 and the roofed portion of the courtyard (H21) in front of it.[207]

Animal bones are also reported to have been gathered from the occupation levels of the houses on the acropolis of Koukounaries but it is not specified in what quantities these were present in Buildings A and C. Animal bones are however reported in connection with Building B. The bones at Koukounaries belong to sheep, pigs and cattle. No fish-bones were discovered, though seashells were present.[208] On the other hand, an extensive ash stratum containing calcinated animal bones, seashells and pottery of fine quality lay on the floor of apsidal Room L on the N end of the small plateau (Fig. 321).[209] This deposit denotes the presence of a hearth and the celebration of meals; could this room with the unusual plan have served as the formal dining room of the settlement during the LG period? Indeed, since the LG settlement appears to have been confined to the small plateau on the summit of the acropolis[210] one might assume that its inhabitants belonged to the same clan or expanded family;[211] if this assumption is correct, then one may suggest that the communal formal dining room was separated from the living quarters of the ruler.

The finds form the two huge pyres at Vathy Limenari at Donousa include numerous animal bones and oyster shells.[212] However, as noted previously, the nature of these assemblages is still obscure.

Another interesting case is the LM IIIC Building A-B at Vronda (Fig. 435). The building was partly excavated in 1900; in the few lines dealing with the excavation of this structure no animal bones are mentioned.[213] Following the more recent investigations however, in one of the house's dependencies (Room 4 of Unit B) animal skulls and sheep or goat's horns were recovered.[214] These

[201] J. Konstantinou, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 125-131; A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 156f.

[202] MG II sherds were associated with the early period of use of this structure: p.c. by Prof. L. Kahil (letter of April 12, 1985).

[203] A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 157; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 31.

[204] C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 65, 67; P. Auberson, *AntK* 17 (1974) 64.

[205] A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 83, 98.

[206] *Ibid.*, 70; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1969) 136.

[207] A. Cambitoglou, *AE* (1970) 212, 213, 214 and P. Themelis, *AE* (1975) 238. One assumes that the animal bones of Rooms H19 and H22 were periodically swept outside, in Court H21 (*cf.* Building A at Smari, p. 222).

[208] D. Schilardi, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 180. Concerning Building B: *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 247.

[209] *Id.*, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 178.

[210] LG sherds, however, were also found in the Middle and South Terraces, as well as in the Lower Plateau but the excavator assumes that these are not enough to prove that the settlement extended in the slopes of the hill: see D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 281, 283, 285, 288-290; (1985) 117; (1987) 224; (1988) 193f., 199, 200f.; (1989) 263f., 266.

[211] According to W. Donlan, "most families in a Greek village were related": *ClPh* 80 (1985) 301.

[212] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 390f.

[213] H. Boyd, *AJA* 5 (1901) 132.

[214] L. Preston-Day, W.D.E. Coulson & G.C. Gesell, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 371.

might have belonged to victims sacrificed during religious ceremonies, after which the skulls and horns would have acquired some special religious significance; indeed, why would anyone store them together with pottery of fine quality inside his home, unless there was a religious reason?[215] One should be reminded also that the ruler's house at Vronda opened onto a courtyard, in the opposite side of which there was a building (G) which was a shrine (Table IX:i).[216]

No animal bones were reported from Building U16-17 at Vrokastro. Yet, agrimi horns, which according to E. Hall were together with triton shells "the invariable accompaniment of figurines" at the site were reported from Room U17 (Fig. 446), the main basement compartment of the presumed chieftain's dwelling.[217]

Large quantities of burnt animal bones (sheep, pig and bird) were collected inside the main room, fewer in the rear compartment and larger quantities in the porch of Building A at Smari (Fig. 471).[218] It seems that the litter from meals was spread on the floor and periodically swept outside the building. This might serve as an explanation of the large concentration of animal bones and ashes which was encountered in the S part of the anteroom. The fact that most animal bones were calcinated, does not necessarily imply that they represent burnt sacrifices, for, since the building seems to have perished in a conflagration,[219] a portion of the animal bones would have burned with it. The large quantities of bones, the 22,00m long bench and the axial hearth suggest that large-scale banquets were taking place in the main room of the edifice. Many bones belonging to a large animal were found in the back room of the adjacent unit, B (Fig. 472),[220] but since the excavation was not completed, it is not easy to assign a function to this annexe of the central building, which was also provided with benches. The back room, however, could have been a kitchen.

The central hearth of Building B at Prinias (Fig. 477) yielded calcinated animal bones and ashes, but these, belong to the last period of use of the edifice (7th c.), at which its function may have been altered.[221]

The hearths discovered in numerous rooms of the Geometric house at Phaistos (Fig. 482) contained only ashes and no bones, with the exception of the hearth in Room P: there, behind a huge pithos, two skyphoi and an amphoriskos were collected among the numerous calcinated animal bones and ashes.[222] The significance of this discovery is not well understood.

In the remaining possible rulers' dwellings no animal bones were discovered or mentioned by the excavators. Concerning certain old excavations such as those at Karphi,[223] Vronda and Kastro near Kavousi, Vrokastro,[224] Tiryns, Lathouriza,[225] or Antissa[226] it is likely that little attention was paid to such "insignificant" finds and consequently there was hardly any mention of them. In other cases, the preliminary reports are very brief and one does not expect to find an account of such finds (Eretria, Aigeira,[227] Toumba Thessalonike, Assiros). In other cases, the lack of animal bones appears to be an established fact. It is these cases however which require a brief discussion.

[215] It may be worth mentioning that fragmentary animal skulls were also recovered from the central room of Unit IV-1 at Nichoria: W.D.E. Coulson, in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 26.

[216] G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 289f.; 60 (1991) 161f.; 64 (1995) 78-80.

[217] *Excavations in Eastern Crete. Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 108. See also P. Åström, "Triton Shells in East Mediterranean Cults", *JPR* 3/4 (1990) 5-14. From EIA contexts in Crete, triton shells have been found in the sanctuary at Kato Syme and at Kommos (associated with Temple A).

[218] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *Lyktos* 1 (1984) 30.

[219] *Ibid.*, 19.

[220] D. Chatzi-Valianou, in *Συντήρηση μνημείων - Τεχνικές ανασκαφών*, Voroi 1989, 92.

[221] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 42 & 75; M.A. Rizzo, in *Creta Antica: cento anni di archeologia italiana 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, 228.

[222] D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 407.

[223] From Karphi, however, a few boar's tusks, bull and red deer horns are mentioned [J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 133f.] as well as a few shells (*ibid.*, 133) and decorated bone objects (*ibid.*, 127).

[224] A single deposit of animal bones is mentioned from Room U8 (E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 100).

[225] It is possible that animal bones were present in various of the excavated rooms, but were not mentioned.

[226] Building III yielded three decorated pieces of bone which is not relevant with the present discussion: W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 63, here Fig. 363i-k.

[227] However, I. Morris mentions that there were plenty of animal bones at Aigeira: see *Culture et cité. L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 25-27 Avril 1991*, ed. A. Verbanck-Piérard & D. Viviers, Bruxelles 1995, 57f., n. 44.

One would expect to encounter animal bones at Emporio. However, not a single animal bone is reported to have been discovered in connection with Altar A (Table IXa). Inside the Megaron Hall the fill had been removed by modern charcoal burners. The disturbance was so extensive that very few sherds were recovered. In these circumstances, even if animal bones were once present inside the building, there was little hope of detecting any. As for the altar, J. Boardman does not dismiss the possibility that it served for burnt animal sacrifices but seems to favour the hypothesis that unburnt votive offerings were placed on it, perhaps along with some primitive cult statue.[228]

It seems that no animal bones (not even ashes) were recovered in connection with the altar in front of the ruler's dwelling at Tiryns (Table IXb). In addition to this, no animal bones are mentioned by Schliemann and Dörpfeld in their description of the building proper. This evidence however is not conclusive for despite the fact that several sherds of the LG-EA votive deposit connected with the period of reuse of the altar bore severe traces of burning,[229] no such traces were reported in connection with the altar.

There is also the case of Eleusis. One is struck by the apparent absence of animal bones (at least large fragments were not recorded) not only in the LG-EA "sacrificial pyre" (Pyre A) which was excavated by Philios (1884-85) and Kourouniotes (1931) just outside the entrance of the LG terrace (Fig. 169, next to E1),[230] but also in the earlier levels below the Telesterion. Kokkou-Viridi convincingly suggested that the pyres at Eleusis represent *ἐναγισμούς*, of chthonian character, i.e. the finds were intentionally thrown and broken into the fire.[231] The pyres at the tomb in front of the Sacred House, on the other hand, included calcinated animal bones and sea shells.[232]

No animal bones were recovered from Building C at Asine. It should be reminded here that no finds "could be interpreted as reminiscences of an intact floor level".[233] On the other hand it is perhaps worth noting that less than 20,00 metres to the N (i.e. behind) of the apsidal building there had been an hypaethral cult area, centred around the upper half of a large pithos (Fig. 223).[234] The pithos contained among incomplete broken pots and charcoal fragments numerous animal bones (ox, sheep, goat and pig). Adjacent to the SW part of the pithos there was an enclosure of mud brick which contained fat soil and many charcoal pieces (Fig. 224). B. Wells presumes "that sacrifices have taken place here to the west of the pithos, maybe in combination with sacrificial meals".[235] From outside the pithos more animal bones are reported (donkey, dog, boar and bird).

Special attention should be paid to the canine bones, not only of Asine,[236] but also of Nichoria.[237] In both cases these bones should perhaps be interpreted as the traces left by sacrifices performed during religious ceremonies of chthonic nature, or perhaps related to healing gods and sickness demons.[238] At Lefkandi the single canine bone identified came from one of the thirteen holes

[228] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 8f.

[229] P. Gercke, in *Führer durch Tiryns*, ed. U. Jantzen, Athen 1975, 98f. Of course, one cannot be certain that in the earlier phases of its use, the altar fulfilled the same function.

[230] K. Kourouniotes & G.E. Mylonas, *AJA* 37 (1933) 279f.; K. Kourouniotes, *ΑΔ* 13 (1930/31) 25f.; J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 337; D. Philios, *ΠΑΕ* (1884) 76; K. Kokkou-Vyridi, *Πρώιμες πυρές θυσιών στο Τελεστήριο της Ελευσίνας*, Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Athens 1991, 256ff.

[231] Kokkou-Vyridi, *op.cit.*, 256-294.

[232] J. Travlos, Unpublished report, 7-11.

[233] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 46.

[234] B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 28-30, 34. Wells dates the pithos with its fill to the late Asine phase 1 (end of the 11th c. or beginning of 10th c. B.C.), but S.H. Langdon [*AJA* 89 (1985) 533] argues that a late 10th or 9th c. date is equally acceptable. Thus, theoretcally, the cult area around the pithos may have been active during the period of use of Building C.

[235] *Ibid.*, 34.

[236] Apart for the bones associated with the pithos in the Karmaniola area, dog bones were also found in the Geometric levels of the 1926 excavations in the Lower Town: K. Moberg, *OpAth* 19 (1992) 67.

[237] These were found inside Unit IV-1: W.D.E. Coulson, in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 26.

[238] In general on dog sacrifice in ancient Greece see L. Bodson, *ΙΕΡΑ ΖΩΙΑ. Contribution à l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Bruxelles 1978, 121, n. 5; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1983, 108; *id.*, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, Cambridge Mass. & London 1992, 75-77. *Cf.* also C.H. Greenewalt Jr., *Ritual Dinners in Early Historic Sardis*, *University of California Publications: Classical Studies* 17 (1978) *passim* and n. 1 at p. 31. In the sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene, where the cult started in the 7th c. B.C., among the animal bones there were also bones of dogs "with butcher marks" [E.B. French, *AR* (1992/93) 65].

dug in the rock, beneath the clay floor of the main room.[239] Popham argues that the cavities in the rock and the burning observed beneath the floor in the same spot belong to the remains of the funerary pyre of the warrior buried nearby.[240] The funerary ceremony would have included dog sacrifice, as in the case of the funeral of Patroklos.[241] Another possibility could be that the remains of animal bones (including that of the dog) belong to a foundation sacrifice. It may be relevant to note that dog skeletons have sometimes been discovered in connection with human burials of the LBA and EIA.[242]

Judging by the information available, the animal bones found in the chieftains' dwellings, and in general in the settlements and hypaethral sanctuaries examined in this section, belong mostly to small animals, such as sheep, goats and pigs. Bovines are also present in various sites. In some places untamed or wild animals such as hares, wild goats, deer and boars were hunted (Vrokastro, Karphi, Zagora, Nichoria and Asine). Birds were also occasionally eaten (Smari, Asine and perhaps at Thermon). One should also consider the possibility that dogs were sometimes sacrificed or even eaten, as in Bronze Age Troy and Lerna.[243] However, the evidence of animal bones so far published does not allow speculations as to the types of animal preferred for sacrifices in connection with the cults performed inside certain rulers' dwellings.

2) MANUFACTURED OBJECTS: In this section I will briefly enumerate the more significant artefacts discovered in association with the buildings in the hope of elucidating in some cases the function(s) of the edifices. It is the general character of the finds which concerns us here, that is to say their household or sacred one. It is important to note that some of these buildings yielded, among the finds of purely domestic use, objects which in other contexts would have been qualified as votives.[244]

Most of the buildings examined in this chapter yielded pottery and other items of everyday use, though often a substantial proportion of the finds was of fine quality.

The distribution of the finds inside the large building at Toumba Thessalonike suggests that the main apsidal unit served as a residence, the rectangular annexes for "industrial" activities and also as storerooms (Fig. 3).[245] Large concentrations of pithoi and household objects such as clay spindlewhorls and loomweights, tools of stone and bone were found in the rectangular annexes, while more personal and precious objects, such as bronze knives, axes, pins and a few jewels of various materials came from the apsidal unit. This pattern, however, was not observed in connection with the pottery, which was rather uniformly distributed. From the published information there is no evidence for cult practices in connection with this unit.

Associated with the two LG-EA apsidal buildings at Assiros (Fig. 12) were pithoi and small local vessels, but little can be deduced from the finds since the erosion of the site has practically obliterated all the evidence.[246] The finds from the various rooms of the buildings of the EIA phases at Kastanas were diversified and consisted usually of coarse wares on one side and of wheel turned vases on the other. Near the hearth of the central house of phase 10 (Fig. 19), numerous loom weights

[239] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 15, 99.
[240] *Ibid.*, 99f.
[241] Il. XXIII, 173-174.
[242] E.J. Forsdyke, *BSA* 28 (1926/27) 248, 264; A.J.B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Oxford 1932, 14, 116; J. Sakellarakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1966) 178 concerning LBA dog burials at Knossos, Mycenae and Archanes. J.D.S. Pendlebury, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 107; G. Gesell, L. Preston-Day & W. Coulson, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 405-409; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1977/78) 16; (1979/80) 50; E. Smithson, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 334, 362; K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* V, 1, Berlin 1954, 25, 269 concerning EIA dog sacrifice in connection with human tombs at Karphi, Vronda, Knossos, and Athens. Dog interments have also been discovered at Prinias [D. Levi, *ASAtene* 54 (1976) 321; G. Rizza, "Tombes de chevaux", in *International Symposium "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, 2000-500 B.C."*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1979, 295] but neither their date not their precise relationship with the human necropolis have been clarified yet (*ibid.*, 322).
[243] N.G. Gejvall, *The Fauna, Lerna* I, Princeton 1969, 17f.; *id.*, *The Fauna of the Different Settlements at Troy*. Part I: *Dogs, Horses and Cattle*, Stockholm, stencil ms, 1946, *non vidi*.
[244] The opposite situation is also encountered, e.g. buildings which are traditionally regarded as temples did not yield objects of votive character (Eretria A, Eleusis B/B1-3, Prinias B, etc.).
[245] S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 5 (1991) 214-218; 6 (1992) 263.
[246] K.A. Wardle, *BSA* 82 (1987) 315-318.

were found; in the same house there was a millstone and a brazier.[247] In Layer 8, one room of the Central House (5) yielded richer finds compared to the remaining chambers of the same unit (Fig. 23), and the excavator has suggested that it was reserved for the consumption of food.[248]

The find-spots of the pottery and votive objects which were discovered below Temple C at Thermon were only exceptionally recorded. The earliest bronze votives, with the exception perhaps of an iron spearhead and a bronze phalaron[249] and a SMyc (?) figurine representing a Syrian god,[250] seem to belong to the late 8th-early 7th c. B.C. (Fig. 50).[251] Two crude female figurines of terracotta could be Mycenaean,[252] but the fact that these are isolated finds does not favour the existence of a sanctuary in LBA Thermon. A portion of the local "Geometric" pottery should presumably be ascribed to the occupation period of Megaron B. The commonest shapes represented are jugs, cups and bowls. One EIA cup (Fig. 49), completely preserved, was ascribed by Rhomaios to Megaron A, and may have belonged to one of the graves which Soteriades claimed to have found in the apsidal compartment of this building (Fig. 46).[253] A fragment from a gold jewel was discovered in one of the graves as well,[254] while small pithoi and amphoras, filled with ashes and animal bones lay in an upside-down position inside the main compartment.[255] Just SW of Megaron B a low tumulus crowned by a triangular slab was associated with three iron spearheads and a sickle-shaped knife. Nearby, there was a pit which contained an iron knife.[256] Colossal pithoi, containing the same fill of ashes and animal bones were discovered in the courtyard (?) which flanked the W side of Megaron B, opposite Megaron A's entrance,[257] while one pithos was found in the central room of Megaron B and despite the fact that it appears to have been placed into position before the construction of Megaron B, it remained in use throughout the existence of the building, and even after its destruction.[258] In my opinion the position and the content of these pithoi suggest religious activities connected with the burials inside Megaron A and in front of Megaron B; perhaps, initially, the cult at Thermon would have been heroic in character and would have become Olympian by 700 B.C., after the destruction of Megaron B.[259]

No finds worth mentioning are related with the EIA reuse of Unit B/B1-3 at Eleusis, until the late 8th c. B.C. (Fig. 171). The earliest evidence for the practice of public cult at Eleusis is provided by the sacrificial deposit, the earliest material of which dates in the late 8th c. B.C.[260]

The material excavated inside Unit I-IV at Lathouriza (Fig. 151) is still unpublished. In Stavropoullos' diary however, it is mentioned that Room IV yielded apart from sherds, two heads of clay figurines, dated in the Archaic period and a silver ring with the depiction of an Eros on the bezel.[261] Moreover, it is mentioned that Rooms I-VII yielded very few fragments of "Archaic" pottery and very small quantities of fragments from clay idols, lamps and of small bronze objects.[262] During

[247] B. Hänsel, *Kastanas*, Band 7, Teil 1, Berlin 1989, 217, 220.
[248] *Ibid.*, 241-251, esp. 246 in Room 5.
[249] K.A. Wardle, *The Greek Bronze Age West of the Pindus*, Ph.D. diss., London 1972, 85 and 89, respectively. Wardle dates the phalaron in the 10th or early 9th c. B.C.
[250] R.F. Rossi, *Studi sull'Etolia* I, Trieste 1970, 30-33; C. Rolley, "Un dieu Syrien à Thermon", *BCH* 108 (1984) 669f. On the possible semantic meaning of these figurines and how they finally made their way into the Greek World through gift-exchange during the LBA and EIA see S. Langdon, "Gift Exchange in the Geometric Sanctuaries", in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, ed. T. Linders & G. Nordquist, Uppsala 1987 (*Boreas* 15) 111f.
[251] K.A. Wardle, *The Greek Bronze Age West of the Pindus*, Ph.D. diss., London 1972, 91.
[252] *Ibid.*, 87.
[253] *Ibid.*, 85 and *id.*, "Cultural Groups of the Late Bronze Age in North-West Greece", *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 172, fig. 8 no. 335. Wardle, however, places these graves to the MH period, despite the fact that he assigns to the cup an EIA context.
[254] G. Soteriades, *Τα ελλειψοειδή κτίσματα του Θέρμου*, Athens 1909, 19 and *id.*, *AE* (1900) 181.
[255] On the chthonian significance of this act see P. Åström, *JPR* 1 (1987) 7-16.
[256] *Έργον* (1993) 51-56.
[257] G. Soteriades, *AE* (1900) 175-179.
[258] J. Papapostolou, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 99-102.
[259] This view is also shared by C. Bérard [*MusHelv* 42 (1985) 274, n. 24].
[260] D. Philios, *ΠΑΕ* (1884) 76; K. Kourouniotes & G.E. Mylonas, *AJA* 37 (1933) 279f.; K. Kourouniotes, *ΑΔ* 13 (1930/31) 25f.; J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 337.
[261] *Diary*, 139f.
[262] *Ibid.*, 137, 139.

the cleaning of the S part of the settlement some figurines were also collected.[263] As suggested above, the few votives encountered throughout the small settlement may have been originally contained inside the "Tholos" (VIII), the exception *perhaps* being those associated with Room IV.

It is unknown what sort of finds were originally contained inside Building T at Tiryns. The only discovery which should presumably be connected with the early (?) period of occupation of the edifice is the twelve circular impressions left by large pithoi which Philios observed in the space between the two successive megara (Fig. 219).[264] It cannot be established any longer whether these pithoi served to contain provisions or the remains from sacrifices (*cf.* the altar in front of the building), as seems to have been the case at Thermon.

Some of the pottery of Asine phase 3, most of which was contained in layer 6, is believed to represent the debris from House C.[265] A small jug was found beneath the foundations of the apsidal building (Fig. 225).[266] Wells explains this discovery as a "libation sacrifice" during the construction of the edifice.[267]

The DA pottery from the acropolis of Aigeira has not been fully published yet. Three feet of large kraters, dated around 700 B.C., are regarded by W. Alzinger as votives.[268] I argued previously that the bronze tripod of the 9th c. (Fig. 251), discovered in a lower plateau, just W of the summit of the acropolis may not necessarily imply that the acropolis was exclusively devoted to cult practices.[269] The excavator believes that originally there had existed an hypaethral sanctuary on the summit, to which this tripod should be ascribed, and that later, probably in the first half of the 8th c. B.C., Building A, which he tentatively identifies with a temple, was erected.[270] This, as I argued previously (p. 165f.), seems improbable.

A large amount of the pottery discovered inside Unit IV-1 at Nichoria consisted of fine wares, though more represented coarse fabric (Fig. 266). Household objects, such as spindle whorls of clay, a stone celt, iron knives, an iron axe-head and a few metal tools were scattered in the central and apsidal compartments in both building phases. Fragments of storage pithoi were restricted in the apsidal compartment, where two stone-lined pits and charred seeds were also found. In addition to these finds there were three bronze rings and a bronze phalaron (Fig. 271).[271] Roughly contemporary bronze discs were also discovered at Vrokastro (Fig. 447) and Thermon but their context and exact function are uncertain. The concentration of metal finds in and around this building is exceptional regarding the remaining areas of the settlement and it has even been suggested that some of these may have been related to the cult activities associated with this house.[272]

Very few finds came from Unit IV-5, IV-1's successor, the reason presumably being its bad state of preservation due to the erosion of the soil. The majority of the pottery consisted of coarse wares. Pithos fragments were collected in the main chamber,[273] where pithos stands were also identified (Fig. 267). The only unusual and enigmatic object is a bronze animal figurine discovered in the apsidal compartment (Fig. 272).[274]

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[263] *Ibid.*, 143.

[264] W. Dörpfeld, in H. Schliemann, *Tirynthe*, Paris 1885, 322f.; G. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, Mainz 1912, 223 n. 2; J. Wright, *JHS* 102 (1982) 201.

[265] The shapes represented include amphorae, oinochoai, kraters, skyphoi, cups, kalathoi and braziers: B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 90-100; *id.*, *Asine* II, 4:3, Stockholm 1983, 237-255.

[266] S. Dietz, *Asine* II, 1, Stockholm 1982, 49, fig. 48; B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 82, fig. 60.

[267] "Early Greek Building Sacrifices", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 265.

[268] See G. Schwartz, *Klio* 68 (1986) 326-329.

[269] W. Alzinger, *AAA* 11 (1978) 151f.; *id.*, *ÖJh* 53 (1981/82) Beiblatt, 12; *id.*, Klio 67 (1985) 449f.

[270] Letters of July 4, 1984 and Oct. 28, 1986 and W. Alzinger, "Aigeira-Hyperesia I", *Klio* 67 (1985) 449f.

[271] W.D.E. Coulson, in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 32, 37 & 39f. and H. Catling *et al.*, *ibid.*, 273-294 concerning these finds. Catling (*ibid.*, 281) suggests that the phalaron may have been "part of a set fixed on a shield" and suspects that its role was decorative. For a detailed discussion of the distribution of the finds see K. Fagerström, "Finds, Function and Plan: A Contribution to the Interpretation of Iron Age Nichoria in Messenia", *OpAth* 17 (1988) 33-50.

[272] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 196.

[273] W.D.E. Coulson in McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 52.

[274] H. Catling (in *ibid.*, 281f.) suggests that the figurine could have been "a bronze seal with a zoomorphic handle". Other possible explanations of this figurine are (1) a votive which was kept at home awaiting to be dedicated by its owner in a sanctuary and (2) it could denote the existence of a domestic shrine.

The so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi was emptied from its contents before its abandonment. The fill with which the edifice was covered contained a great number of pottery fragments, but since it appears to have been brought from nearby, it is difficult to tell which proportion of this material was once contained inside the building. The colossal krater (Fig. 92, P.327) which was associated with the royal burials may have been either a *sema* or, more likely, a ceremonial vase used in the funerary ceremony.[275] Several circular pits in the apsidal compartment (Fig. 84) may be explained with relative confidence as pithos nests, though the function of these pithoi cannot be determined any longer. In this space fragments belonging to storage vessels were found.[276] The other finds which could belong to the period of use of the building are the few almost complete vases, particularly along the N wall of the main room and in the southern room at the back of the building,[277] some clay buttons, weights of unbaked clay and a fragment from a figurine foot (no. 26a),[278] a few stone tools[279] and certain metal items, including a metallic lock system from a door lock, found in the apse.[280] One should also recall that the three holes in front of the building's former entrance (Fig. 81)[281] suggest that a huge bronze tripod was standing there, though this, together with the colossal krater, seem to be connected with the honours offered to the deceased warrior. Lastly, one should mention certain finds which belong to the second millennium B.C.: the 13 Mycenaean female clay figurines which were collected in the fill of the apse were doubtless contained in the fill which was brought from elsewhere;[282] on the other hand, the bronze amphoroid vase which contained the ashes of the warrior (Fig. 94)[283] and the gold pendant of the female inhumation,[284] could represent heirlooms, handed down from generation to generation.

Before the Swiss excavations below the two Archaic temples of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria were resumed (Fig. 104), the area had been partly excavated three times previously: in 1900 and 1910 by K. Kourouniotes and in 1952 by J. Konstantinou. Kourouniotes partly investigated the so-called "Daphnephoreion" (Building A) and the only finds which he reported to have encountered in the lower levels were Geometric sherds.[285] Konstantinou, who excavated the area N of Building A recorded only Geometric sherds and a fragment from an iron knife.[286] Larger amounts of Geometric pottery were recovered by the same excavator in 1955 in connection with Altar/Bothros F.[287] Several soundings were made by R. Moosbrugger in 1964 below the Archaic temples, during which more Geometric pottery of fine quality was collected and also two golden blades.[288] In 1970, C. Bérard re-excavated Building A and was able to investigate some undisturbed layers, but the only finds which were reported were once more pottery fragments of *c.* the middle of the 8th *c.* B.C.[289] There is

[275] R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 1, London 1990, 25f., pls. 17-18, 54-56; J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 50; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 11f.

[276] Catling & Lemos, *op.cit.*, 3-5; J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 52; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 16f., 24, 25.

[277] Catling & Lemos, *op.cit.*, 3f.; M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 17 (Central Room: lekythos P.723, skyphos P.120, oinochoe P.644 and perhaps the cooking pot P.828), 23 (North Room: krater fragment P.357, cup P.101, krater-bowls P.279-280), 24 (South Room: cup P.1 and perhaps cup P.57).

[278] L.H. Sackett, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 73f., 78, nos. 26a, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41 and 42, pls. 32-35.

[279] *Ibid.*, 74, 78f., nos. 48-56, pl. 33.

[280] *Ibid.*, 71f., nos. 2 and 4, pl. 32. A fragment from a possible second lock came from the East Room (*ibid.*, 72, no. 3).

[281] J. Coulton, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 52; M. Popham, in *ibid.*, 9.

[282] M. Popham, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 30; L.H. Sackett, in *ibid.*, 77, pl. 32, nos. 12-24.

[283] It is of Syro-phoenecian or Cypriot origin [J.N. Coldstream, in *Archaeology in Cyprus, 1960-1985*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1985, 51; P. Calligas, *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 260; H.W. Catling, in *Lefkandi* II, Part 2, London 1993, 81-92] and seems to date in the late 13th or 12th c. B.C. See also P. Blome, "Lefkandi und Homer", *WürzbJbAltWiss* 10 (1984) 12.

[284] M. Popham, in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis, Oxford 1994, 15. See also P. Blome, *WürzbJbAltWiss* 10 (1984) 12.

[285] *IIAE* (1900) 53-56 & (1910) 267-169.

[286] *IIAE* (1952) 154f., 159-163.

[287] *IIAE* (1955) 126f.

[288] *AntK* 12 (1969) pl. 36, 4 after p. 78 and C. Bérard, *AntK* 14 (1971) 61f.

[289] *AntK* 14 (1971) 62.

also mention of a "foundation deposit" below the W anta of Building A.[290] On the other hand, votive offerings of bronze were gathered from the floor level of the apsidal *hekatompedon* of the late 8th c.[291] A votive deposit containing miniature hydriai of the LG and EA periods and numerous oriental and Egyptian objects was discovered *c.* 40,00m N of Building A, around a circular mass of masonry (Structure H).[292] Hydriai are often associated with sanctuaries of Hera, Artemis and especially Demeter.[293] Lastly, it should be recalled that somewhere in this area, a mid-9th c. cremation burial of a warrior came to light.[294]

To sum up, the situation at Eretria is rather complicated. Cult activities are attested only in connection with the two round structures (F & H) and the monumental apsidal temple (D). Practically no metal votives were associated with Buildings A, B and E, while Building C was a workshop for metal.[295] It therefore seems that the sacred space was originally centred around the circular altar and not clearly demarcated from the secular domain of the surroundings. Something similar could be suggested in connection of the second sacred focus, the circular structure H to the N. However, since neither the exact chronology of the earlier dedications related to Structure H, nor the precise relationship between this deposit and the neighbouring structures have been determined yet, it would be premature to make further speculations, based on the movable finds from this area.

The altar in front of the presumed chieftain's dwelling at Zagora and the finds related to its early period of use, attest that there had been an hypaethral sanctuary in front of the building at least from LG II times onwards (Table IXd). I have discussed earlier (pp. 171ff.) the function of the various rooms centred around courtyard H21. Let me recall that Room H19 yielded among other finds, many spindle whorls, chytrai and pithos fragments,[296] H22 fragments of vessels such as kraters and oinochoai and a great deal of plates (dining room?),[297] H28 kitchen and storage vessels,[298] and H23 an important concentration of fine wares.[299] Pithos nests were discovered in the benches of Rooms H19 and H28. It is noteworthy that Room H22 and the courtyard (H21) yielded fragments of two so-called clay "offering tables".[300] Much LG pottery came from the sanctuary area: shapes include skyphoi, kotylai, kantharoi, kraters, cups and pyxides; miniature vases were also represented. Among the small finds are clay and lead figurines, seals, an Egyptian scarab, spindle whorls, jewels of various types and material, bronze fibulae, etc.[301] A fragment from an iron spit was also found, but it has not been made clear whether it could date in the 8th c. B.C.[302]

No significant finds were made in Building A at Koukounaries, doubtless due to its bad state of preservation (Fig. 322). Building B's floor yielded a loomweight.[303] The only find worth mentioning from Building C is a fragment of a relief pithos, depicting two struggling figures, probably warriors.[304] This isolated discovery provides little help in one's effort to understand the precise function of the edifice.

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[290] *Ibid.*, 65.
[291] J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 98 (1974) 687; A. Charbonnet, *AnnOrNap* 8 (1986) 117-173.
[292] L. Kahil, *AntK* 24 (1981) 82; A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 157f.
[293] E. Diehl, *Die Hydria*, Mainz 1964, *passim*; S. Guetel-Cole, "The Uses of Water in Greek Sacrifices", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 163-165; *id.*, "Demeter in the Ancient City and its Countryside", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 207.
[294] A. Altherr-Charon, *AntK* 24 (1981) 83; G. Touchais, *BCH* 104 (1980) 657; C. Krause, *AntK* 25 (1982) 139; L. Kahil, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 167.
[295] S. Huber, "Un atelier de bronzier dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie?", *AntK* 34 (1991) 137-154.
[296] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* I, Sydney 1970, 31 and 47; A. Cambitoglou, *AE* (1970) 187, 192, 214, 219, 225.
[297] *Id.*, *Zagora* I, Sydney 1970, 31; *id.*, *AE* (1970) 215.
[298] *Ibid.*
[299] *Id.*, *Zagora* I, Sydney 1970, 31; *id.*, *AE* (1970) 192.
[300] *Id.*, *AE* (1970) 215, 216, pl. 71a.
[301] *Id.*, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἀνδρου. Οδηγὸς*, Athens 1981, 84-98; *id. et al.*, *Zagora* 2, Athens 1988, 181ff.
[302] A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἀνδρου. Οδηγὸς*, Athens 1981, 98, no. 320.
[303] D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 247.
[304] *Id.*, "The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 177f., fig. 8 at p. 179.

At Vathy Limenari (Fig. 343) a large amount of broken but *complete* vases were found. The finds which were associated with the two pyres in the open air have not been described yet. The only object which appears to have had a ritual use was a small krater, but its context is not specified.[305]

The votive offerings of the pre-temple period in the sanctuary of Athena at Emporio (Fig. 371) have been fully published.[306] The pottery is of fine quality and includes small jugs, similar to those from the houses, cups, phialai mesomphaloi, miniature kalathiskoi and a few dinoi and kraters. The remaining material consisted of female clay figurines, one single animal figurine, whorls, clay votive shields and metal objects, such as fibulae, knives, arrow- and spear-heads and fragments of iron spits. The dates of these objects range from *c.* 700 B.C. to *c.* the middle of the 6th c. B.C. It is of interest here, that among the very few sherds discovered inside the Megaron Hall, "the foot of a sixth-century wine jar" was found.[307]

According to W. Lamb, associated with Building III at Antissa were three bronze fibulae, one decorated bone object and a large amount of fine local pottery, including few phialai mesomphaloi and circular platters (Fig. 363).[308] The small quantities of these objects does not provide sufficient evidence that the edifice was a temple, despite the fact that the phialai and perhaps the terracotta discs may have had a ritual use. The function of Building IV, III's successor, is equally uncertain, for the interior had been destroyed down to the floor level in Hellenistic times.[309] With the period of use of Building IV seem to be related one fibula, a bronze handle, two spear-heads and one arrow-head (Fig. 364).[310] The few undisturbed areas inside the building yielded mostly plain bucchero wares, and a few imported sherds.[311] In my opinion, neither of the two buildings was a temple. Building III appears to have been occupied by a wealthy family; judging by the quality of the pottery which was stratigraphically related with Building IV, one assumes that the material wealth of the descendants of those who dwelt in Building III was diminished.[312]

Of the Geometric "farmstead" or "palace" at Praisos only the storerooms seem to have been preserved (Fig. 431). The excavation report is very brief and contains little information about the finds.[313] Several rooms yielded storage pithoi of large dimensions, while inside a pit lined with stones, in the NW corner of Room b, more than a dozen small cups rested on a layer of "burnt vegetal matter". The cups bore signs of burning as well (kitchen?).

H. Boyd reports the discovery at Vronda (Fig. 434) of "a considerable amount of iron, one pick, one axe-head, a sword in seven pieces, and numerous fragments".[314] This assemblage, however, was recently interpreted as the contents of a tomb of the Geometric period.[315] The various rooms of Building B (Fig. 435) yielded large quantities of small and large storage vessels but also drinking vessels of fine quality (cups, kraters, kylikes).[316] In the paved courtyard in front of Building A-B a stone kernos was discovered, a fact which suggests that religious activities went on there.

At the Kastro (Kavousi), according to H. Boyd, "in general the pottery is coarse, such as would benefit the daily use of a rude people".[317] Yet, "in Room 11 (Fig. 436) were found some of the best fragments of pottery".[318] The objects from the excavations worth mentioning were described by

[305] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, in *Ἵδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρῆ. Μουσεῖο Κυκλαδικῆς Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 47.
[306] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 28f. and 101-245.
[307] *Ibid.*, 34.
[308] *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 45, 51ff., esp. 54 & 62f., pl. 21, no. 6 and 11. The association of phialai mesomphaloi with Building III is puzzling for this shape is usually thought to be post-Geometric. Since only one phiale was discovered inside the edifice one could perhaps assume that the layer in this spot was disturbed (as was the fill down to floor level in Building IV) and that the phiale may have belonged to Building IV.
[309] *Ibid.*, 47.
[310] *Ibid.*, 62, under B, C & D.
[311] *Ibid.*, 47.
[312] Judging by the weapons connected with the period of use of Building IV, its occupants may have been warriors.
[313] J.H. Marshall, in R.C. Bosanquet, "Excavations at Praesos I", *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 239f.
[314] *AJA* 5 (1901) 132. See also L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 360.
[315] G. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 298.
[316] L. Preston-Day *et al.*, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 371.
[317] *AJA* 5 (1901) 143.
[318] *Ibid.*, 138.

Boyd[319] but only one find-spot was recorded so it is no longer possible to locate their provenance. The fact that the finest pottery came from Room 11 of Building 9-11/12-13, where we noted previously the existence of a bench and a platform of uncertain function, supports the hypothesis that this was no ordinary room, nor a kitchen or storage place, but a cult room of some sort.

More than 50% of the sherds collected by E. Hall on the Upper Settlement at Vrokastro (Fig. 445) "were unpainted, coming either from large pithoi or from smaller unpainted jars".[320] Objects of domestic use, such as spindle whorls, stone polishers and whetstones were also found. Yet, as noted above, several rooms, including Room 17, yielded objects which may be qualified as votives. These consist of numerous clay animal figurines (mostly representing horses, as the one illustrated in Fig. 448), clay heads of human figures, fragments from a clay kernos, a bronze phalaron (Fig. 447), fibulae, pins, spear ends, etc.[321] Some of the metal objects may of course represent personal belongings of the inhabitants but the large amount of clay idols suggests that these at least could not have been anything else but votives. A concentration of such figurines was discovered below a flimsy wall next to the S wall of Room 17. According to Hall, "they indicate a shrine, and in view of the fact that pieces of the same figure were recovered from different rooms, it seems likely that they come from a single shrine, the offerings at which had been thrown out into neighbouring areas".[322] This is also the opinion of N.V. Sekunda, who maintains however, that it "seems possible, indeed probable, that the excavated buildings at Vrokastro were originally a hilltop shrine or series of shrines with surrounding ancillary rooms".[323] Hayden identifies, Rooms 9, 11, 17, 34 and perhaps 1 as shrines[324] and 8-8a with a public shrine.[325] I argued previously (p. 214) that the votive deposit discovered in Room 11, and perhaps a portion of the smaller concentrations of cult objects recovered from other rooms of the Upper Settlement, came from Building U16-17. However, since this assumption cannot be proven, it would be preferable to conclude that the edifice was a ruler's dwelling which was provided with a household shrine, as was the regular practice in LM IIIC and EIA Crete.

The contents of the two presumed rulers' houses at Karphi were basically of domestic character.[326] The Great House (Fig. 465), however, yielded several metal objects, which in the surrounding context are worth mentioning and doubtless indicate the residence of a wealthy individual.[327] On the other hand, the presence of cultic equipment in the adjacent room 16-17 has led several scholars to suggest that this was a public shrine, similar to the "Temple", which was also located nearby.[328] The pottery from the second presumed ruler's dwelling (Fig. 466) is similar to that discovered inside the other houses of the settlement, the only exception being Room 141 (i.e. the court in front of Oikos 137), from which came a large proportion of fine sherds. Several rooms yielded spindle whorls of clay or steatite (134, 136, 137, 139, 141 & 143) and clay spools (136, 139). Other household implements, including a whetstone (Room 137), were also found. More unusual is the discovery of a decorated plate of a bronze fibula in Room 136, for such objects rarely come up in domestic contexts (*cf.* Zagora and Antissa). A fragment from the head of a clay figurine was discovered in the porch of Unit 138-140 (Room 140). The most suggestive discovery was made in Room 137, where the fragmentary leg of the bronze tripod was found (Fig. 467).

The finds from the interior of Building A at Smari (Fig. 471) are far from being spectacular. The household character of the finds (including stone tools and pounders) is evident: the majority of the pots was coarse ware, such as large cooking vessels, plates, amphorae and mostly storage pithoi

[319] *Ibid.*, 141-143.
[320] E. Hall, *Excavations in Eastern Crete. Vrokastro*, Philadelphia 1914, 111.
[321] *Ibid.*, 99-116 where the finds from each room are described. Now see B. Hayden, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 103-144.
[322] *Ibid.*, 108f.
[323] "A Bronze Horse-Frontlet from Vrokastro, Crete", *BSA* 77 (1982) 252.
[324] *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 144.
[325] *Ibid.*, 109.
[326] The finds are described in J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 71f., 77f. See also M. Seiradaki, "Pottery from Karphi", *BSA* 55 (1960) 1-37.
[327] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 197.
[328] Concerning the finds see J. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 78f., 95. On the suggestion that the area served as a shrine see Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 151 and Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 45, 79-82.

which bore decoration incised or in relief. Small undecorated vases of everyday use were also found; very few fine wares were collected and metal objects were lacking.[329]

So-called Temple B at Prinias (Fig. 477) did not yield any objects votive in character.[330] The vast majority of the pottery consisted of relief pithoi, which were found in the cella and especially in the back room, which was filled with such vases.[331] This recalls Building 138-140 at Karphi the rear room of which (138) yielded fragments from at least five pithoi.[332] The discovery of two whetstones inside "Temple B" at Prinias strengthens the hypothesis that at least in the last period of its use (7th c.) the edifice did not serve as a temple.[333] It is no longer possible to establish the original function of the building. One might argue that the hypaethral cult area beneath Temple A[334] implies that the neighbouring building was the temple related to the altar. In that case, however, one has to explain why Temple A was built on top of the altar, while "B", which was still standing, ceased to serve as one.[335]

The pottery from Room AA and its dependencies at Phaistos (Fig. 482) has been fully published.[336] In general, the vases were of small size and consisted mainly of krateriskoi, skyphoi, cups, oinochoai, amphoriskoi, hydriai, stamnoi and lekanai. Rooms AA and P yielded large storage pithoi as well. Moreover, in Room AA there were very large amphorae, while a pithos of colossal dimensions lay *in situ* in the SW corner of the room. All these vessels presumably served everyday use and storage purposes. In Room R3 a circular clay model was found (Fig. 513).[337] As argued previously (p. 121), such models had a religious significance for their owners, since they occur not only in settlements but also in sanctuaries and tombs. From Room P came a female clay figurine[338] and a crude human statuette of bronze.[339] One further statuette is mentioned from Room Q.[340] The fact that these figurines are isolated discoveries suggests that the rooms in which they were found served domestic activities, but it is not unlikely that a domestic shrine (or perhaps several shrines) existed somewhere in the house.

PART 2

THE RELIGIOUS ROLE OF THE *WANAX*

Leaving aside for a moment the evidence of EIA rulers' dwellings and cult buildings we may proceed to a rapid survey of the archaeological data which suggests that the Mycenaean *wanax* played an important role in cult practice. In favour of this assumption one may mention the frescoes which depict heraldic griffins on either side of the ruler's throne in the palaces of Pylos and Knossos;[341] the

[329] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *Lyktos* 1 (1984) 21, 30; *id.*, *Συντήρηση μνημείων-Τεχνικές ανασκαφών*, Voroi 1989, 91, 94. See also *id.*, *AAA* 44 (1980) 44, fig. 23 at p. 47 and 51-53.

[330] The finds are briefly described in L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 29, 65.

[331] *Ibid.* It has sometimes been claimed that relief pithoi were restricted to sacred areas and especially cemeteries. However, it is today beyond doubt that such prestigious vessels were also possessed by wealthy families (for instance, at the city of Kythnos, where I have been directing a survey since 1990, fragments from such pithoi are scattered all over the inhabited area, within the city walls).

[332] J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 71f. Relief pithoi were also discovered in Building A at Smari.

[333] L. Pernier, *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 29.

[334] *Ibid.*, 25f., 34f. & 75; S. Alexiou, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 414; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 454; I. Beyer, *Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 23f. See also Table IX:j.

[335] To my knowledge, no EIA temple altered its function in favour of some profane use.

[336] L. Rocchetti, "La ceramica dell'abitato geometrico di Festos a occidente del palazzo minoico", *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/75) 169-300.

[337] *Ibid.*, 218f., fig. 70; D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 404.

[338] L. Rocchetti, *ASAtene* 52/53 (1974/75) 201, fig. 44. Height, 0,185m.

[339] D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 408.

[340] *Ibid.*

[341] See C.G. Thomas, "The Nature of Mycenaean Kingship", *SMEA* 17 (1976) 109; *cf.*, M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 361, fig. 173. I should recall here that the function of the Throne Room at Knossos is not clear and originally may have been a shrine which was reused by the Mycenaean *wanax* as a Throne Room: see lately W.-D. Niemeier, in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, ed. R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1987, 163-168, with earlier bibliography.

libation channel next to the throne of the ruler's residence in Pylos;[342] the circular altar/bothros in front of the megaron at Tiryns and a possible altar in front of the Mycenaean "megaron" at Dimini, in Thessaly;[343] the imposing circular hearths in the main room of the palatial megara at Pylos, Mycenae and Tiryns;[344] the offering table with the two miniature kylikes on it which was found next to the hearth[345] and the other numerous miniature kylikes in and about the Pylian megaron,[346] the round altar, fragments of offering tables, and a circular depression in the floor, divided into two compartments (for libations?), which were discovered in the S part of the porch of the ruler's residence at Mycenae;[347] the subject of the frescoes in the megaron of Pylos and also that of the frescoes discovered at the Oberburg at Tiryns;[348] lastly, there are hints in the Linear B tablets of close ties between the *wanax* and official cult practice.[349] All these elements strongly suggest that the *wanax* was in charge of certain religious ceremonies,[350] some of which appear to have been celebrated inside the palatial megaron.[351] Yet, unlike the DA, in the Mycenaean period, palaces and towns possessed edifices designed to serve for the needs of public cult practice; moreover, the study of the Linear B texts has shown that the management of sanctuaries belonged to a priesthood.[352] It should also be emphasised that the public sanctuaries at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and Phylakopi are located in the periphery of the "focus of administration" (e.g. the megaron and the surrounding buildings) and by the fortification wall (with the exception of Pylos, which did not possess one).[353] In Kea, the temple is also located close to the fortifications, but it has not been established yet which of the settlement's houses belonged to the central authority (if any in the LH III period).[354]

[342] C.W. Blegen & M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* I, Princeton 1966, 88.

[343] V. Adryme-Sismane, in *Νεότερα δεδομένα των ερευνών για την αρχαία Ιωλκό*, Volos 1994, 36.

[344] 4,02, 3,70 and 3,50m in diameter, respectively. See L. Deroy, "Le culte du foyer dans la Grèce mycénienne", *RHR* 137 (1950) 26-43; M. Jameson, "The Prehistory of Greek Sacrifice", *AJA* 62 (1958) 223; G. de Pierpont, "Le rôle du foyer monumental dans la grande salle du palais mycénien", in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 Juin 1987*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 255-262, esp. 259-261 (cautious approach); J. Wright, "The Spatial Configuration of Belief", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 57-60.

[345] C.W. Blegen & M. Rawson *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* I, Princeton 1966, 89.

[346] *Ibid.*, pls. 359-366.

[347] J. Papadimitriou, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 230f., pls. 77-79: G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, 62.

[348] K. Kilian, "Zeugnisse Mykenischer Kultausübung in Tiryns", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 49-51; *id.*, *AA* (1981) 160, n. 43; M. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor in Pylos in Western Messenia* II, Princeton 1969, 38ff., 51ff. See also Blegen & Rawson, *op.cit.*, 75 and G. Säflund, "Sacrificial Banquets in the *Palace of* Nestor", *OpAth* 13 (1980) 244.

[349] S. Hiller, "Mykenische Heiligtümer: das Zeugnis der Linear B-Texte", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 116-119; M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, Roma 1968, 232-236; L. Baumbach, "The Mycenaean Contribution to the Study of Greek Religion in the Bronze Age", *SMEA* 20 (1979) 154f.; P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 130-132.

[350] For instance C.G. Thomas, "The Nature of Mycenaean Kingship", *SMEA* 17 (1976) 108-113; J. Puhvel, "Helladic Kingship and the Gods", in *Minoica. Festschrift J. Sundwall*, ed. E. Grumach, Berlin 1958, 327-333; Carlier, *op.cit.*, 130-132.

[351] Opinion shared by several scholars, including R. Hägg [*OpAth* 8 (1968) 41f., 57 and in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 36], K. Kilian [in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 49-51 and in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, ed. R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1987, 21-38], E. Vermeule (*Götterkult, AHom* III, V, 1974, 31f.), S. Hiller [in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 116-119], M. Jameson [*Archaeology* 13 (1960) 38], J.T. Hooker (*Mycenaean Greece*, London 1976, 202f., cautious approach though), M. Nilsson (*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 487), C.G. Thomas [*SMEA* 17 (1976) 108-111] and P. Carlier (*La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 130-132). P. Rehak suggests that "an enthroned woman held an important ceremonial role" during the communal "symposia" which took place inside the megaron, though he does not deny that the *wanax* played an important role during these ceremonies: *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 112, 117.

[352] In first place, M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956, 128f. See also E. Vermeule, *Götterkult, AHom* III, V, 1974, 69-72; M. Lejeune, "Prêtres et prêtresses dans les documents mycéniens", in *Hommages G. Dumézil, Latomus* 45 (1960) 129-139 esp. 134f.; G. Piccaluga, "Myc. i-je-re-u: osservazioni sul suo ruolo sacrale", in *Atti e memorie del 1. congresso internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 27 Sett.-3 Ott., 1967*, Roma 1968, 1046-1058.

[353] See C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi, BSA* Suppl. 18 (1985) 390f., where this point is raised in connection with the sanctuary at Phylakopi.

[354] It is possible to identify House A (W. Willson Cummer & E. Schofield, *Ayia Irini: House A, Keos* III,

On this evidence one concludes that the Mycenaean ruler was certainly not a divine king, as scholars have sometimes claimed, nor the chief-priest of the community.[355] Nevertheless, the *wanax* would have surely exercised certain religious activities within his residence and in front of it. He may have even presided in certain religious ceremonies carried out in the main "urban" sanctuary, though, it is true, that confirmation of this assumption is not yet at hand. One can only make guesses about the competence in religious matters of the Mycenaean ruler: he may have presided during ritual meals inside his residence, but on what occasions such meals would have been offered one cannot say;[356] he may have performed sacrifices and libations for the sake of the community; he would have rendered honours to his ancestors, justifying by that act his own privileged and leading position; he would have been in charge of certain old and traditional cults, notably those which were believed to have been installed by his ancestors. One could lastly suggest that worship in the main "urban" public sanctuaries would have often been a matter of private initiative, implicating a restricted group of individuals, such as the members of a family or that it would have been carried out by the representatives of the community. This assumption is based on the fact that in the administrative centres the sacred buildings themselves and often the available hypaethral space outside as well were not designed to accommodate a large number of people.[357] This picture contrasts with the imposing dimensions of the ruler's residence and of the main chamber with the hearth in particular,[358] and with the free space available in front of the megara at Tiryns, Mycenae, Pylos or even Phylakopi.

PART 3

THE EMERGENCE OF SANCTUARIES, TEMPLES AND OTHER CULT BUILDINGS

So far I have dealt with settlements where it has been possible to identify dwellings of the leading "élite". In most of these sites one observes either the absence of a temple dedicated to a poliad divinity or the late-coming of such temples (e.g. from the late 8th c. B.C. onwards). In fewer sites it has been possible to identify "suburban" or "extraurban" cult buildings, usually attached to the settlements. In view of the current opinion that the temple dedicated to a patron deity goes in pair with the emergence of the polis,[359] it is now recommended to proceed in the opposite direction and

Mainz 1984) as the ruler's mansion for not only it is the largest house of the LBA town but includes features such as a large court with a massive bench and a central hearth (*ibid.*, 7: Room 36), and a twin columnar hall with a pair of wide doorways (*ibid.*, 8f.: Room 37/39), which, according to the excavators, are features which are "often associated with palaces or the residence of a leader" (*ibid.*, 41). It should be stressed however that House A was destroyed by the earthquake at the end of Period VII (end of LH II) and only partially reoccupied (*ibid.*, pl. 4). The post-earthquake period at Ay. Irini (LH III) has not been published yet, though it certainly was not a flourishing one.

[355] For a recent discussion of the question by C. Antonaccio, "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 88f. and also J. Driessen, "Homère et les tablettes en Linéaire B. Mise au point", *AntCl* 61 (1992) 21-24. Even W. Burkert (*Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1985, 46) states that there is evidence "of a possible divine kingship" in the Mycenaean period. On the other hand there is more tangible evidence that this may have been the case in Minoan Crete: see O. Pelon, "Le palais minoen en tant que lieu de culte", in *Temples et Sanctuaires* (1984) 61-74; N. Platon, "The Minoan Palaces: Centres of Organization of a Theocratic Social and Political System", in *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981*, ed. O. Krzyszkowska & L. Nixon, Bristol 1983, 273-276; H. Waterhouse, "Priest-Kings?", *BICS* 21 (1974) 153-155; A. Furumark, "Was there a Sacral Kingship in Minoan Crete?", in *La regalità sacra. Contributi al tema dell' VIII congresso internazionale di storia delle religioni, Numen* Suppl. 4 (1959) 369f.; see also interesting papers which touch this question read during the symposium *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, ed. R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1987.

[356] G. Säflund, *OpAth* 13 (1980) 244.

[357] Renfrew [*The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, *BSA* Suppl. 18 (1985) 390f.] while speaking of the sanctuary at Phylakopi.

[358] Mycenae: 12,92 by 11,50m; Tiryns: 11,80 by 9,75m; Pylos: 12,90 by 11,20m. The main room of the second megaron at Phylakopi is smaller (*c.* 8,00 by 6,00m). For a recent plan of the two successive megara (LH I and LH IIIA) at Phylakopi see W. Ekschmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen* I, Mainz 1986, 148, fig. 60. For the dating of the second megaron see H.W. Catling, *AR* (1974/75) 24.

[359] Snodgrass, *Archaeology* (1977) 24f.; J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAW*, Vorträge G272 (1984) 10; see also S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 86f.

pose the question: where do we encounter temples or cult buildings dated between the 11th and the 8th c. B.C. and what was the precise status of the sanctuaries to which they belonged? In order to achieve this goal and also find additional confirmation to all that has been argued until now, one has to review the evidence from all possible EIA sanctuaries of the Greek World.

The following list of probable or possible EIA sanctuaries and cult places is not exhaustive, with the exception, I believe, of mainland Greece (Map 3).[360] The recent study by Antonaccio[361] has led me to exclude from this list the cases of "Tomb Cult", with the exception of those associated either with recently deceased heroes or eponymous heroes of the epic and mythic cycles. Hero cults which were established in the Archaic or Classical period upon tombs of the Geometric period have not been discussed either (e.g. the Heroön at the West Gate at Eretria, etc.). I have also included the instances of hero cult which are associated with some built structure. The aim is to provide an up to date list of sanctuary sites which have yielded evidence that they were used in the EIA, though not necessarily always from the beginning for cult practices. It should be stressed that the presence of early pottery in the deeper levels of later sanctuaries does not necessarily imply that the cult was inaugurated in the PG or Geometric periods. Indeed, in several cases, it seems practically certain that the sanctuaries of the Archaic or later periods were established over earlier habitation quarters and cemeteries of the EIA. The presence of EIA sherds in caves, as well as stray finds are also difficult to interpret, and the inclusion of these sites in the list does not necessarily mean that they were used as shrines. Instances of household cults have also been included in the list. Possible sanctuaries, the existence of which can be deduced from the literary sources, have been excluded, with the exception of such places known exclusively from the Homeric epics. I have emphasised on less well known sites, while these which have yielded architectural remains have been fully discussed in Chapter I. I have excluded from the discussion Cyprus, while my compilation of sanctuaries at South Italy and Sicily which have yielded sherds of the late 8th c. is indicative and undoubtedly far from complete.

NORTHERN GREECE[362]

CENTRAL MACEDONIA

The evidence from Northern Greece is meagre. At **Kastanas** and Assiros there was no public sanctuary. The evidence for cult activities in the former site is restricted to traces of domestic cult (Black Magic?) in a room of a house of the Geometric period (Layer 8, p. 125, Fig. 23).

CHALKIDIKE

At **Koukos** there was *perhaps* a sacred bothros in the midst of the EIA settlement, which, however, may turn out to have been an industrial refuse pit (p. 239, Fig. 29). The newly discovered apsidal temple at **Poseidi** in Chalkidike (p. 43, Fig. 27, ΣΤ) is among the earliest cult buildings of Greece, since it seems to date in the EPG period (11th c. B.C.). There is little information about this discovery for the time being, though this was presumably an "extraurban" sanctuary of Mende.[363] At **Aphytis**, also on the Kassandra prong, there may have been an urban (?) cave-sanctuary of Dionysos

[360] A. Gounaris has contributed in the compilation of sanctuary sites of the mainland. Bibliographical references are confined to sites which have not been discussed until now.

[361] *Ancestors* (1995) *passim*.

[362] The evidence for cult places in Thrace and Thasos is scant and irrelevant to our discussion. At Petrota Sapon, on the hill of Ay. Georgios, there was evidence for cult activities from Prehistoric to Byzantine times, including EIA pottery [D. Triantaphyllos, *Thracia Pontica* 3, 1985, Sofia 1986, 134-136; *ibid.*, 4, 1988, Sofia 1991, 293-295; *id.*, *Θρακική Επετηρίς* 7 (1987/90) 305f.; *id.*, *Θρακικά Χρονικά* 41 (1986) 60-62]. On the hill of Monastiri at Avas, an altar hewn in the rock has been dated to the 9th-8th c. B.C. [D. Triantaphyllos, *Thracia Pontica* 3, 1985, Sofia 1986, 136-139; *id.*, *Θρακικά Χρονικά* 41 (1986) 66f.]. The cave of Cyclops at Maroneia appears to have been in continuous use from Neolithic to Byzantine times; in prehistoric times it served domestic purposes but during the historical period it was used as a shrine [E. Tsimpide-Pentazos, *ΠΑΕ* (1971) 87; *Έργον* (1971) 94f.]. The Drakotrypa cave on Thasos was visited from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine period; local EIA coarse pottery was also found, as well as imported Archaic wares, but the nature of the human activity is not specified [Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Προϊστορική Θάσος Τα νεκροταφεία του οικισμού Καστρί*, Athens 1992, 18f.; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 447-450].

[363] J. Vocotopoulou, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 443-446.

and the Nymphs, near the sanctuary of Ammon Zeus. Pottery of the 8th c., including a Euboean skyphos with pendant semicircles of the first half of the 8th c. B.C. was found in front of the cave suggesting that the cult was established around the middle of the 8th c. B.C.[364]

NORTHWEST GREECE

EPIRUS

S. Dakaris assumes that cult activities at the sanctuary of Zeus at **Dodona** date back to Mycenaean times (traces of elliptical "prehistoric" huts,[365] nearly 200 Mycenaean sherds and bronze items of the 15th-13th c. B.C.),[366] but this claim cannot be sustained on the available evidence. The suggestion that there was a settlement here in the LBA (LH III) seems more attractive.[367] A portion of the EIA local wares could date in the DA, but there is no clear evidence for cult activities before the 8th c. B.C.[368] The excavator assumed that in the second half of the 8th c. there would have been huts of perishable materials which would have contained the votive offerings, and also that the sacred tree would have been surrounded by a "peribolos" formed by bronze tripods (Fig. 34), as inferred from the ancient sources (*cf.* also the Geometric tripod cauldrons and bronze figurines, perhaps representing Zeus).[369] At **Vitsa Zagoriou**, a bronze horse figurine of the 8th c. (Fig. 32) was discovered in the area to the S of House Z (*cf.* Fig. 30), while cult activities are attested in connection with the earliest (late 10th or early 9th c.) cluster of burials in the confines of the settlement (p. 93).

IONIAN ISLANDS

In the sanctuary of Hera (?) at the hill of Mon Repos inside the town of **Corcyra** a bronze horse figurine[370] and a leg of a bronze tripod were the earliest finds,[371] suggesting that the origins of the cult date back to the foundation of the Corinthian colony. The principal deity was presumably Hera, but Hermes and Aphrodite were also worshipped here.[372] The "ποσιδήιον" of Scheria has not been identified (Od. VI, 266). At **Aetos** in Ithaca the cult in the honour of Apollo was presumably established in the 10th c. B.C. and not in the 9th, as supposed until recently.[373] The curved wall discovered partly beneath Wall 27 (p. 94, Fig. 36) could either belong to a humble dwelling or to a flimsy cult building of the 10th or 9th c. B.C.[374] Wall 27 appears to have been built towards the end of the Geometric period, but it is not clear whether it belongs to a temple of that date (p. 241). The date of the round enclosure discovered nearby (p. 114, Fig. 37) and identified as the sacred grove of Apollo of the Odyssey has not been established yet, while in the same area a sanctuary of a female divinity, in use presumably already in the Geometric period was recently identified.[375] Thus, there was an important sanctuary (or sanctuaries) in the heart of the settlement, at least from the 10th c. B.C., but it is not possible to fix with accuracy the date of construction of the first cult building. The

[364] E. Leventopoulou-Juri, *AAA* 4 (1971) 361-363, 366, figs. 12-14 at p. 364; *id.*, in *Neue Forschungen* (1976) 135-144.

[365] S. Dakaris, *ΠΑΕ* (1967) 40, pl. 29β. The hut underneath the Sacred House was standing until the late Classical period, but the upper chronological limit, i.e. its date of construction, is a matter of pure speculation: see D. Evangelides & S. Dakaris, *AE* (1959) 24-30.

[366] S. Dakaris, *ΠΑΕ* (1967) 39-42, 46f.; (1968) 56f.; *Έργον* (1967) 32-37; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 149, pl. 187β (LG sherd), 150 (metal votives); *id.*, *AE* (1959) 127-132. See also S. Dakaris, in *Ιλιάδα και Οδύσσεια. Μύθος και ιστορία, Πρακτικά Δ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια*, Ithaca 1986, 142-151; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 168.

[367] Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 97, 378; K. Wardle, *Godisnjak* 15 (1977) 177.

[368] Wardle, *op.cit.*, 177-187 concerning the problems of chronology of the local coarse wares from the site, a portion of which presumably belongs to the EIA. In *Έργον* (1967) 32 Dakaris mentions also local PG sherds.

[369] S. Dakaris, in *Ιλιάδα και Οδύσσεια. Μύθος και ιστορία, Πρακτικά Δ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια*, Ithaca 1986, 146; *id.*, *Δωδώνη*, Jannina 1986, 37-39 and pls. 24-26 (votives of the LG period).

[370] G. Dontas, *ΑΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 320f., pl. 331β. See also Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 185.

[371] G. Dontas, *ΑΔ* 19 (1964) Χρον., 324, pl. 364δ.

[372] *Id.*, *ΑΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον, 320f.

[373] S. Symeonoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1990) 278; *Έργον* (1990) 127. Earlier see Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 276 & 278.

[374] Calligas has claimed that there was probably an "oikos/megaron" in this area, which could be associated with the pottery of the 10th and 9th c. B.C.: "Η 'Ομηρική' Κεφαλονιά", in *Πρακτικά Ε' Διεθνούς Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου, 17-21 Μαΐου 1986*, 3, Argostoli 1991, 73.

[375] S. Symeonoglou, *Έργον* (1995) 63-67.

origins of the cave shrine of Odysseus at the **Polis** cave are ill-defined.[376] The cult of Odysseus is attested in the years around 100 B.C. but it is not clear whether it originated in the DA or even in the LBA. The discovery of 13 fragmentary bronze tripods of the Geometric period suggests that the cave was used for cult activities at least from the 9th c. B.C. onwards and several scholars have compared this discovery with the episode in the Odyssey, in which Alcinoos and the other twelve *basileis* of Scheria each offered a tripod to Odysseus (Od. VIII, 390f. & XIII, 13f.). In the same cave Hera, Athena and the Nymphs were also worshipped at least from the Archaic period onwards.[377]

ACARNANIA

On the "acropolis" of **Koronta**, beneath a temple with which were associated female terracotta figurines, Geometric sherds were reported.[378]

AETOLIA

In the suburban sanctuary of Artemis at **Kalydon** a few, it seems, bronze animal figurines were found (p. 95, Fig. 38). Substantial quantities of Geometric sherds were noted on the acropolis, attesting presumably to habitation.[379] Megaron A in the sanctuary of Apollo at **Thermon** appears to have been a ruler's house subsequently (in the beginning of the EIA) transformed into a heroön (p. 44). Megaron B may have been the new ruler's house or a hall of gatherings for the celebration of sacrifices and ritual meals in the honour of common heroes and ancestors. By the 8th c., and perhaps already by the late 9th, the site seems to have been primarily devoted to the cult of Apollo and became the focus of religious activities of the Aetolian *ethnos* (p. 125, Fig. 40). In the suburban[380] sanctuary of Artemis (?) at **Kallipolis**, cult activities seem to begin in 8th c.; Buildings A and B appear to have been temples (p. 135, Fig. 51).

CENTRAL GREECE

THESSALY

The temple of Athena Polias at **Gonnoi** lies on the summit of the acropolis (p. 86, Fig. 55). However, the excavator does not mention finds dating back to the Geometric period and the temple presumably dates to the 7th c. In the extraurban sanctuary of Athena Itonia at **Philia** the cult begins in the LBA and continues down to the Early Christian era.[381] LH IIIB pottery, Φ and Ψ terracotta figurines, SMyc, PG and Geometric pottery and metal finds were found. Judging by the metal offerings, the flowering of the sanctuary took place during the LG and EA periods. A building excavated in 1980 may have been a shrine of the LBA. The stratigraphy was disturbed but the building was covered by the LG stratum, while Mycenaean sherds were collected in the lower part of this layer.[382] In the suburban sanctuary of **Pherai** (modern Velestino) PG graves lay beneath temple of Zeus Thaulios.[383] Calligas claims that there may have been an aristocratic *oikos* here, as at

[376] S. Benton, *BSA* 35 (1934/35) 45-73; 39 (1938/39) 1-51; *id.*, "A Votive Offering to Odysseus", *Antiquity* 10 (1936) 350; W. Coulson, *BSA* 86 (1991) 42-64 (11th-9th/early 8th c. pottery); Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 152-155; F. de Polignac, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 11, n. 23.

[377] S. Benton, *BSA* 35 (1934/35) 16; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 153; A. Mazarakis Ainian, in *Συνάντηση με τον Όμηρο και την Οδύσσεια στο Ιόνιο, Κέρκυρα 13-15 Οκτ. 1995*, ed. S. Dimoulitsas, in press.

[378] P. Courbin, *BCH* 81 (1957) 581. On the identification of the site see E. Kirsten, *AA* (1941) 102.

[379] G. Soteriades, *ΠΑΕ* (1908) 99f.; Syriopoulos *ΠΚ* (1995) 1359, no. 136.

[380] The location of the EIA settlement is unknown, but it was presumably beneath the later town.

[381] D. Theocharis, *ΑΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 179; 18 (1963) Χρον., 135-139; 19 (1964) Χρον., 244-249 (p. 248 concerning the identification of the site); 20 (1965) Χρον., 311-313; 22 (1967) Χρον., 295f.; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 69 (1965) 355f.; J. Daux, *BCH* 91 (1967) 703-708; K. Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zu archaischen Zeit*, München 1975 (*PBF* XIV) 8-10; *id.*, *PZ* 50 (1975) 27; S. Karousou, *AM* 91 (1976) 23-30, pls. 5-6 (bronze warrior figurine which may have been found in the area of the sanctuary); A. Pilali-Papasteriou & K. Papaeuthymiou-Papanthimou, *Ανθρωπολογικά* 4 (1983) 49-67. See also Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 53 and Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 241.

[382] Pilali-Papasteriou & Papaeuthymiou-Papanthimou, *op.cit.*, 51-55; concerning the earlier excavations of Mycenaean walls see D. Theocharis, *ΑΔ* 20 (1965) Χρον., 312; 22 (1967) Χρον., 295f.

[383] Y. Bequignon, *Recherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie*, Paris 1937, 50-55; K. Kilian, *PBF* XIV, München 1975, 6-8, 168-187; *id.*, *PZ* 50 (1975) 21ff., 105ff.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 182; E. Østby, "A

Lefkandi.[384] Nearby, in the area of the sanctuary of Artemis Enodia, hundreds of metal votives were found, mostly of the Geometric period (pins, fibulae, bronze horses, etc.).[385] At **Neochoraki**, in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (?), the temple was presumably constructed in the LG period (p. 136, Fig. 60). In the sanctuary of Athena on the summit of the acropolis of **Thebes Phthiotides**, a Geometric (8th c.) layer was encountered beneath the foundations of the EA temple. Hundreds of bronze votives were collected, some of which appear to date in the Geometric period.[386]

EAST LOCRIS

At **Anavra**, on a mountainous area SE of Thermopyles, according to Theocharis, there may have been an important sanctuary in the Geometric period.[387] The metal finds, which were revealed during the ploughing of a field, include horse and bird figurines of bronze, as well as fragments of pins and fibulae and a bracelet. K. Kilian has argued that all the metal finds may belong to tombs, but no final conclusion can be reached.[388] A possible suburban sanctuary of ancient Thronion or, more likely, a cemetery of the PG-Geometric period, was detected during public works (no systematic excavation followed) at **Kainourgio**. Finds include bronze metal items, such as pins, fibulae, a horse and a bird figurines.[389] Therefore, both sites may have been cemeteries.

PHOCIS

The earliest votives in the sanctuary of Apollo at **Delphi** date around 800 B.C. Initially, the sanctuary was presumably within the settlement (Fig. 64).[390] PG of a rather "late" type was found well to the E of sanctuary of Apollo,[391] and now evidence for PG occupation has been found beneath the "Pillar of the Rhodians" (p. 250). An apsidal building of the LG period may have been a small subsidiary cult building, though it is more likely that it was a dwelling (p. 45). Continuity of cult is undemonstrated, due to large gap in sequence between the Mycenaean and Geometric periods.[392] Moreover, the existence of a sanctuary in this area during the Mycenaean period remains an unsolved problem. In the "suburban"[393] sanctuary of Athena, at Marmaria, traces of walls and a sacrificial (?) area were excavated (p. 242). The latter consisted of pits in the rock containing ashes, small bones, and sherds of the Geometric period, mostly coarse wares, but also some painted skyphoi. Small bronze objects, such as pins and fibulae were found in the same area. This assemblage was found at a deeper level than the Mycenaean figurines, suggesting that the latter were assembled and deposited there at a later period.[394] At a distance of 1 km SW of the village of Delphi, at **Ay. Varvar**a, a

Reconsideration of the Classical Temple at Pherai", in *Θεσσαλία. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας, 1975-1990. Αποτελέσματα και προοπτικές. Πρακτικά διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Λυών, 17-22 Απριλίου 1990*, B', Athens 1994, 139-142.

[384] "Θεσσαλία και Εύβοια κατά την πρώιμη εποχή του σιδήρου", *Διεθνές Συνέδριο για την αρχαία Θεσσαλία στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ρ. Θεοχάρη*, Athens 1992, 300.

[385] Bequignon, *op.cit.*, 57-74; K. Kilian, *PZ* 50 (1975) 27, 105ff., pls. 6, 25:2, 26, 28:1-7.9.

[386] A.S. Aravantinopoulos, *ΠΑΕ* (1907) 168 (bronze rings, fibulae, birds and Geometric sherds); (1908) 178-180; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 89.

[387] D. Theocharis, *ΑΔ* 19 (1964) Χρον., 242. See also A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον. 330f. & G. Touchais, *BCH* 101 (1977) 589, concerning a bronze horse figurine which could belong to the same assemblage. See also Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 244, 309, 970, 1015; *id.*, *ΠΚ* (1995) 1356f.

[388] *PZ* 50 (1975) 26f., pls. 23, 24:1.

[389] A. Liangouras, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 144 (3 Geometric fibulae and 2 PG skyphoi, presumably from tombs); D. Theocharis, *ΑΔ* 19 (1964) Χρον., 242, however, describing these and a few more metal finds from the same site, suggests either a cemetery or a sanctuary; K. Kilian, *PZ* 50 (1975) 27, pls. 24:2-8, 25: 3-4, who also accepts that the finds came from tombs; concerning the topography and identification of the site of Thronion see W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* 4 (1982) 151-155.

[390] In general see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 106-190 and C.W. Neeft, *MEFRA* 93 (1981) 59-65. For F. de Polignac (*La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32, n. 27) the status of the early sanctuary at Delphi is ambiguous.

[391] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1977) 277.

[392] S. Müller, *BCH* 116 (1992) 475-481, 486-488.

[393] F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32.

[394] *BCH* 46 (1922) 507; 48 (1924) 457 (la rédaction); R. Demangel, *FD* 2:5, Paris 1926, chapter 1; L. Lerat, *BCH* 81 (1957) 708-710; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 129f.; S. Müller, *BCH* 116 (1992) 481-488; A. Farnoux, *DossAParis* 195 (1994) 113.

settlement which has been tentatively identified with Krisa, a peribolos of the end of the 8th c. was partly excavated on the uppermost terrace of a settlement (p. 242, Fig. 63). The **Korykeion** cave was almost continuously used from Neolithic to Mycenaean times and from the 8th c. to the Roman era.[395] The cave was dedicated in the historical era to the cult of the Nymphs and Pan. However, there was no PG or Geometric pottery (while there was Corinthian imported pottery of the 7th c.) but a bronze horse and some coils (spirals) are Geometric. Consequently, Themelis suggested that some of the hand made vases could be Geometric too.[396] In the sanctuary of Demeter at **Polydroson** (previously called Souvala), bronze votives of the very end of the 8th c., including pins and fibulae, were found by Ch. Karouzos in 1928 and 1934.[397] At **Elateia**, one Geometric sherd, and some bronze items, including a horse and a bird figurines, as well as one or two fibulae were presumably found in the suburban sanctuary of Athena Kranaia.[398] Cult activities at **Kalapodi** seem to have started in the LH IIIC period and continued without a break into the EIA (p. 137, Fig. 61).[399] More precisely, it seems that we witness an unbroken continuity in cult practices from LH IIIC to the end of MPG (10th c.), but the sanctuary was presumably refounded in the second half of the 9th. c.[400] The earliest roofed cult building, however, dates in the second half of the 9th c. B.C.: below Temple A, five or six superimposed hearths and related floors were detected, the earliest of which dates around 800 B.C. or slightly earlier.[401] It is thus probable that from that time onwards the sanctuary possessed a temple, initially of flimsy construction, later on of mud brick. Flimsy traces belonging to a second 8th c. cult building were recognised further S, beneath Temple B (Fig. 61, no. 2).[402] The sanctuary has been identified with that of Artemis Elaphebolos of the city of Hyampolis, where Apollo was presumably also worshipped. It lies at a distance of *c.* 5 km N of the ancient town and therefore represents a "suburban" sanctuary.[403]

BOEOTIA

In and around **Thebes** three suburban sanctuaries of the Geometric period have been identified. The most important and also best known is that of Apollo Ismenios, where there may have existed a LG temple (p. 242). Two Geometric and three Mycenaean vases, as well as numerous Archaic and Classical female terracotta figurines were found in the property of Th. Douros-Agatsas, *c.* 1 km S-SW of the Ismenion.[404] Keramopoullos suggested that this was the sanctuary of Amphiaraos (Pausanias I, 34), but Symeonoglou, more convincingly, suggested the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Pausanias IX, 8, 1-2). Nearby, *c.* half a km to the SW, in the property of S. Laliotis, A. Andreiomenou excavated a site which included an EPG amphora and LG sherds and an unpainted oinochoe. She at first identified the area with the sanctuary, but later suggested that it may have been a cemetery.[405] Fossey was also inclined to believe that the site was a necropolis.[406] Lastly, on Dragatsoula hill, on the road from Thebes to Ambelosalesi, to the SW of Thebes a possible

[395] *L'antre Corycien* I, *BCH* Suppl. 7 (1981) esp. P. Amandry, p. 91; *L'antre Corycien* II, *BCH* Suppl. 9 (1984) esp. A. Jacquemin, pp. 153-155, C. Rolley, p. 263, no. 2, fig. 2 (LG horse) and no. 3, fig. 3 (LG or 7th c. bird), P. Amandry, pp. 395-452 (on the cult); P. Amandry, *BCH* 96 (1972) 907, fig. 27; C. Rolley, *Musée de Delphes. Bronzes*, Limoges 1979, 48, fig. 61 (LG horse); P.G. Themelis, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 222f. See also C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 130.

[396] *ASAtene* 61 (1984) 223.

[397] *BCH* 52 (1928) 484 (la rédaction); V. Petrakos, *ΑΔ* 27 (1972) Χρον., 384-388, pl. 324; P.G. Themelis, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 226-228; Syriopoulos *ΠΚ* (1995) 1359, no. 188. Petrakos, does not mention any Geometric finds but Themelis suggests that the earliest pins and fibulae may date in the end of the Geometric period.

[398] P. Paris, *BCH* 12 (1888) 37-63, esp. 44-48, 56f.; *id.*, *Élatée: La ville, le temple d'Athèna Cranaia*, Paris 1892, 282, 284, no. 5, 285, fig. 24, 286, fig. 25; Syriopoulos *ΠΚ* (1995) 1357, no. 122.

[399] R. Felsch, "Mykenisher Kult im Heiligtum bei Kalapodhi?", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 81-90; R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 4f.

[400] R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* (1987) 3-5.

[401] *Ibid.*, 4f., 11.

[402] *Ibid.*, 11.

[403] Pausanias X, 35, 7. Concerning the excavations at Hyampolis see V.W. Yorke & A.G. Bather, *JHS* 16 (1896) 293-312.

[404] A.D. Keramopoullos, *Θηβαϊκά*, *ΑΔ* 3 (1917) 261-266; S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes*, Princeton 1985, 292, Site no. 201.

[405] *AE* (1976), Χρον., 12-17, esp. 14.

[406] *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*, Chicago 1988, 208-210, esp. 209, but see p. 210.

sanctuary, in use from the Geometric period to the 5th c., has been excavated on the summit of the hill. Among the finds there were 2 spearheads and a sickle of iron, and a bronze phalaron (?) or omphalic phiale (?), unfortunately all undated.[407] In the extraurban sanctuary of Thebes, the **Kabeirion**, the majority of the finds (sherds and bronze figurines) date from 900 onwards but the earliest figurines appear to date in the PG period.[408] In the urban sanctuary of Athena at **Haliartos** (Kastri Maziou) one Geometric sherd, one leg of a bronze tripod and traces of a massive wall were found (p. 242, Fig. 68). The **Seïdi** cave shelter lies *c.* 1 km to the E of Pyrgos. It was in use in the Neolithic period but also from Geometric to Hellenistic times, but the nature of the human activities is unclear.[409] On **Mt. Mavrovouni** (Ano Siphai) there was a rural sanctuary (including an undated temple) of Artemis Agrotera (*cf.* two dedications of the 4th c.) from LG times down to the Hellenistic period, though at intervals the site may have also served as a fortress.[410] One possible PG sherd has been noted from the site.[411] The excavations in the sanctuary of Poseidon at **Onchestos**, mentioned by Homer (Il. II, 506) have failed to reveal Geometric material.[412] At **Koroneia**, in the subsequent sanctuary of Athena Itonia (?), beneath Building A, which appears to have been a temple, there was a burnt stratum which contained several, it seems, graves of the Geometric period. A LG tomb consisted of a bronze vase which contained a few calcinated bones, a bronze knife, an iron spearhead and an iron sword (p. 355, Fig. 70).[413] The extraurban sanctuary of Akraiphia, that of Apollo Ptoïos at Perdikovrysi (**Ptoïon**) yielded LG pottery and metal votives, including two bronze animal figurines detached from the same tripod and a few animal figurines, all dated in the second half of the 8th c.[414] Ducat suggested that an apsidal foundation near the temple may have copied an earlier apsidal cult building of the Geometric period, but this is a pure assumption.[415] The cult building at **Paralimni** was presumably located inside the necropolis (p. 46, Fig. 71). The sanctuary of Artemis at **Aulis** was situated a few km to the S of the town which was on the rocky hill at Mikro Vathy (Il. II, 496: Αὐλίδα πετρήεσσαν). The earliest pottery belongs to the LG period, while the curved wall associated with this material may have been either a temple or a temenos wall (p. 95, Fig. 73).

OROPIA

Wall 34 at **Oropos** may have been a monumental apsidal "urban" temple of the LG period, though the possibility that it was a peribolos or retaining wall has not been dismissed yet (p. 47, Fig. 76). In the industrial quarter, round Building ΣΤ may have been a shrine (?) or a workshop (?), also dated in the LG period (p. 115, Fig. 77).

EUBOEA

A few Geometric sherds (including 9th c. B.C. sherds) from Trench A, as well as later material indicate that the cave of **Skoteini** near **Tharrounia** was reused in the Iron Age. The character of the reuse is difficult to determine, though occasional visits of worshippers cannot be

[407] A.D. Keramopoullos, *AE* (1910) 248-250; *id.*, *AΔ* 3 (1917) 433, n. 2 (a few sherds could be Mycenaean).

[408] P. Wolters & G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, Berlin 1940, 81f., pl. 38, 1-2 (Geometric sherds); B. Schmaltz, *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben. Die Statuetten aus Bronze und Blei, Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* VI, Berlin 1980, 23-44, 98-105 (Gruppe 1 may even date in the PG period, the remaining figurines date from *c.* 900 onwards); W. Heyder & A. Mallwitz, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* II, Berlin 1978, 59f.; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2, *BICS* Suppl. 38.2 (1986) 66-110; J. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*, Chicago 1988, 211f.

[409] R. Stampfuss, *Mannus* (1942) 132-147; Fossey, *op.cit.*, 319.

[410] R.A. Tomlinson & J. Fossey, *BSA* 65 (1970) 243-263, esp. 247, 249, 255-260; E.-L. Schwandner, *AA* (1977) 516-519, fig. 2 for the exact location; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1, *BICS* Suppl. 38.1 (1981) 51-73, esp. 54, n. 1; J. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*, Chicago 1988, 173-175, 469.

[411] *BSA* 65 (1970) 249.

[412] Fossey, *op.cit.*, 308-312, with references.

[413] Th. Spyropoulos, *Ἔργον* (1975) 16; *ΠΑΕ* (1975) 400, 405, fig. 7 at p. 408; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1, *BICS* Suppl. 38.1 (1981) 117-127; Syriopoulos. *MX* (1983) 248. See, however, doubts concerning the identification of the sanctuary by Fossey, *op.cit.*, 326-332.

[414] J. Ducat, *Les Kouroi du Ptoïon*, Paris 1971, 49-65, 96-99; Fossey, *op.cit.*, 265-275; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 177f.

[415] Ducat, *op.cit.*, 97f. See also P. Guillon, *Les trépieds du Ptoïon*, Paris 1934, pl. IX and F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 29.

excluded.[416] It is not possible to tell whether the apsidal MPG building at **Lefkandi Toumba** also served for religious purposes (p. 48, Fig. 82). The evidence from **Eretria** is more suggestive, since several areas within the Geometric settlement have produced evidence for cult activities. In the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros (pp. 58, 102, Fig. 105) these are attested from MG II times onwards and were centred around the circular altar/bothros (F). The apsidal *hekatompedon* (Building D) belongs to the last quarter of the 8th c.; Building A, usually considered as the first temple of Apollo, dated around the middle of the 8th c. is considered here as a ruler's dwelling. There is no evidence that the remaining curvilinear structures were cult buildings (Building C was in fact a metal workshop). A sanctuary of a female divinity (Demeter, Artemis?) was located immediately to the N of the sanctuary of Apollo. Cult activities appear to have started in the early (?) 8th c. and were centred around Bothros H. It is not clear whether Wall G, presumably constructed during the MG II period, should be associated with this part of the temenos (p. 243, Fig. 104).[417] If the high dating and the alleged function of the building are confirmed, Eretria could be the first city of the Greek World which acquired an "urban" temple. Likewise, there may have been an apsidal (?) cult building of early 8th c. date in the NW area of the settlement, dedicated to Aphrodite/Astarte (p. 95, Fig. 101, no. 15). Household cults appear to have been common: at the foot of the acropolis two such cases have been identified: the "bothros" in front of apsidal Building B, which contained fine pottery from *c.* 700 onwards (p. 104, Fig. 101, no. 12, Fig. 117) and a similar pit in Building Plot 740. In the latter area the huge "bothros" (6,00m in diam. and 3,00m deep) contained smashed vases, a few terracotta horse figurines, ashes, charcoal, animal bones, sea shells, decomposed mud bricks and stones, dated around 700 B.C. and the whole was covered by a low tumulus. The pit may represent a normal refuse pit but the horse figurines, the low mound over the pit and the positioning of some EA child pithos burials in the periphery of the mound could suggest that some chthonian private cult was held here (p. 104, Fig. 101, no. 10, Fig. 119).[418] Lastly, from the harbour area three bull figurines have been reported, perhaps indicating a cult area nearby (Fig. 101, no. 16).[419] At **Amarynthos**, in the area of Ay. Kyriaki, recent excavations brought to light a rich votive deposit, which includes material from the late 8th to the 2nd-1st c. B.C. It has been suggested that this site was the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia.[420] In southern Euboea, at **Plakouri** near Karystos a sanctuary with architectural remains (peribolos of the Geometric period on the summit of the hill) has been identified; nearby a votive deposit contained finds dated from PG to Archaic times (p. 243). One could also mention the sanctuary of Poseidon at **Geraistos** mentioned in the Odyssey (III, 178) which should most probably be located at Kastri, 20 km NE of Karystos. The focal point of the sanctuary has not been located yet.[421]

ATTICA

Due to our incomplete knowledge of the layout of **Athens** during the EIA, it is not clear whether the alleged temple of Apollo Delphinios, S of the Olympieion, tentatively dated around the middle of the 8th c. B.C., should be classified as "urban" or "suburban" (*cf.* Fig. 125d-e and Fig. 128). It is however probable that the area was located in the confines and not in the midst of a habitation quarter, and near tombs, and the sacred function of the Geometric building is far from irrefutable (p. 245). The 9th c. B.C. oval building at the Areopagus was situated in the midst of Geometric graves, outside the SW entrance of the subsequent Agora (p. 86, Fig. 125c-d and Fig. 126).[422] As elsewhere, the cult performed inside this edifice would have been of chthonic nature for it was presumably related to these EG and MG graves. On the other hand, one should not totally dismiss the possibility that the Areopagus building was a normal house, since there seems to have

[416] A. Sampson, *AAA* 9 (1976) 44-56, esp. 55; *id.*, *AEM* 23 (1980) 125-127; S. Katsarou, in A. Sampson *et al.*, *Σκοτεινή Θαρρουνίων*, Athens 1993, 324-326.

[417] E. French, *AR* (1990/91) 38 for the early dating of this wall. In the preliminary reports of the Swiss excavators the wall is vaguely dated in the 8th c. B.C.

[418] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 8, with references to P.G. Themelis, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) - (1983) at p. 6, n. 21.

[419] A. Andreiomenou, *AE* (1977) 129, n. 1.

[420] E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Kernos* 5 (1992) 235-263, esp. 241, 242 & 250.

[421] See A. Choremis, *AAA* 7 (1974) 28-32; R. Schumacher, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 62-87.

[422] H.A. Thompson & R.E. Wycherley, *Agora* XIV, Princeton 1972, pls. 2-3.

been no clear separation between the space of the living and the dead in Athens during this period (Fig. 125).[423] LG pottery was found just to the W of the Eleusinion, while further away there were PG and MG tombs (*cf.* Fig. 124).[424] The earliest evidence for cult activities at the Eleusinion, however, belong to the Archaic period.[425] The joint (?) cult of Athena and Erechtheus on the Acropolis may have begun in the early 9th c. B.C. but unfortunately the date of construction of the first temple is not known since only two stone bases are perhaps all that has been preserved from this temple (p. 244).[426] Likewise, the nature of the LPG or, more likely, EG I deposit near the **Academy** is not clear (shrine or workshop?) (p. 142). The LG Sacred House, on the other hand, was certainly a sacred structure, but it cannot be convincingly argued that the cult was directed towards Akademos. The hypothesis that the building was associated with the cult of the dead (*cf.* the LG tombs all around) appears more credible (p. 140, Fig. 130).

The sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia, on the promontory of Koumoundourou in the **Peiraeus**, was presumably founded in the 10th c. (pottery), but was intensified in the 8th and 7th c. (pottery and clay figurines).[427] It is probable that the site was continuously occupied from Neolithic down to the EIA. However, there seems to exist a large gap between the end of MH down to PG, though a few Mycenaean finds, including terracotta figurines were discovered.[428]

The peak and cave sanctuaries in the Attic countryside are numerous. In the Athenian plain, the peak sanctuary on **Mt. Tourkovounia**, perhaps dedicated to Zeus, was founded around 700, when the oval building was constructed (p. 87, Fig. 133). On **Mt. Parnes** two such sanctuaries have been found: the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios and Apemios was located on the highest peak, Ozea (Karabola). Extensive Geometric (including LPG-EG?) and Archaic sacrificial pyres, including burnt animal bones were excavated.[429] The cave at **Phyle** (Lychnotrypa or Lychnospilia) was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs. The periods represented by the pottery are MH (?), Mycenaean (including LH IIIC), SMyc (?), Geometric (?), Archaic and Classical. The Archaic and Classical votives, which include stone reliefs, clay figurines, lamps and metal items, leave no doubts as to the identification of the divinities. However, Protoattic and Early Black Figure is lacking, while the Geometric sherds are ambiguous; therefore the nature of the EIA human presence in the cave remains uncertain.[430] In the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios on **Mt. Hymettos** three cult buildings have been found (pp. 119, 143, Fig. 136). Cult activities are first attested in the PG period. The sanctuary received visits from the inhabitants of the Athenian plain, e.g. by those who lived on the western side of the mountain.[431] Here a hero (Herakles) and a god were worshipped side by side.[432] Sadly, the dating of the edifices is once more uncertain, though it is most probable that they were erected in the Geometric period (p. 143). The cave of **Prophetes Elias**, also on Mt. Hymettos, situated +220m above sea level, yielded LH III/SMyc (?), Geometric (?), Archaic and Classical sherds. The "Geometric" sherds, however, were inscribed with graffiti of the Archaic (!) period; this either means that the sherds have been misdated, or that they represent debris from the later sanctuary which was located nearby, deposited in the cave

[423] Morris, *Burial* (1987) 65.

[424] E. Brann, *The Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery*, *Agora* VIII, Princeton 1962, 131, deposit in grid S20:1, pl. 45.

[425] H.A. Thompson & R.E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens*, *Agora* XIV, Princeton 1972, 152.

[426] In general see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 205-212.

[427] L. Palaiokrassa, *Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνιχίας*, Athens 1991, 53ff., 64ff., 185; *id.*, "Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum des Artemis Munichia", *AM* 104 (1989) 1-40; *id.*, *Αρχαιολογία* 39 (1991) 92, 96.

[428] L. Palaiokrassa, *Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνιχίας*, Athens 1991, 181; *id.*, *AM* 104 (1989) 13-14; *id.*, *Αρχαιολογία* 39 (1991) 96.

[429] E. Mastrokostas, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 339-344; M.S.F. Hood, *AR* (1959/60) 8 (the pyre was at that time identified with the cremated remains of warriors); (1960/61) 5; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 64 (1960) 269; G. Daux, *BCH* 84 (1960) 658; M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 100f.; J.W. Wickens, *The Archaeology and History of the Cave Use in Attica* II, Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., Ann Arbor 1986, 243-245, Site no. 46 and *ibid.*, vol. I, 158f.

[430] H.G. Lolling, *AM* 5 (1880) 291-293; A.N. Skias, *ΠΑΕ* (1900) 38-41; K. Rhomaios, *AE* (1905) 99-158; (1906) 89-116 (col. 98: "very small quantities of Geometric sherds", col. 100: a cylindrical vase of the Geometric period); Wickens, *op.cit.*, 245-265, Site no. 47. The cylindrical vase presumably dates before the LG period: R. Osborne, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 148.

[431] M.K. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 7f.

[432] *Ibid.*, 97f.; R.S. Young, *AJA* 44 (1940) 3.

in the Archaic period. The excavator suggested that the cave was used for mining.[433] A peak sanctuary centred around a built altar was partly investigated on **Mt. Agrieliki** at Marathon (+361m above sea level). An ash deposit and burnt animal bones were also excavated. The majority of the finds belong to the Geometric period, but there is Archaic and later material too.[434] Approximately 500m to the E-SE a cave was investigated (+209m above sea level).[435] Pottery dated in the MH, LH (?), SMyc (?), Geometric, Archaic, Classical, and "late antique" periods was found. Wickens[436] suggests a dump or storage area, presumably unrelated to the nearby sanctuary. On **Mt. Merenda** there was another peak sanctuary, which included Geometric, SG and Protoattic sherds from cups and burnt animal bones.[437] On **Mt. Pani**, near Keratea, three possible cult places have been detected: in one peak, sherds from Geometric and SG cups, as well as burnt animal bones, including two graffiti on sherds from SG cups were noted;[438] on the southern tip of the same mountain (Keratovouni peak) Geometric and SG cups and skyphoi were noted by Smith and Lowry, suggesting another peak sanctuary,[439] while a fragment from a jug/oinochoe, dated in the Geometric or Archaic period has been noted from a cave which was basically used during the prehistoric period and is thought to have been dedicated to the cult of Pan.[440] The cult on **Mt. Prophetes Elias** near Sounion seems to have been limited to the Archaic period (7th-6th c.),[441] like the SG peak sanctuary situated at Varkiza.[442] F. de Polignac, however, includes the former in the LG peak sanctuaries,[443] perhaps relying on the mention of two PC aryballoi mentioned by Langdon. Lastly, near Brauron, sherds of relatively fine quality dated in the MG/LG and Classical periods have been reported from the **Kommeno Lithari** cave, perhaps indicating that the cave was used as a shrine, though it may have been a campsite, a shepherd's shelter or a place of refuge. The cave was also used in the Final Neolithic, Mycenaean (early and LH IIIC) and Hellenistic (?) periods, as well as in the 5th-6th c. A.D.[444]

At **Lathouriza**. the "urban" hypaethral sanctuary (from 700 onwards) was perhaps dedicated to Demeter but the round cult building, Tholos VIII, seems to date in the EA period (pp. 116, 238, Figs. 141, 144). The suburban chapel on the N spur of the hill may also date from *c.* 700 onwards (p. 144, Fig. 153). The rural sanctuary at **Kiapha Thiti** was established towards the end of the 8th c. upon a Mycenaean fortified acropolis. Votives included LG/EA figurines.[445] Polignac has suggested that there was a settlement here until the Geometric period and that the inhabitants moved elsewhere, perhaps to Lathouriza.[446]

The chthonian cult building inside the LG cemetery at **Anavyssos** presumably dates around 700 B.C. (p. 145, Fig. 154). The hero shrine of Phrontis (?) at **Sounion** was located in the subsequent sanctuary of Athena (Fig. 157). The votive deposit includes material from the very end of the 8th c.[447]

[433] N. Kotzias, *ΠΑΕ* (1950) 160f.; J.W. Wickens, *The Archaeology and History of the Cave Use in Attica* II, Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., Ann Arbor 1986, 138-143, Site no. 25 (see also *ibid.*, vol. I, 157-163).

[434] G. Soteriades, *ΠΑΕ* (1935) 154f.; E. Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 40 (1936) 265; M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 104f.

[435] Soteriades, *op.cit.*, 156; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 70 (1966) 321, n. 8.

[436] Wickens, *op.cit.*, 218f., Site no. 41.

[437] M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 103.

[438] *Ibid.*, 102f.; E. Smith & H. Lawry, "A Survey of Mountain-top Sanctuaries in Attica", *American School of Classical Studies at Athens, School Papers*, 1954 (unpublished paper at the ASCS) 22-24, 25, fig. 2 (graffiti).

[439] M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 103.

[440] Smith & Lawry, *op.cit.*, 27; Wickens, *op.cit.*, 26-34, Site no. 5.

[441] M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 104.

[442] H. Lauter & H. Lauter-Bufe, "Ein attisches Höhenheiligtum bei Varkiza", in *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Werner Böser*, ed. R. Hanauer, Karlsruhe 1986, 304ff.

[443] *Culture et cité. L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque*, ed. A. Verbanck-Piérard & D. Viviers, Bruxelles 1995, 81 and fig. 1 on p. 78.

[444] Wickens, *op.cit.*, 46-50 (who is sceptical concerning the sacred function on p. 50 and also *ibid.*, vol. I, 157-163), Site n. 9.

[445] H. Lauter, *AA* (1982) 305, 313; D. Hagel & H. Lauter, *MarbWPr* (1987) 3-13, esp. 4; D. Hagel, *Kiapha Thiti. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung*, III 2 (*Eisenzeit*), *MarbWPr* (1989). See also S. Rozaki, *ΑΔ* 37 (1982) Χρον., 60.

[446] F. de Polignac, in *Culture et cité* (*op.cit.*) 88.

[447] V. Stais, *AE* (1917) 178-181, 180 n. 1, 209 fig. 19 (painted clay plaque of *c.* 700 B.C.); Ch. Picard, *RA* 16 (1940) 1-28; H. Abramson, in *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 12 (1979) 1-19; M. Oikonomakou, *Αρχαιολογία* 39 (1991) 83-87.

P. Calligas assumes that there was an aristocratic *oikos*, similar to the one at Lefkandi.[448] The LG Buildings III/XXVI and XXX inside the Geometric necropolis at **Thorikos** (Necropolis West 4) may have been associated with ancestral cult practises, though they could have also been normal dwellings near tombs (p. 146, Figs. 160, 162). It has been sometimes argued that the EG building in the same area may have also served a function in connection with the cult of the dead,[449] but I have argued against this possibility (p. 254, Fig. 161).

The sanctuary of Delian Apollo at **Prasies** (**Porto Raphti**) has been recently identified (Pausanias I, 31, 2). The site was used from Mycenaean times down to the Old Christian era. Geometric pottery and terracotta figurines were found immediately to the N of an apsidal building of the Hellenistic period.[450] It is not known whether the cult reaches back to the LBA. Pottery of the 9th c. (or end of LPG) is considered to represent the earliest trace of cult activities in the sanctuary of Artemis and Iphigeneia at **Brauron** (NE of the stoa),[451] while the intensification of the use of the sanctuary is placed in the 8th c., when there may have existed a wooden temple in the spot subsequently occupied by the small chapel of Ay. Georgios.[452] Finds of the 8th c. (pottery and small metal objects) were found in the S side[453] and SE corner[454] and beneath the central nave of the temple,[455] in the area of the stoa,[456] in the area of the Tomb of Iphigeneia (cave-like area),[457] and E of the Propylaia.[458] Clay figurines of 7th c. have also been reported.[459] A wall and a paving were also found beneath the central nave of the temple, which the excavator dated around the middle of the 7th c.[460] Approximately 200m to the S of the temple of Artemis Tauropolos, at **Loutsa** (Halai Araphenidai) a small sanctuary was excavated in 1976. It yielded Geometric pottery and later finds.[461] One presumes that the area represents the original nucleus of the same sanctuary. Sporadic Geometric sherds, though none with diagnostic decoration, have been also noted beneath the temple of Nemesis at **Rhamnous**.[462] However, in the preliminary account of the Archaic pottery from the sanctuary, the earliest material is dated in the late 7th-early 6th c. B.C.[463]

At **Eleusis** there were several foci of cult, the main being the area beneath the later Telesteria of Demeter and Kore (Megaron B/B1-3).[464] PG sherds have been reported by Mylonas but this does not necessarily imply religious activities, nor cult continuity, especially since it is far from established that the Mycenaean remains were associated with cult practices. Indeed, positive evidence for cult activities exists only from *c.* 750/725 B.C. onwards (p. 147, Figs. 164, 169). In the area of the Sacred House, the hero cult was also established towards the end of the Geometric period (p. 150, Fig. 172). Likewise, the earliest material in the area of the sanctuary of Artemis and Poseidon presumably dates in the LG period (pyres and massive curved foundation, p. 96, Fig. 183).

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[448] "Πρώιμη ιστορία των ιερών του Σουνίου", in *Πρακτικά Δ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ. Αττικής*, Kalyvia 1993, 301-312, esp. 303f.

[449] Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 53 [see also Lauter, *Turkovuni* (1985) 163].

[450] O. Kakavoyanni, *ΑΔ* 40 (1985) Χρον., 66 and p.c. March 29, 1989. See also *id.*, in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* I, ed. H. Kyrieleis, Mainz am Rhein 1986, 171-175.

[451] P.G. Themelis, *Βραυρών*, Athens s.d., 11.

[452] K. Eustratiou, *Αρχαιολογία* 39 (1991) 79. See also J. Papadimitriou, *ΠΑΕ* (1945/48) 86 and (1955) 118. In general see A. Antoniou, *Βραυρών. Συμβολή στην ιστορία του ιερού της Βραυρωνίας Αρτέμιδος*, Athens 1990, 42f., 43, 46, 54, 56, 75f.

[453] J. Papadimitriou, *ΠΑΕ* (1945/48) 86.

[454] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1949) 79; (1955) 118.

[455] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 118.

[456] *Έργον* (1960) 23.

[457] *Αρχαιολογία* 39 (1991) 80. See however, Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 53.

[458] *Έργον* (1961) 28.

[459] J. Papadimitriou, *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 20; *Έργον* (1959) 20; G. Touchais, *BCH* 86 (1962) 664, 671.

[460] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 118.

[461] K. Eustratiou, *Αρχαιολογία* 39 (1991) 72f.; See also F. de Polignac, in *Culture et cité. L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque*, ed. A. Verbanck-Piérard & D. Viviers, Bruxelles 1995, 81, n. 14. Concerning the temple of Artemis Tauropolos see J. Papadimitriou, *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 94-104; (1957) 45-47.

[462] V. Petrakos, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 136; *Έργον* (1982) 35; J. Touchais, *BCH* 107 (1983) 752; see also Polignac, in *Culture et cité* (*op.cit.*) 81.

[463] H. Thocharaki-Tsitoura, *Αρχαιολογία* 39 (1991) 42f.

[464] Classified as suburban by F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32f.

The so-called "Heroön of the Seven against Thebes" in the West Cemetery consists of a peribolos wall of the Geometric period surrounding Mycenaean tombs (p. 153, Fig. 182) but apart from this, no evidence for cult activities were detected in connection with this "temenos", which therefore must be treated with extreme caution.[465] The same stands for the so-called second Sacred House at the NE corner of the stoa of Philon, next to the alleged old Kallichoron well. It has been claimed that this was also a Sacred House, in use from the end of the LBA down to the Geometric period, which appears highly unlikely (p. 153, Fig. 181).

AIGINA

In the urban sanctuary of Apollo on the acropolis of **Aigina** (Kolonna) cult activities may have begun in the SMyc or PG period, but the first building in the area, which does not appear to have been the temple, has been dated in the Geometric period (p. 245).[466] The EG to LG IIb pottery is mainly Attic (but also little Corinthian, Argive and Rhodian).[467] Among the other votives, one could quote fibulae, fingerings, a horse figurine, all of bronze, and terracottas.[468] Poseidon Phratrios, Artemis and Dionysos were also worshipped here.[469] In earlier years it was believed that the site was the sanctuary of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias (II, 29, 6).[470] In the extraurban sanctuary of **Aphaia** Mycenaean figurines (human and animal) have been found, but there exists a gap until the 9th c. B.C. The Geometric pottery is EG-LG IIb.[471] At **Dragonera** some Geometric sherds have been considered as evidence that there existed here a sanctuary from Geometric through Classical times, established upon a small LH settlement.[472] Finally, on **Mt. Oros,** the highest peak of the island (+530m above sea level), there was a Mycenaean settlement (or perhaps sanctuary) and an altar of Zeus Hellanios from the Geometric period through Late Roman times.[473]

MEGARIS

Geometric and Archaic figurines, were found in the area of the temple of Athena, on the summit of the acropolis of Alcathos, of the town of ancient **Megara**.[474] The earliest sherds from the same area, however, belong to the late 7th c. B.C. One possible PG or Geometric sherd (or, less likely, Mycenaean) with concentric circles has been noted from the sanctuary of Zeus Aphesios at **Sta Marmara** (*cf.* Pausanias I, 44, 9). Nevertheless, the earliest votives appear to belong to the Archaic period.[475] The *kome* of Tripodiskoi, to the NW of Megara, was already inhabited in the Geometric period but the sanctuary of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias (I, 43, 8) has not been located yet.[476]

[465] See Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 207.

[466] H. Walter, *AAA* 13 (1980) 85-87.

[467] W. Kraiker, *Aigina: Die Vasen des 10. bis 7 Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1951, nos. 30-178; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 403; E. Walter-Karydi, "Ostgriechische Keramik", in *Alt-Aigina* II, 1, Mainz 1982, 9f., pl. 1, nos. 1-2.

[468] I. Margreiter, *Die Kleinfunde aus dem Apollon-Heiligtum, Alt-Aigina* II, 3, Mainz 1988, 12, 18, 21-27.

[469] N. Faraklas, *Αρχαία Αίγινα. Η ανθρώπινη κατοίκηση*, Athens 1980, 28f. and n. 5.

[470] V. Stais, *AE* (1895) 235-264, esp. col. 238, 240f., 261-264, pl. 12. Concerning the question of the identification of this sanctuary see N. Faraklas, *Αρχαία Αίγινα*, Athens 1980, 29f.

[471] H. Thiersch, in A. Furtwängler *et al.*, *Aegina: Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, München 1906, 370-375 (Mycenaean-PG finds), 375-377 (Geometric finds), pls. 108-119 & pp. 436-440., pls. 125-127 (Geometric vases); J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 403.

[472] N. Faraklas, *Αρχαία Αίγινα*, Athens 1980, 53f., Site 33.

[473] G. Welter, *Aigina*, Berlin 1938, 26f., 91f., 102, 122; *id.*, *AA* (1938) 8-16, esp. 14f., fig. 7 at col. 15-16; Faraklas, *op.cit.*, 74f., Site 77; K. Pilafidis-Williams, "A Mycenaean Terracotta Figure from Mount Oros on Aigina", in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 229-234, esp. 234. See also M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 81f., n. 12.

[474] J. Threpsiades & J. Travlos, *ΠΑΕ* (1934) 48-50, esp. 50.

[475] D. Philios, *AE* (1890) 21-56, esp. 45 (mention of the sherd); M. Sakellariou & N. Faraklas, *Μεγαρίς, Αιγόσθαινα, Ερένεια*, Athens 1972, 17, map 14b, Επίμετρο 4, p. 8; see also N. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις* 1: *Αττικά*, Athens 1974, 518, n. 1, who also states that the cult begins in the Geometric period.

[476] Faraklas, *op.cit.*, Table on p. 17, Επίμετρο 2, p. 2f., map fig. 14b. I simply mention this site because F. de Polignac has included it in his map of 8th c. sanctuaries in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 14, ill I.I, perhaps postulating its existence.

THE PELOPONNESE

CORINTHIA

The small apsidal cult building of Hera Akraia at **Perachora** is usually assigned to the beginning of the 8th c. B.C., though a dating as late as *c.* 750 B.C. is equally acceptable (p. 63, Fig. 186).[477] The sanctuary, the "extraurban" character of which is unquestionable, was perhaps from the very beginning under Corinthian control.[478] The earliest material from the votive deposit by the harbour (Fig. 187) dates around 800.[479] Yet one fibula of the violin-bow with flattened bow and also five of the arched type may be earlier.[480] On the temenos of Hera Limenia the earliest material dates *c.* 725 (*cf.* Fig. 185),[481] but the date and function of the so-called "Temple" are a matter of debate (p. 154, Fig. 190). In the extraurban sanctuary of Poseidon at **Isthmia** (Fig. 195) cult activities are attested from *c.* 1100 onwards, and there is even evidence for dining. As noted above, the hut or tent (Fig. 196) dates in the LG period.[482] Mycenaean presence is attested by LH I-IIIC pottery and some Φ and Ψ figurines which, however, are regarded as evidence from a small settlement in the area (p. 97).[483]

The situation at **Corinth** is rather confusing. The temple of Apollo on Temple Hill (Fig. 192) was presumably built *c.* 680 B.C. (Fig. 193). The pottery of the Geometric period alone may not indicate cult practices,[484] but fragments from a few bronze tripods which were found in the debris which belonged to the EA temple suggest that the sanctuary was active from LG times onwards (p. 156).[485] Nearby, in the area of the Sacred Spring (Fig. 192), PG, Geometric, EPC and later pottery, as well as architectural remains of EPC or slightly earlier date (LG) have been found.[486] More precisely, during the MG II period large pits were dug in the rock, and in the LG period a retaining wall was built (Fig. 192).[487] However, the religious character of the area in the Geometric period is highly uncertain.[488] Williams remarks that perhaps the spring "starts to be exploited for its sacred quality" from the beginning of the 7th c. but further on states that cult activities may have started "as early as the first half of the 8th c. B.C.".[489] In the suburban sanctuary of Demeter, on the slopes of the Acrocorinth LH IIIC architectural remains and pottery (doubtless "domestic"), a LH IIIC or SMyc cist grave (Grid M19) and a LPG or EG adult pit grave (Grid K14) have been excavated.[490] PG, EG and LG sherds have been found in the area, as well as two LG bronze pins, but there is a gap in the sequence during EPC and MPC.[491] According to Morgan, there was "continuous activity into the Early Iron Age" (i.e. from Mycenaean times) "in the area of the later sanctuary of Demeter and

[477] See for instance R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1976, 112, where a mid-8th c. date is not excluded.

[478] J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 159-204; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 85f. and n. 28 at p. 105; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 161f. *Contra* see N.G.L. Hammond, *BSA* 49 (1954) 94-102 and F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 33.

[479] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 277.

[480] *Ibid.*, 278.

[481] *Ibid.*, 277.

[482] E.R. Gebhard & F.P. Hemans, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 9-22, esp. 13f.

[483] C. Morgan, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 6-8.

[484] See C. Morgan, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 122-124 and n. 46.

[485] H.S. Robinson, *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 203-239, esp. 216f., pl. 56; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1972/73) 10; Morgan, *op.cit.*, 127.

[486] C.K. Williams II & J.E. Fisher, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 3; C.K. Williams II, *Pre-Roman Cults in the Area of the Forum of Ancient Corinth*, Ph.D. diss. Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor 1978, 3-9, 93; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1972/73) 12. See also B.H. Hill, *Corinth* I, 6, Princeton 1964, 116-199.

[487] K. Dickey, *Corinthian Burial Customs ca. 1100 to 550 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr 1992, 125f., with references.

[488] See C. Morgan, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 124.

[489] *Pre-Roman Cults in the Area of the Forum of Ancient Corinth*, Ph.D. diss. Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor 1978, 8 and 93, respectively.

[490] J.B. Rutter, "The Last Mycenaeans at Corinth", *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 348-392; K. Dickey, *Corinthian Burial Customs ca. 1100 to 550 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr 1992, 130; N. Bookides & J.E. Fisher, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 286-289; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1972/73) 11; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 195f.

[491] R.S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 300; N. Bookides & J.E. Fisher, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 288; N. Bookides, in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford, 1990, 87, n. 11.

Kore", though the nature of the early material is domestic.[492] Indeed, it seems probable that the beginning of cult activities dates to *c.* the middle of the 7th c.[493] Likewise, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Acrocorinth the date of the beginning of the cult is not clear. The acropolis was occupied at least from PG times onwards (there was also a LH IIIA "Φ" figurine and two LH IIIC pots). The Geometric sherds were more abundant but all this material may simply indicate normal domestic activities. The few figurines date in the Archaic and Hellenistic periods.[494]

At **Nemea**, the extraurban sanctuary of the city of Kleonai, the evidence is also ambiguous. Outside the SW corner of the later temple of Zeus, a massive wall of poros stones, supporting a superstructure of mud bricks was found. At first it was thought that this wall was destroyed in the late 8th or early 7th c.[495] but subsequently it was proven that it was built in the 7th c.[496] The earliest material from the area of the temple and the altar consists of a few sherds of the 8th and 7th c., while a bronze votive horse of the end of the 8th c. was discovered near the stadium (from a fill washed there).[497] C. Morgan suggests that the site was a settlement during the 8th c.[498] At **Solygeia** (Galataki) the votive deposit, which contained finds from *c.* 700 onwards, is usually associated with the "apsidal" temple excavated in the vicinity (Fig. 197), but I have suggested that the two areas were perhaps unrelated. The character of the votives suggests a chthonian cult, perhaps of Demeter,[499] though the excavator thought that Hera was a likely candidate (p. 65).

Two rural shrines have also been identified in the Corinthia. On **Mt. Phoukas** (Apesas) to the N of ancient Nemea, there was an ash altar of Zeus Apesantios, where several thousand Corinthian LG and 7th c. sherds were collected.[500] The material is mostly Archaic and Classical, but Hellenistic sherds were also present. A votive deposit from LG to late Classical times was also detected in the **Tretos** pass.[501]

ARGOLID

At **Mycenae**, cult activities were distributed both inside and around the acropolis (Fig. 199). The sanctuary (of Athena?) on the summit of the acropolis was apparently founded in the Geometric period, but the contemporary (or perhaps earlier?) architectural remains in the court in front of the Mycenaean megaron were presumably houses (p. 245, Fig. 200). The apsidal cult building of the Geometric period in the area of House of the Oil Merchant was perhaps associated with the cult of the dead (p. 67, Fig. 203b). Two superimposed round platforms on top of a chamber tomb, immediately to the S of Grave Circle B are usually explained as altars connected with the cult of heroes or ancestors during the LG/EO periods (p. 122, Fig. 199, no. 3). Further S, on the left bank of **Chaos stream** was the hero shrine of Agamemnon, founded in the LG period, but it is not clear whether the cult was addressed to the hero from the beginning (Fig. 205).[502] Lastly, at **Aspra Chomata**, 1 km N of the citadel, there was a sanctuary of Enyalios (=Ares), which was founded towards the end of the Geometric period. A built altar (2,70 X 2,21m) may date to this period. Among the ashes and the animal bones there were sherds of the end of the Geometric and the Archaic periods (there were no Mycenaean finds).[503]

[492] *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 112.
[493] N. Bookidis, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 47.
[494] C.K. Williams II, "Corinth and the Cult of Aphrodite", in *Corinthiaca. Studies in honour of Darrell A. Amyx*, ed. M. Del Chiaro, Columbia 1986, 12-24, 13, fig. 1.
[495] St.G. Miller, *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 82f., fig. 1 at p. 76.
[496] *Id.*, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 179-181. The width of the wall is 0,55m, the preserved height 0,64. The wall appears like a fortification or peribolos wall, but no final conclusion was reached.
[497] St.G. Miller, in *Neue Forschungen* (1976) 75, fig. 27; *id.*, *Nemea. A Guide to the Site and Museum*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1990, 51f. (horse); *id.*, *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 178, 180, pl. 31d (sherds); 48 (1979) 82 (sherds) and 59 (1982) pl. 9e, g, h (sherds).
[498] *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 215.
[499] C. Morgan, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 136-138, n. 76.
[500] M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 107; J. Wiseman, *The Land of the Ancient Corinthians*, Götteborg 1978 (*SIMA* 50) 106-108; J.C. Wright, *ΑΔ* 40 (1985) Χρον., 96.; *id. et al.*, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 647.
[501] S. Alcock, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 251.
[502] J.M. Cook, *BSA* 48 (1953) 30-68; *id.*, in *Γέρας Α. Κεραμόπουλλου*, Athens 1953, 112ff.; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 147-152.
[503] G.E. Mylonas, *ΠΑΕ* (1965) 95f.; (1966) 111-114; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 53.

Several sanctuaries and cult places have been excavated at **Argos**. The sanctuary on the acropolis of Larisa (Fig. 207, no. 1) was presumably dedicated to Athena.[504] The votive deposit contained basically LG sherds, though there are also a few PG and EG pieces. Coldstream mentions EG, MG II-LG II sherds.[505] Other categories of votives were also present, including a bronze horse figurine, rings and fibulae, a spearhead, etc. The sanctuary of Apollo was situated on the Aspis (Fig. 207, no. 2). LG pottery and other finds were found.[506] Inside the town, three possible shrines have been detected. The first in the Pilios property may have been a chthonian shrine of the LG period (p. 156, Fig. 207, no. 3). Two votive deposits in the NW of the town, at the foot of Larisa (Gounaris street, Fig. 207, no. 5) and Aspis (Michalopoulos plot, Fig. 207, no. 6), respectively, include material of the very end of the 8th c.[507] However, the major sanctuary of the Argives was the **Heraion**, situated at a considerable distance outside the city (Fig. 211). In the area of the Old Temple Terrace the earliest pottery is MG II-LG II,[508] though it seems that the earliest metal votives date to the first half of the 9th c. (p. 156).[509] The so-called Secondary shrine to the NW of the Old Terrace was apparently, also dedicated to Hera (i.e. graffito on a sherd naming the goddess), though possibly also connected with the cult at the neighbouring Mycenaean tombs. The earliest material here is Geometric (p. 158).

At **Tiryns** the cult of Hera appears to have been established around 750 B.C., at which time the old ruler's dwelling (T1) may have been converted into a temple (Phase T2) (p. 159, Fig. 218). The acropolis was doubtless a mass of ruins, but the Geometric settlement was presumably nucleated around it.

A cave was investigated at **Kephalari**, 8 km S of Argos, near the sources of Erasinos. The cave has been identified with the shrine of Dionysos and Pan mentioned by Pausanias (II, 24, 6). Human activities date back to the Neolithic period. The cave was also used during the Geometric and Classical periods (Geometric sherds and a LG fragment from a pyxis were found during the excavations).[510] At **Kourtaki**, 300m NE of the modern village, 8 km to the E of Argos, layers containing plenty of LG and Archaic pottery (mostly whole vases) and Archaic figurines (seated women, horsemen with shield and helmet, animals) were found. It has been suggested that this site could be identified with the sanctuary of Demeter Mysia mentioned by Pausanias (II, 18, 3).[511]

The extraurban peak sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas on the **Kynortion** hill, near the modern village of Palaia Epidauros was established upon a Mycenaean sanctuary. Cult activities in the Geometric period were centred around a stone built altar (Fig. 241).[512] Continuity of cult, however, seems unlikely, for there exists a long gap (*c.* 200 years) between the Mycenaean era and the 9th c.,

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[504] W. Vollgraph, *Mnemosyne* 56 (1928) 315-328; Y. Bequignon, *BCH* 54 (1930) 480; A. Roes, *BCH* 77 (1953) 90-104, pls. 24-28; P. Courbin, *BCH* 79 (1955) 314; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 140f.; I. Strøm, *ActaArch* 59 (1988) 199; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 11.

[505] *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 405.

[506] A. Roes, *BCH* 77 (1953) 104, pl. 29; W. Vollgraff, *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos*, Paris 1956 (*Études Peloponnésiennes* 1) 11; Foley, *Argolid* (1988) 140f.; I. Strøm, *ActaArch* 59 (1988) 199; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 11f.

[507] E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, *Οι τύμβοι του Άργους*, Ph.D. diss., Athens 1980, 191f.; *id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 39; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 13.

[508] J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 405. See also Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 277.

[509] I. Strøm, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1 (1995) 86. See however F. de Polignac, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 8, n. 15.

[510] R. Felsch, *AAA* 6 (1973) 20; J.L. Bintliff, *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece*, Oxford 1977 (*BAR* Suppl. 28) 324f.; R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I, Göteborg 1979 (*SIMA* 52) 46 (no. A12).

[511] A. Charitonidou, *ΑΔ* 22 (1967) Χρον., 178f.; J. Papachristodoulou, *ΑΔ* 23 (1968) Χρον., 131f.; E. Deilaki, *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 155f. (who first found the rich Geometric layer which contained numerous vases, mostly skyphoi and kraters and identified the divinity); Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 13.

[512] On the altar of the Geometric period see V. Lambrinoudakis, *ΠΑΕ* (1975) 173; (1976) 206f.; (1981) 157. For a summary of the evidence *id.*, *Μέντωρ* 1 (1988) 12-17, esp. 13. On the Mycenaean sanctuary see *id.*, "Remains of the Mycenaean Period in the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 59-64. See also B. Bergquist, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 21-34. For a reassessment of the nature of the Mycenaean sanctuary on Kynortion hill see J. Wright, "The Spatial Configuration of Belief", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 65-68.

when cult activities were resumed.[513] Another peak sanctuary, devoted to the cult of Zeus and Hera has been identified on **Mt. Arachnaion**, in which surface LG-Archaic sherds and traces of architectural remains have been noted.[514]

The case of **Asine** (Fig. 220) is exceptional in that cult activities, especially in connection with chthonian or ancestral cults, have been detected in an unusual number of plots excavated. The area around a pithos in the Karmaniola area, a few metres to the N of apsidal Building C was presumably the focus of a cult in the PG period (p. 70, Fig. 224). In the same area, a LG round platform above Building C (p. 70, Fig. 222) may be compared with the similar LG pavings from the Gogonas (p. 122, Fig. 232) and Kapsorachis (p. 71, Fig. 231) properties. Similar structures which were dubbed "Tomb-Altars" were also found in the area of the Lower Town, near 11th c. tombs (p. 122, Fig. 236). In addition to these pavings LG cult buildings have also been identified near the Gogonas property (p. 72) and in the Kapsorachis plot (apsidal Building S and small rectangular structures, p. 71, Fig. 231). The question therefore consists in understanding the character of these assemblages, especially since the space between the living and the dead was not clearly defined in EIA Asine. The only unquestionable public suburban[515] sanctuary was on the summit of Barbouna hill. Cult activities in the honour of Apollo Pythaeus are attested from the mid-8th c. onwards, at which period an apsidal (?) building was built (Building B). Temple A was presumably built a few decades afterwards (pp. 70, 162, Fig. 237). Barbouna was one of the two fortified hills of the settlement, though one suspects that the major concentration of houses would have been on the acropolis by the sea, the Kastraki.

The suburban sanctuary of Apollo at **Halieis** (Porto Cheli) was presumably established towards the end of the Geometric period, though it is not clear whether the first temple was built around 700 or during the 7th c. B.C. (p. 162, Fig. 244). Another site was recently identified approximately 1,3 km E of the village of **Koilada**, across the bay. The ruins visible on the surface, including an Archaic (?) terrace wall and fragments from Doric columns, and the character of the finds (mostly miniature cups of the Archaic period), constitute strong indications that the site should be identified with a sanctuary. Among the surface finds there were EH I (7%), MG/LG-SG (22%), SG-Archaic (55%), a few Classical-Hellenistic, and Late Roman (11%) sherds.[516] Nearby, towards the N, is the **Franchthi** cave. Geometric sherds were found in and around the entrance of the cave (also LH, Classical, Hellenistic).[517] In the Asclepieion just outside the city of **Troizen** the earliest pottery is Geometric (p. 246, Fig. 242). It has been claimed, though solid proof is lacking, that the first temple was built in the Geometric period.[518] The shrine and the later temple of Hyppolytos were located a few metres to the S.

POROS

In the extraurban sanctuary of Poseidon at **Kalaureia**, Geometric (MG?) pottery and small finds have been found.[519] LH IIIB pottery and jewels were also collected beneath the temple of Poseidon.[520] It is not clear whether this early material indicates cult activities, or perhaps the presence of a cemetery.

[513] V. Lambrinoudakis in *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 49 speaks of an "uninterrupted cult" from early Mycenaean times down to the 4th c. B.C., but he later notes that the earliest finds of the EIA belong to the middle of the 8th c. B.C. [9th c. in *id.*, *Μέντωρ* 1 (1988) 13].

[514] D. Rupp, *JFA* 3 (1976) 261-268; M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976) 107f.; Hägg, *Sanctuaries* (1992) 19.

[515] F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32.

[516] J.L. Bintliff, *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece*, Oxford 1977 (*BAR* Suppl. 28) site C17; M.H. Jameson, H. Van Andel & C.N. Runnels, *The Southern Argolid: A Greek Countryside from Prehistory to the Present*, Stanford 1994, 469, Site C17; S. Langdon, *Artifact and Assemblage. The Finds from a Regional Survey of the Southern Argolid* I: *The Prehistoric and Early Iron Age Pottery and Lithic Artifacts*, ed. C. Runnels, D.J. Pullen & S. Langdon, Stanford 1995, esp. pp. 264f. and 324.

[517] R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I, Göteborg 1979 (*SIMA* 52) 58 (no. A43).

[518] N. Faraklas, *Τροιζηνία, Καλαυρία, Μέθανα*, Athens 1972 (*Ancient Greek Cities* X) 39, plan 25.

[519] S. Wide & L. Kjellberg, *AM* 20 (1895) 270, 306-317. See also R.B. Schumacher, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 74-76 who claims that cult activities started in EG times.

[520] Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 82.

ACHAIA

The evidence from the alleged DA-Geometric sanctuary and temple of Artemis-Iphigeneia (?) on the acropolis of **Aigeira** is equivocal (Fig. 247). The only "votives" of the Geometric period were three feet of large kraters dated around 700 B.C. and a fragmentary bronze tripod (Fig. 251) of the 9th or early 8th c. B.C. (p. 164). At the rural sanctuary of Artemis and perhaps of Apollo at **Ano Mazaraki** (**Rakita**) there was an apsidal peripteral *hekatompedon*, dated around 700 B.C. (p. 72, Fig. 252). The rich votive deposit contained finds from the mid-8th c. onwards. Lastly, a stone-built altar was excavated next to the main gate of the LBA fortifications at **Teichos Dymaion**.[521] The excavator, based on the finds and the method of construction, dated the first phase of the altar in the Geometric period.[522] PG (?) and Geometric sherds belonging to miniature vases, especially kantharoi,[523] suggest an early date for the origins of the cult. The excavator even proposed that cult activities may have initiated during the Mycenaean period.[524] Among the divinities worshipped here during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, one could mention Aphrodite, Artemis, Enyalios and Aphetos (an epithet of Apollo?).

ELIS

Cult activities in the sanctuary of Zeus and Hera at **Olympia** are attested at least from the 10th c. B.C. and may have started even earlier, during the late Mycenaean period (p. 73, Fig. 254).[525] **Babes Makrysion** was a site occupied from the Geometric or EA period onwards. Geometric bronze figurines representing animals and birds have been reported, but the context of these finds is not clearly specified and the character of the site is unclear (settlement or sanctuary?).[526] A fragment from a bronze tripod and a bronze bull figurine were found at **Lachanida Makrysion**, but the context is unknown.[527] In the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at **Kombothekra** on Mt. Lapithos, there were several Geometric terracotta figurines, similar to those from Olympia, the earliest of which date in the 9th c.[528]

MESSENIA

An urban (?) sanctuary of the Geometric and Archaic periods was excavated on the E slopes of the Ramovouni ridge, at **Lakathela** (ancient Dorion?), 3 km NW of the village of Mila.[529] Geometric bronze and clay small finds (mostly bronze and terracotta figurines of men and animals) were found. The earliest material dates in the 9th c. The settlement was inhabited from the EH to the early LH IIIC period, when it was violently destroyed. In the EIA the excavated area was a

[521] E. Mastrokostas, *ΠΑΕ* (1963) 93-95; *Ἔργον* (1963) 188. See also *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 129f. and *id.*, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 111-113 and C. Morgan, "Ethnicity and Early Greek States: Historical and Material Perspectives", *ProcCambrPhilSoc* 37 (1991) 143.

[522] *ΠΑΕ* (1963) 94.

[523] E. Mastrokostas, *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 130; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 113.

[524] *Id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1963) 94f.

[525] For a detailed account see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, esp. 57-105; for a brief summary of the evidence see Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 99f. Important publications include F. Willemsen, *OlF* III, Berlin 1957 and M. Maas, *OlF* X, Berlin 1978 (bronze tripods); W.-D. Heilmeyer, *OlF* VII, Berlin 1972 (terracotta figurines); *id.*, *OlF* XII, Berlin 1979 (bronze figurines). See also M. Maas, "Frühe Weihgaben in Delphi und Olympia als Zeugnisse für die Geschichte der Heiligtümer", in *Delphes. Colloque de Strasbourg, 6-9 nov. 1991*, ed. J.-F. Bommelaer, Leiden 1992, 85-93.

[526] N. Yalouris, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 243; (1956) 191f. However, the pottery from the site dates from the 7th to the 3rd c. B.C.: on the relief pottery see A. Moustaka, in *Αρχαία Αχαΐα και Ήλεία*, ed. A.D. Rizakis (*Μελετήματα* 13) Athens 1991, 341-350. The remaining pottery has been published by F. Lang, *AM* 107 (1992) 43-105, but the author discusses also the Geometric bronzes in p. 102 and suggest that these indicate that there was either a settlement or sanctuary already at that time. See also Morgan, *op.cit.*, 246. A bronze figurine of a hare has also been reported to have been found at Babes Makrysion but cannot be linked with Yalouris' excavation: A. Choremis, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 148, pl. 147β. It seems that this is the site mentioned in a preliminary report: J.M. Cook & J. Boardman, *JHS* 74 (1954) 157; Morgan, *op.cit.*, 239.

[527] N. Yalouris, *ΑΔ* 20 (1965) Χρον., 210, pl. 233α; J.-L. Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique Grec*, Mainz, 1989, 63, n. 3, 100, n. 33 and 279, n. 59 (M. Maas, *OlF* X, Berlin 1978, no. 207m).

[528] U. Sinn, "Das Heiligtum der Artemis Limnatis bei Kombothekra", *AM* 96 (1981) 25-71. See also K. Müller, *AM* 33 (1908) 323-326.

[529] Th. Karageorgha, *ΑΔ* 26 (1971) Χρον., 130; 27 (1972) Χρον., 258-262; *id.*, *AE* (1972) 12-20.

communal religious and perhaps political centre. The round building which was excavated seems to date in the late (?) Archaic period (Geometric and EA finds were incorporated between the stones of the round building, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for its construction). In the sanctuary of the river-god Pamisos at **Ay. Floros** (Pausanias IV, 3, 10; *cf.* also IV, 31, 4), the votives basically date from the Late Archaic period onwards,[530] though two bovine figurines appear to date in the SG period.[531] A bronze male nude figurine which was found by chance near the village of **Militsa** (next to the ruins of a Byzantine church) may, according to G.A. Papathanasopoulos, indicate the presence of a sanctuary of the Geometric period.[532] From the area of Ithome (**Messene**) votive material has been reported from two areas: a fragmentary bronze tripod, was found in the sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas,[533] while in the deeper levels beneath the Asclepieion (between the later temple and the altar), substantial quantities of local pottery (fine and coarse wares) of the 9th and 8th c. were found. Themelis suggests that the sherds indicate habitation.[534] Moreover, an ithyphallic bronze male figurine of the beginning of the Geometric period in the site of Gortsa, near the village of Mavrommati.[535] No public sanctuary was discovered at **Nichoria**, but one should not forget that this function may have been fulfilled by the ruler's dwelling during the 10th and 9th c. B.C. (altar inside Unit IV-1, p. 74, Fig. 246), while a bronze quadruped of the first half of the 8th c. was found in Unit IV-5 (p. 79, Figs. 267, 272). The "PG" pottery which was reported from the sanctuary of Poseidon at **Akovitika** dates in the DA III phase of Messenia.[536] A mould fragment from the leg of a bronze tripod was also found there.[537] A LG bronze horse figurine has been reported from the same (?) site.[538] It seems that the cult originated towards the end of the 8th c.[539] Lastly **Artemisia** (Volimnos) has been identified with the border sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis, situated between Messenia and Laconia [Pausanias IV, 31, 3 and V, 4, 2; Strabo VIII, 4, 9 (362)]. Several PG (DA II), Geometric and later sherds (down to Hellenistic) were scattered in the area of the church of Panayia Volymniotissa.[540] It has been suggested, however, that in the PG-Geometric periods the site was a place of refuge and only later became a sanctuary.[541]

LACONIA

Excavations inside and in the immediate surroundings of **Sparta** have revealed a substantial number of EIA sanctuaries.[542] The sanctuary of Athena Poliouchos (later Chalkioikos) on the acropolis hill was presumably established during the MG period. LG pottery and architectural remains, as well as LH III pottery were also found (p. 246, Fig. 274, no. 1, Fig. 277). Nearby, to the E of the acropolis, a hero shrine (presumably of Astrabakos) was excavated; it yielded PG (?) and Geometric pottery and numerous later votives (mostly Archaic), including terracotta reliefs, a relief pithos and miniature vases (Fig. 274, no. 4).[543] In the immediate outskirts of Sparta two further sanctuaries have been investigated. The beginning of the cult in the sanctuary of **Artemis Orthia** is

[530] N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*, Lund 1938, 419-465.
[531] J.-L. Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique Grec*, Mainz, 1989, 114, n. 4.
[532] *AΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 181f.
[533] M. Maas, *OlF* X, Berlin 1978, 33, pl. 67; P.G. Themelis, *Καθημερινή*, Jan. 28, 1996, 26; Zimmermann, *op.cit.*, 122, n. 61, 361.
[534] P.G. Themelis, *ΠΑΕ* (1987) 79-90, fig. 12, pl. 68β; *Έργον* (1987) 101.
[535] *Id.*, *AΔ* 21 (1966) Χρον., 164; P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*, London 1979, 193.
[536] P.G. Themelis, *AAA* 2 (1969) 356f.; C. Morgan, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (193) 39, n. 18.
[537] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 36.
[538] *BCH* 83 (1959) 639f.; Ch. Leon, *AM* 83 (1968) 174, n. 2; there was also a SG figurine (*ibid.*, 173, n. 3).
[539] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 100.
[540] W.A. McDonald & R. Hope Simpson, *AJA* 65 (1961) 255, no. m; 73 (1969) 160, 168, 176; R. Hope Simpson, *BSA* 61 (1966) 121; Syriopoulos, *ΠΚ* (1995) 1257 (no. 90). See also W. Coulson, *The Dark Age Pottery of Messenia*, Göteborg 1986, 35-37, 89-93; N. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις* 3: *Μεσσηνιακά-Ηλιακά*, Athens 1979, 108, n. 1.
[541] *AJA* 65 (1961) 225. However, a fragment from a male (?) clay figurine in the Kalamata museum, perhaps dated in the Geometric period, was supposedly also found here.
[542] Concerning all the sites in and around Sparta: Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) 84-87; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 182f.
[543] A.J. Wace, *BSA* 12 (1905/06) 288-294, esp. 291f., 293; V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 283, 289f.; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 212-232, 407f. According to Coldstream 9th c. votives were also found: *GG* (1977) 329.

usually placed in the 8th "and perhaps not even very far into that century".[544] Yet fibulae of the violin-bow with twisted wire type, dated in the 12th c. were "frequent",[545] and according to Coldstream 9th c. material was also found (p. 166, Fig. 274, no. 2, Fig. 275).[546] The "**Achilleion**" is situated on the road leading towards Megalopolis, *c.* 800m to the N of the acropolis (Fig. 274, no. 3).[547] C. Stibbe studied the finds[548] and concluded that the earliest material dates in the LG period. The cult persisted down to Roman times. A few Mycenaean sherds were also recognised. The finds suggest a cult of a hero, and it has been suggested that this was the Achilleion mentioned by Pausanias (III, 20, 8).

All around Sparta more EIA sanctuaries have been identified. At **Aphyssou**, Tsakona, a site identified with the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus was partly excavated. A few LG or early 7th c. sherds and a bronze pin may indicate the date of establishment of the cult. There is no evidence that Building I, which on the plan seems to have been apsidal in its second building phase, was built so early.[549] The sanctuary of Menelaos and Helen at **Therapne** was active from the end of the Geometric period onwards.[550] In the sanctuary of Apollo and Hyakinthos at **Amyklai** (Ay. Kyriaki hill) cult activities date back to the LH IIIC period but there seems to have existed an hiatus during the DA.[551] The "PG" pottery, could be Geometric.[552] The earliest sure dedications belong to the 9th c.[553] Coldstream accepts a date around 900 or shortly before for the beginning of the cult.[554] On the other hand, Calligas suggested that the site was the seat of a patriarchal *oikos* in PG times.[555] Nearby, at **Sklavochori** (Ay. Paraskevi), there was a shrine of Alexandra-Kassandra and Agamemnon (Pausanias III, 19, 6) which yielded a rich votive deposit which included LG finds.[556]

To the W of the village of Kipoula (**Ano Poula**, near anc. **Hippola**, in Mani) surface sherds, dated from the LG or Orientalizing ("Geometric Laconian of the Oriental style") and later periods were found on the ridge (the area had been previously dug by peasants who claimed to have found many more). A.M. Woodward suggested "that we have good evidence of a sanctuary site" continuously used from the Geometric to the Hellenistic periods, which he identified with that of

[544] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 277.
[545] *Ibid.*, 278.
[546] *GG* (1977) 329.
[547] G. Dickins, *BSA* 13 (1906/7) 169-173, who, however, noted at the time that the pottery ranged from Orientalizing to Hellenistic (p. 173).
[548] "The Achilleion near Sparta: Some Unpublished Finds", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, in press. There were *c.* 4000 whole small vases and *c.* 8000 sherds. Lead and terracotta figurines and other metal votives were also found (including animal bones).
[549] H.W. Catling, "Zeus Messapeus near Sparta: An Interim Report", *Λακωνικαί Σπουδαί* 10 (1990) 276-289, esp. 282; *id.*, "A Sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus: Excavations at Aphyssou, Tsakona, 1989", *BSA* 85 (1990) 15-35, esp. 35.
[550] A.J.B. Wace, M.S. Thompson & J.P. Droop, *BSA* 15 (1908/09) 108-157 (finds 117-150); H. Catling, "New Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta", in *Neue Forschungen* (1976) 77-90; *id.*, *AR* (1976-77) 24-42; *id.*, "Sparta: A Mycenaean Palace and a Shrine to Menelaus and Helen", *Current Archaeology* 130 (1992) 429-431; *id.*, *Λακωνικαί Σπουδαί* 2 (1975) 258-269; 3 (1977) 408-415; 7 (1983) 23-31 and 10 (1986) 205-216; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 155-166
[551] Ch. Tsountas, *AE* (1892) 12, 14, pl. 4, nos. 1-2 (Geometric pottery), 12-15 (small finds); W. von Massow, *AM* 52 (1927) 34, 46-49, pl. III (PG finds), 39 (terracotta figurines), 49-53, pl. IV-XII (Geometric pottery); Ch. Christou, *ΠΑΕ* (1961) 178 (one Geometric sherd); (1962) 113; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, chapter 10; K. Demakopoulou, *Το μυκηναϊκό ιερό στο Αμυκλαίο και η ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ περίοδος στη Λακωνία*, Ph.D. diss., Athens 1982; M. Pettersson, *Cults of Apollo at Sparta*, Stockholm 1992, 8-41, 92-100; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 178-181. See also E. Georgoulaki, "Ο Απόλλων και ο Υάκινθος στο ιερό των Αμυκλών. Λατρεία, εικονογραφική απόδοση (13ος-6ος αιών π.Χ.). Αρχαιολογική τεκμηρίωση", *Λακωνικαί Σπουδαί* 11 (1992) 105-140.
[552] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 276.
[553] *Ibid.*, 277; Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 329.
[554] *GG* (1977) 329.
[555] "From the Amyklaion", in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, ed. J. Motyka Sanders, London 1992, 44f.
[556] Ch. Christou, *ΠΑΕ* (1956) 211f.; (1960) 228-231; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 181f. For further bibliography see P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*, London 1979, 325.

Athena Hippolaïtis, mentioned by Pausanias (III, 25, 9).[557] The sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleates (*cf.* the inscribed dedications, though, according to Pausanias, III, 22, 10, the **Hyperteleaton** would have been a sanctuary of Asclepios) is usually identified with the site called **Lakka tou Chasanaga**. The sanctuary may have been in use during the PG (?) or Geometric (?) period(s), and certainly during the Archaic and Classical periods.[558] At **Anthochorion**, a village *c.* 20 km S of Sparta, the sherds of the Geometric period preponderate among the material, which ranges from Mycenaean to Roman times. A few lead figurines, similar to those from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were also found.[559] The character of site is not clear. The excavator identified the area with a small settlement and noted that the lead figurines were found in the disturbed layers of a house but added that these, presumably, indicate the existence of a sanctuary in the vicinity, perhaps in the area of the church of Metamorphosis, which lies approximately in the centre of the low hill. Lastly, at **Sela**, at an altitude of +1110m on the E slopes of Taygetos Mt. sherds dating from PG to Hellenistic (?) times was noted, but the pottery of the Archaic period prevails. The character of the pottery is votive. The sanctuary was presumably by the ancient road which led to the summit of the mountain.[560]

ARCADIA

Numerous EIA sanctuaries have been excavated in Arcadia. In the rural sanctuary of Artemis at **Lousoi** numerous bronze Geometric votives were found.[561] It has been claimed that the cult in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Erykine on **Mt. Aphrodision** goes back to the beginning of the first millennium.[562] Yet, the material of the EIA is scant and consists of a few bronze jewels and a terracotta figurine of a centaur (the later could, however, be post-Geometric). At **Orchomenos** (modern Kalpakion), two sanctuaries have been investigated in the Lower Town. In the first, a deposit was found, which contained worn sherds, a few dating in the Geometric period (the majority, however, were from Corinthian aryballoi). In the area of the temple of Poseidon or Aphrodite (?), W of the church at Kalpakion, some of the bronze votives have been compared with those from Lousoi and therefore could date also in the LG period.[563] On the Klimax pass which led from Argos to Mantineia, mentioned by Pausanias (VIII, 6, 4), at the ridge of **Portes**, near Sangas village, sherds from miniature vases of the Geometric period were collected from a pit which had been opened by illegal diggers. R. Howell, suggests a rural sanctuary of Hermes in the borders of Arcadia and the Argolid.[564] On the hill of **Gortsouli** (ancient Ptolis) two sanctuaries were identified. The first was presumably dedicated to Artemis and was founded in the LG or SG period. The date of construction of the first temple is uncertain (p. 167, Fig. 281). The second sanctuary was located SE of the church, near the summit of the hill. A LG-Classical votive deposit (sherds and metal finds and a roof tile bearing the inscription IEPOI) was found there.[565] The Geometric and Archaic sherds which were found on the summit of the hill presumably denote habitation. The sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios (?) at **Petrovouni** may have been founded towards the end of the Geometric period but evidence is

[557] *BSA* 13 (1906/07) 244f. See also N. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις* 2: *Κορινθιακά-Λακωνικά*, Athens 1976, 447, n. 2 and H. Waterhouse & R. Hope Simpson, *BSA* 56 (1961) 123, map p. 124, fig. 7.

[558] Th. Sophoulis, *ΠΑΕ* (1885) 31ff.; J.J.E. Hondius *et al.*, *BSA* 24 (1919/21) 147f.; A. Delivorias, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 138f. (finds of the Archaic and Classical periods). For mention of PG-Geometric presence see P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*, London 1979, 327. For a summary Papachatzis, *op.cit.*, 447, 419, n. 1.

[559] Ch. Christou, *ΠΑΕ* (1962) 113-115; *id.*, *ΑΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 84f.

[560] G.A. Picoulas, "Το ιερό στη Σέλα Ταΰετου", *Λακωνικαί Σπουδαί* 11 (1992) 142-146; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 714.

[561] W. Reichel & A. Wilhelm, *ÖJh* 4 (1901) 1-89; E. Mastrokostas, *ΑΔ* 17 (1961/62) Χρον., 132 (bronze bracelet); U. Sinn, *Jahrbuch der Staatlischen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 11 (1980) 25-40; M. Voyatzis, *The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 35-37; *id.*, in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 278f. On the character of the cult: V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, *Kernos* 5 (1992) 97-108.

[562] Ch. Kardara, *Αφροδίτη Ερυκινή. Ιερόν και Μαντείον εις την ΒΔ Αρκαδίαν*, Athens 1988, 112-116.

[563] G. Blum & A. Plassart, *BCH* 38 (1914) 81-88, esp. 81 and 84, n. 2; Voyatzis, *Tegea* (*op.cit.*) 32f.; *id.*, in *Klados* (*op.cit.*) 278.

[564] *BSA* 65 (1970) 87 (Site no. 14g).

[565] Th. Karageorgha, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 89; *id.*, *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1992/93) Παράρτημα, 10; *id.*, *AAA* 22 (1989) 117-121.

meagre since it relies on a single bronze group.[566] The construction of the two apsidal cult buildings at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at **Tegea** (p. 80, Fig. 279, Temples I and II) has been tentatively placed in the second half of the 8th c. B.C. The origins of the cult, however, may ascend deep into the DA, during the PG and perhaps SMyc periods.[567] The sacred function of the two successive flimsy structures seems undeniable, but it is not clear whether the sanctuary was situated in the midst of a settlement or at a certain distance from it. In later times the sanctuary was situated near the fortification wall but it has not been determined whether it was located immediately inside or outside the walls.[568] The distance from the Agora of the Classical town was *c.* one km towards the SW, so it would seem logical to assume that this was originally a "suburban" sanctuary, attached to the nine demes which according to the literary tradition were synoecized and formed the city of Tegea.[569] The date of the synoecism cannot be fixed with accuracy, though scholars are in agreement that it could not have take place before the end of the 7th c. B.C., something which would accord well with the date of construction of the first monumental temple of Athena Alea.[570] The rural sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis at **Mavriki** was founded towards the end of the 8th c. B.C. In the deeper levels beneath the temple of the divinity, Geometric pottery and several small bronze objects of the same period were found.[571] In the sanctuary of Asclepios at **Gortys** the earliest material is LG or SG; a stone foundation could represent either a temple or temenos wall (p. 246). The cult in the sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios (?) at **Kretea** was perhaps also established in the LG period, as suggested by the Geometric sherds and the other small finds.[572] At **Alipheira**, the earliest material at the sanctuary of Athena belongs to the end of the 8th c.[573] The sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at **Bassai** cult activities were resumed in the open air from *c.* 700 onwards.[574] Finally, the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses (Demeter and Kore?) at ancient Bathos (Pausanias VIII, 29, 1) was presumably situated between the villages of **Mavria** and Kyparissia. Numerous (though mostly post-Geometric) votive offerings, including terracotta and bronze figurines, were found.[575]

KYNOURIA

At **Kosmas**, on the summit of Prophetes Elias the extraurban (?) sanctuary of Apollo Maleates, perhaps dependent of the *kome* of Glyppia, was partly excavated. Numerous metal votives were found, including spear and arrowheads, daggers and double axes. The cult begins in the 8th c. but the period of flowering dates in the Archaic and Classical periods.[576] At **Tyros**, on the summit of

[566] F. Hiller von Gaertringen & H. Lattermann, *Arkadische Forschungen*, Berlin 1911, 24-32, 41, pl. XIII; M. Voyatzis, *The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 45f., pl. 65; *id.*, in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 280f.

[567] E. Østby *et al.*, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 89-141; *id.*, in *Archaeology in the Peloponnese*, ed. K. Sheedy, Oxford 1994, 54-63. According to Snodgrass [*DAG* (1971) 277], if the PG style from Tegea derives from the Laconian school, it need not date before 800. However, the bulk of the material dates from the late MG period onwards. One Mycenaean female figurine was also found: M. Voyatzis, *OpAth* 20 (1994) 134, fig. 43.

[568] See M. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea*, Göteborg 1990, 12f., fig. 3.

[569] Voyatzis, *op.cit.*, 10f.; Strabo 8, 3, 2; Pausanias VIII, 45, 1. On the other hand, according to F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32, the sanctuary was situated "au coeur d'une agglomération".

[570] Voyatzis, *op.cit.*, 11f.; on the date of the first monumental temple see E. Østby, "The Archaic Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea", *OpAth* 16 (1986) 75-102.

[571] K. Rhomaios, *ΠΑΕ* (1907) 120f.; *id.*, *AE* (1952) 26f.; Ch. Foard Dengate, *The Sanctuaries of Apollo in the Peloponnese*, Ph.D. diss., Chicago 1988, 107; Voyatzis, *op.cit.*, 28-30; *id.*, in *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. Ch. Morris, *BICS* Suppl. 63 (1995) 277.

[572] K. Kourouniotes, *ΠΑΕ* (1903) 51f.; *id.*, *AE* (1910) 29-36, esp. 32; Voyatzis, *Tegea* (*op.cit.*) 43f.; *id.*, in *Klados* (*op.cit.*) 279. Doubts about the identification of the divinity by M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d' Arcadie*, Paris 1985, 185f.

[573] A. Orlandos, *Η αρκαδική Αλίφειρα*, Athens 1967/68, 99f., 105f., fig. 64:1-6; Foard Dengate, *op.cit.*, 108; Ch. Kardara, *Αφροδίτη Ερυκινή*, Athens 1988, 115; Voyatzis, *Tegea* (*op.cit.*) 37; *id.*, in *Klados* (*op.cit.*) 280.

[574] N. Yalouris, "Problems Relating to the Temple of Apollo at Bassai", in *Greece and Italy in Classical Archaeology*, ed. J.N. Coldstream & M.A.R. Colledge, London 1979, 91-94; Voyatzis, *Tegea* (*op.cit.*) 37-43, esp. 39, 43; *id.*, in *Klados* (*op.cit.*) 279f.

[575] A.G. Bather & V.W. Yorke, *JHS* 13 (1892/93) 227-231, where no votives of the Geometric period are explicitly mentioned; Jost, *op.cit.*, 170.

[576] J. Wace & F.W. Hasluck, *BSA* 15 (1908) 165; Ch. Christou, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 87; P.B. Faklaris, *Η αρχαία Κυνουρία: Ανθρώπινη δραστηριότητα και περιβάλλον*, Athens 1990, 178-183.

Prophetes Elias (+564m) the suburban sanctuary of Apollo Tyrita yielded pottery and small finds of the 8th c. B.C. Cult activities were intensified during the 7th-5th c. (the majority of the votives date in the Archaic period) and declined during the 4th c. The ancient city of Tyros was presumably situated nearby, at the Kastro hill.[577] Lastly, I could mention the **Sintzas** cave, on the slopes of Mt. Aetorachi where most of the pottery dates in the Mycenaean period (LH IIB-LH IIIC). SMyc sherds, as well as fragmentary vases dated in the PG, Geometric and Archaic through Old Christian periods were also found. Faklaris suggests that the cave was used throughout as a refuge site of the inhabitants of Prasiai.[578]

THE CYCLADES

KEA

The cult in portions of the temple at **Ay. Irini** on Kea (p. 170, Fig. 284) continued also during the LH IIIC, PG and Geometric periods. It seems that the settlement was ultimately deserted in the end of the LH IIIC period (the period of decline follows however the LH IIIA1 earthquake) and not re-inhabited.[579] Therefore, the sanctuary, which was dedicated in the historical era to Dionysos, would have been from PG times onwards a dependency of some nearby settlement, presumably of the neighbouring city of Koresia. On the slopes of the acropolis of **Karthaia**, in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo, surface sherds of the Geometric period have been collected, while some traces of walls have been tentatively assigned to the same period (p. 247).

KYTHNOS

A PG sherd, decorated with concentric circles, was collected in the area of the Middle Plateau of the ancient city of **Kythnos** (mod. Vryokastro), inside the later sanctuary, which was presumably dedicated to Aphrodite and the Samothracian Gods. However, this isolated find does not imply that the sanctuary was established so early. On the other hand, LG surface sherds were found in the sanctuary on the summit of the acropolis, which was presumably a Thesmophorion. The early sherds are few but they were mingled with the later material from a votive deposit, which includes numerous finds from EA to Roman times.[580]

SIPHNOS

The cult in the sanctuary of Artemis Ekbateria (?) on the acropolis of the **Kastro** is usually thought to have originated towards the end of the 8th c., though the earliest items from the votive deposit date in the 9th c. B.C. (p. 255, Fig. 289).[581] As for the rectangular building on the summit of the acropolis of **Ay. Andreas** it is not yet possible to prove if it was an EIA temple (p. 171, Fig. 294).

ANDROS

The earliest sherds from the sanctuary of the female (?) divinity on the acropolis at **Hypsile** date in the beginning of the 8th c. B.C. The associated walls (p. 176, Fig. 297), tentatively interpreted as the remains of the earlier temple, seem to belong to the second half of the century. If this date is confirmed, the temple would have been built shortly before the settlement's contraction and decline.[582] In case it proves to date in the early part of the 8th c. B.C., Hypsile should be classified

[577] K. Rhomaios, *ΠΑΕ* (1911) 254-276; Faklaris, *op.cit.*, 173-178.

[578] Faklaris, *op.cit.*, 159-169.

[579] For traces of habitation of LH IIIC date at the site see J.L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 379f.

[580] A. Mazarakis Ainian, *Έργον* (1995) 59-61; *id.*, in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου: Κέα-Κύθνος: Ιστορικές και Αρχαιολογικές Έρευνες*, ed. L. Mendoni & A. Mazarakis Ainian (*Μελετήματα*), in press; *id.*, *Β' Κυκλαδολογικό Συνέδριο, Θήρα 31 Αυγ. - 3 Σεπτ. 1995*, forthcoming. See also *id.*, *AE* (1993) 219-253 and *id.*, in *Le Cicladi ed il Mondo Egeo, Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi, Roma 19-21 Novembre 1992*, Roma 1995, 105-133. The earliest material from the surface cleaning of a temple-like building on the summit of the acropolis is LG. but this does not necessarily imply that it was built during this period. The excavation which has been scheduled for 1997 will perhaps settle this issue.

[581] J.K. Brock, *BSA* 44 (1949) 5; N. Kourou, in *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου "Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων", Φιλώτι 3-6 Σεπτ. 1992*, ed. J. Promponas & S. Psaras, Athens 1994, 272f.

[582] C. Televantou, *Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993) 192, n. 14.

among those exceptional settlements in which there had existed an "urban" temple earlier than the mid-8th c. B.C. The hypaethral sanctuary of Athena at **Zagora** was apparently founded in the last quarter of the 8th c. and initially consisted of an altar and a retaining-peribolos wall (p. 174, Figs. 299, 308-309).

TENOS

The complex just outside the EA fortification wall at **Xobourgo** was either a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros (?) or perhaps a set of chthonian shrines associated with burials (p. 177, Fig. 311). PG, SPG and MG-LG pottery has been reported from the site, but it has not been published yet.[583]

DELOS[584]

The sanctuary appears to have developed in the outskirts of an insignificant settlement (*cf.* similar case at Delphi) which was founded at the earliest well into the PG period, or, more likely, in the late 9th c. B.C.[585] It is also worth noting that the Mycenaean settlement which underlies the EIA sanctuary was presumably abandoned during the LH IIIB period.[586] By the LG period the sanctuary acquired some fame which attracted visitors from all over the Greek World.[587] With the exception perhaps of Temple Γ, which could be quite early (first temple of Apollo of the 8th c.? See p. 179, Fig. 313), the remaining temples, i.e. the Pre-oikos of the Naxians (p. 180, Fig. 314), the temple of Artemis (p. 181, Fig. 317) and the small chapel of Hera on Mt. Kynthos (p. 182, Fig. 319) were built around 700 B.C. or slightly later. The claim that we witness here (especially in the area of the Artemision) a case of cult continuity from the LBA cannot be upheld on the present evidence.

PAROS

In the city of **Paros** (modern Paroikia), Geometric sherds have been found in the area of the suburban (?) sanctuary of Apollo Pythios (?) and further up the same hill, in the area of the presumed location of the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros. The Asclepieion was located on a lower terrace, immediately to the N of the sanctuary of Apollo.[588] In the **Delion** suburban sanctuary of Artemis (and perhaps of Apollo) the earliest material dates in the MG-LG period. An altar hewn in the rock and perhaps a cult building of the 8th c. were the earliest structures inside the temenos (p. 247, Fig. 328). At **Koukounaries** (Fig. 320) three cult areas have been identified. The first, near the summit of the acropolis, is a cave in which cult activities are attested from *c.* 950 B.C. onwards (p. 83, n. 405, Fig. 320).[589] On the acropolis, a clay phallus in a MG hearth possibly indicates a household cult (p. 107).[590] The sanctuary of Athena was situated on the south slope of acropolis (p. 185, Fig. 324). The

[583] N. Kontoleon, *ΠΑΕ* (1953) 258ff.; W. Ekschmitt, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen* II, Mainz 1986, 45f. More PG sherds were found during the 1995 survey (N. Kourou, Athens, public lecture, April 2, 1996).

[584] *BCH* (1880) 30f.; F. Poulsen & Ch. Dugas, *BCH* 35 (1911) 352-359; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, 212-215. For a recent summary of the evidence see N. Kourou, in *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου "Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων", Φιλώτι 3-6 Σεπτ. 1992*, ed. J. Promponas & S. Psaras, Athens 1994, 268-271. Continuity of cult is unlikely: see A. Farnoux, "Délos à l'époque mycénienne", in *Proceedings of the International Conference "Wace and Blegen. Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age", ASCS Athens 1989*, ed. C. Zerner *et al.*, Amsterdam 1993, 271-274; *id.*, *DossAParis* 195 (1994) 113-117; concerning new excavations of the Mycenaean levels see *id.*, *BCH* 115 (1991) 722-725; 116 (1992) 729-732; Polignac classifies the sanctuary of Apollo as "suburban": *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32.

[585] C. Rolley, in *Greek Renaissance* (1986) 111 and n. 23; Gallet de Santerre, *op.cit.*, esp. 212-218 & 275-283; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 62, 64; Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 148-150.

[586] Rolley, *op.cit.* The few LH IIIC sherds recovered are not enough to prove the existence of a settled community during the 12th c. B.C. See Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 148f. who however accepts "that the island was still inhabited in the LH IIIC period".

[587] For a summary see Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 148-150. However, there is no evidence that the sanctuary was the seat of an Ionian confederacy of the Cycladic islands already by the LG period (*ibid.* 152): see W.D.E. Coulson, *AJA* 94 (1990) 350 (review of Fagerström's book).

[588] M. Schuller, *AA* (1982) 245f.; D. Berranger, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Paros a l'époque archaïque*, Clermont-Ferrand 1992, esp. 90f., 102f. For earlier excavations see O. Rubensohn, *AM* 27 (1902) 189-238.

[589] D. Schilardi, *JFA* 2 (1975) 82; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 289; I. Morris, *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 751, 753.

[590] D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1978) 203f.; *id.*, in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 175, 177.

earliest material from the deeper levels in the temenos dates in the late LH IIIC and PG periods. It has been suggested that the cult may have originated in the end of the LBA.[591] Across the same bay lies the small island of **Oikonomos**. The apsidal building in the centre of the settlement may have been a temple of the end of the Geometric or EA period (pp. 83, 239, Fig. 327).

NAXOS

In the island of Naxos, excavations have revealed three sites which possessed early cult buildings. In two of these (**Naxos town** and Tsikalario), shrines for the cult of the dead have been identified. At Grotta, from LPG times onwards, one observes cult practices in the honour of the dead inside partly roofed (?) buildings (p. 188, Fig. 330, areas 1a and 3).[592] In the area of the LH IIIC fortifications (Mitropolis Sq.) the earlier family cults acquired at the end of the 8th c. B.C. a public character. As the recent excavations tend to prove, it seems that during the DA the area of the LBA town served exclusively for burials, while the inhabitants would have moved on the acropolis. It is not yet clear at which moment the old site was resettled, though one assumes the process would have been completed by the end of the LG period. The earliest material in the sanctuary of Apollo at Palatia, the peninsula at the NW edge of the town, dates in the Geometric period (Fig. 329).[593] Another sanctuary of a female divinity (Artemis?), located at Kaminaki, a summit by the shore relatively close to Grotta and Mitropolis Sq., and to the NE of the necropolis at Aplomata, was presumably also established in the Geometric period.[594] The sanctuary of Dionysos at **Iria** was situated three km S of the city of Naxos (p. 189). The cult could have begun in the late Mycenaean period and may have continued without a break through the DA.[595] The first two temples were built *c.* 800 and 730 B.C., respectively (Figs. 335, 336). In the sanctuary of Apollo and Demeter at **Gyroulas** near Sangri, Geometric sherds were associated with three deep pits dug in the rock (p. 247). Lastly, from MG times onwards widespread religious ceremonies connected with the cult of the dead were performed inside roofed buildings in the necropolis of **Tsikalario**. The settlement or settlements to which this extensive cemetery belongs has (or have) not been detected yet. Some structures appear to have served similar functions as the ones at Grotta (Fig. 339);[596] Building A on the other hand appears to have been a temple in which a chthonian divinity would have been worshipped (Fig. 340). The function of Unit B is not quite understood, though it may have served to accommodate the participants in the periodical rites (Fig. 342). The necropolis was occasionally used in the Archaic period, during which the above mentioned buildings may have been still in use (p. 191, Fig. 338).

DONOUSA

Two "pyres" of *c.* 800 B.C. were excavated in the midst of the MG settlement at **Vathy Limenari**, but their purpose is not clear (p. 194, Fig. 343, between Buildings X1 and X3).

AMORGOS

In the Lower Town of **Minoa** an extensive ash deposit next to flimsy architectural remains points towards the existence of a sanctuary in use from the PG or SPG period onwards (p. 247, Fig. 351). The alleged apsidal (?) temple cannot be dated, while the rectangular building immediately to the W (Walls 1-3) has been vaguely dated in the Geometric period (p. 247). The cult activities in the sanctuary of Dionysos Minoitis on the summit of the acropolis started in the SPG period but the cult building appears to have been constructed around 700 B.C. (p. 195, Fig. 349).

[591] D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1986) 190-194.
[592] For a summary see V. Lambrinoudakis, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 235-246.
[593] E. Buschor, *AM* 54 (1929) 152ff., figs. 6-7, Beil. 53-4; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 172; Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *Νάξος*, Athens 1988, 14; N. Kourou, in *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου "Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων", Φιλώτι 3-6 Σεπτ. 1992*, ed. J. Promponas & S. Psaras, Athens 1994, 265.
[594] Zapheiropoulou, *op.cit.*, 12; Kourou, *op.cit.*, 266.
[595] V. Lambrinoudakis, *AE* (1992) 215.
[596] Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 24f., plan 4:1-2.

THERA

In the ancient city of **Thera**, in the area near the later temple of Apollo Karneios, several graffiti on rock outcroppings have been found, one of which mentions Zeus. The earliest inscriptions may date to the end of the 8th or the early 7th c. B.C.[597]

THE EAST GREEK ISLANDS

SAMOTHRACE

In the sanctuary of the Great Gods an *eschara* for sacrifices and pottery comparable to that from Troy VIII (type G 2-3), of the end of the 8th and the beginning of 7th c. were found.[598]

LEMNOS

At **Hephaistia**, in the sanctuary of a non-Greek fire god, later identified by the Greek settlers with Hephaistos (p. 197, Fig. 352), the earliest pottery belongs to the second half of the 8th c.[599] The first Telesterion at the **Kabeirion** was apparently constructed *c.* 700 B.C. (p. 197, Fig. 353, Table VIIIA:7).

LESBOS

The oval building of *c.* 700 B.C., at the Epano Skala quarter at **Mytilene** may have been a temple of Cybele and/or Apollo, but since no characteristic votive offerings were associated with this structure the identification remains uncertain (p. 89, Fig. 355a). Nearby, in a sanctuary of Apollo Maloeis (?) a bothros containing votives of the 10th c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D. was excavated; nearby an apsidal or oval building (a house?), dated in the SPG period came to light (p. 97). Aphrodite was presumably worshipped in the area of the Orphanage where PG and Geometric sherds have been found.[600] Buildings III and IV at **Antissa** are sometimes regarded as temples, though it is more likely that they were dwellings of members of the élite (pp. 84, 91, Fig. 358). On the acropolis of **Pyrrha**, an oval or apsidal cult building, dated perhaps in the Geometric period, may have been a temple of Apollo, though Artemis is a candidate as well. The earliest pottery at the site is PG (p. 92, Fig. 367).

CHIOS

At **Emporio**, the cult in the sanctuary by the harbour (Hera? Artemis?) begins in the 9th c., while that in the sanctuary of Athena on Prophetes Elias (p. 198, Figs. 368, 371) follows later, in the 8th c. In both areas, the first temple was built in the 6th c., shortly after the shift of the community from the slopes of Prophetes Elias down to the harbour.[601] Walls α-γ in the sanctuary by the harbour may date around 690 B.C. (p. 198, Fig. 382). In the extraurban sanctuary of Apollo at **Phanai** (modern Phana or Kato Phana), MG-LG pottery and small finds were found, as well as a terrace or peribolos wall (p. 248, Fig. 383).

SAMOS

The proportion of the PG pottery in the **Heraion** is very small when compared with the later material. The Geometric pottery is MG-LG.[602] The first temple of Hera was presumably built around 700 B.C. (p. 199, Fig. 384). The question whether the site was already a sanctuary in the Mycenaean period remains an enigma.

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[597] L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, ed. A. Johnston, Oxford 1990², 318f.; B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 129-131.

[598] K. Lehmann, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 34-37; Ph.W. Lehmann, in *Samothrace* 5. *The Temenos*, Princeton 1982, 267-269.

[599] A. di Vita, *ASAtene* 55 (1977) 345f.

[600] The EIA sherds are mentioned by R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 54. For the earlier excavations in the same sanctuary on 8th November and Skra streets see A. Archontidou, *ΑΔ* 42 (1987) Χρον., 477-479 and 43 (1988) Χρον., pl. 271 (finds dated from the Archaic period onwards).

[601] J. Boardman, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 17, 65ff. concerning the chronology of the Archaic temples and p. 61f. on the date of the earliest votives in the harbour sanctuary.

[602] W. Technau, *AM* (1929) 6-64, esp. 9-18; V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 216, 323; H. Walter, *Samos* V, Bonn 1968, 11-13 (PG pottery), 14-46 (Geometric pottery); Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 277.

KALYMNOS

Three inscribed sherds were presumably found in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at **Kalymnos** (presumably LG or early 7th c.).[603] Some Geometric sherds were found in the **Vathy** cave, but the majority dates in the LBA.[604]

KOS

The cave at **Aspri Petra** near the city of Astypalaia, at the Kamares bay was dedicated to the cult of Pan and the Nymphs. PG (?) or 9th c.,[605] and Geometric pottery (mostly whole vases)[606] was found, as well as some Mycenaean sherds. The earliest pottery dates in the Neolithic period, the latest in the Roman period. In the fringes of the **Asclepieion** a group of Mycenaean weapons, as well as vases and sherds of the Geometric period were found. It is believed that the group of whole vases, as well as a bronze fibula, came from a tomb, but this assumption cannot be confirmed.[607]

RHODES

Athena received worship in three urban sanctuaries on the island. LG pottery has been recovered from her sanctuary on the acropolis of **Lindos**.[608] A PG building appears to have been a house (p. 251, Fig. 392), while it is difficult, if not dubious, to associate the early material (i.e. PG-MG pottery) with cult activities.[609] Geometric pottery was also found in the goddess's sanctuary on the acropolis of **Kameiros**.[610] According to Coldstream, 10th votives were perhaps included among the finds.[611] The third sanctuary of Athena was on the summit of the acropolis of **Ialysos**, where the earliest pottery dates around the middle of the 8th c. There were also a few bronze human figurines, hundreds of bronze and iron fibulae, pendants, scarabs and seals, etc.[612]

ASIA MINOR

LH IIIC or SMyc, and PG sherds have been found on the acropolis of **Troy**, in the area of a possible Archaic temple. However, these sherds may simply indicate that the area was still inhabited in the PG period. The cult in the Upper and Lower sanctuaries seems to have started around 700 B.C. It is not clear whether the 28 round platforms discovered nearby (Fig. 393) were connected with some ancestral cult (Hägg) or with the sanctuary (Antonaccio) (p. 123). In the urban sanctuary of Athena at **Phocaea** MG and LG pottery has been found.[613] On the acropolis of **Erythrai**, in the sanctuary of Athena, there appears to have been a LG architectural phase. LG pottery has also been found (p. 248, Fig. 394).[614] In the sanctuary of Athena at **Old Smyrna** the cult initiated towards the end of the 8th c.

[603] M. Segre, *ASAtene* 22/23 (1944/45) 217f., nos. 245-247, pls. 125-126; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 417; L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, ed. A. Johnston, Oxford 1990², 154, 353f.; B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 132.

[604] A. Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos* 1 (1928) 110-117; R. Hope Simpson & J.F. Lazenby, *BSA* 57 (1962) fig. 5:17; M. Benzi, in *Wace and Blegen. Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. C. Zerner *et al.*, Amsterdam 1993, 275.

[605] V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 225, 324 expresses doubts that the few sherds are PG. See also J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 270, n. 1, 287, 381, 417; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 211.

[606] D. Levi, *ASAtene* 8/9 (1925/26) 235-312, esp. 261, 267-277; G.E. Bean & J.M. Cook, *BSA* 52 (1957) 121-123; Desborough, *op.cit.*, 225, 324; Coldstream, *op.cit.*, 270, n. 1, 287, 381, 417.

[607] L. Morricone, *BdA* 35 (1950) 326f.; *id.*, *ASAtene* 50/51 (1972/73) 253-261.

[608] C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I, Berlin 1931, 231-242, pls. 33-39; Coldstream, *op.cit.*, chapter 12.

[609] Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 277.

[610] G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* 6/7 (1932/33/41) 360-365, figs. 100, 103-105.

[611] *GG* (1977) 329.

[612] M. Martelli, "La stipa votiva dell'Athenaion di Jalysos: Un primo bilancio", in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, ed. S. Dietz, Copenhagen 1988, 104-120, esp. 105; A. Di Vita, in *The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 B.C.*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Larnaca 1989, 89-92.

[613] E. Akurgal, *Anatolia* 1 (1956) 3-11. LG pottery was found in two areas (Trenches A and H). The excavator assumes that the latter area was the sanctuary of Athena (*ibid.*, 5).

[614] *Id.*, *Erythrai*, Izmir 1979, 5.

B.C. and the first temple was built around 690 B.C. (p. 203, Fig. 395, no. 1, Fig. 398). At **Klaros**, in the extraurban sanctuary of Apollo of the Colophonians, 10th-8th c. material was encountered in mixed deposits beneath the earliest occupation levels of the 7th c.[615] The first temple of Artemis at **Ephesos** (p. 205, Fig. 424) dates in the mid-8th c. B.C. This was a "suburban" sanctuary, though very little is known about the extent and exact location of the contemporary settlement, which, however, seems to have been centred around the later Agora.[616] The sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios on Mt. Mykale (Otomatik Tepe), serving the federal Ionian states (**Panionion**), was presumably familiar to Homer (Il. XX, 403-405),[617] but the origins of the cult are still obscure.[618] In the sanctuary of Athena in **Miletos** (Fig. 415, no. 5) a round platform was an altar or a structure connected with ancestral cult (p. 122, Fig. 416). Votives of the 9th c. were included among the finds.[619] In the area S of the Hellenistic fortification wall (Fig. 415, no. 2) two terracotta horses (Fig. 421) were found in Building B (Fig. 419), suggesting perhaps a household cult (p. 109). At **Didyma**, the extraurban sanctuary of Apollo of the city of Miletos, LG and/or SG architectural remains have been found, as well as pottery and small finds (p. 248, Fig. 427).[620] Cult activities may extend back to Minoan-Mycenaean times.[621] The earliest pottery in the sanctuary of Artemis, situated *c.* 200m to the NW, also dates around 700 B.C.[622] A votive deposit containing Geometric and Archaic terracotta figurines of horsemen, hoplites and animals has been reported from **Halikarnassos**, in the area of the village of Müsgebi.[623] Lastly, near the village of Kalin Agil at Mylasa (today Milas) in the area of **Beçin**, there was a sanctuary of the Carian god Sinuri in which sherds belonging to a local workshop imitating East Greek LG were found.[624]

CRETE

On the summit of the third "acropolis" of **Praisos** (Prophetes Elias, known also as "Altar Hill", Fig. 430, no. 2) there was a sanctuary of an unidentified as yet divinity. During the early excavations considerable amounts of Geometric pottery were found, as well as terracotta figurines (human male and female, as well as bulls and lions) and metal weapons and armour of metal (both of normal size and miniature).[625] PG and Geometric pottery was collected from this spot during the 1993 survey directed by J. Whitley.[626] At **Siteia** a votive dump, containing mostly terracotta figurines of the 7th c., but also some of the Geometric period, was found. The cult was addressed towards a female divinity of fertility (I suspect Demeter, since kotyliskoi belonging to kernoi are mentioned).[627] On the knoll above the settlement at **Kastellopoulo** (Pefki) there was a cult area centred around two pithoi; one would have contained burnt matter and animal bones, the other clay animal and human figurines. These are regarded as evidence for an open-air altar sanctuary of the LM IIIC period.[628] The settlement on the slopes of the same hill appears to have been still inhabited during the PG period but

[615] S. Mitchell, *AR* (1989/90) 99f.

[616] See for instance M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 95 (1991) 145f.; 97 (1993) 127. See also F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 32.

[617] H.T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, Cambridge 1952, 3-6.

[618] W. Müller-Wiener *et al.*, *Panionion und Melie*, *JdI* Ergänzungsheft 23 (1967) 6-77. See also J.M. Cook, *AR* (1959/60) 47f.; J.M. Cook & D.J. Blackman, *AR* (1964/65) 49f.

[619] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 329. The sanctuary overlies ruins of the Mycenaean period, but the area at that time was not reserved for cult practices: see A. von Gerkan, *Milet* I, 8, Berlin 1925, 73-77.

[620] R. Naumann & K. Tuchelt, *IM* 13/14 (1963/64) 24, 43, pls. 8:1-3, 9:1-2.

[621] Th. G. Schattner, *AA* (1992) 369-372.

[622] K. Tuchelt *et al.*, *IM* 30 (1980) 99ff.; 34 (1984) 193ff.; *id.*, *RA* (1991) 90; *id.*, *Branchidai-Didyma*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, 24-38, fig. 42.

[623] M.J. Mellink, *AJA* 71 (1967) 163; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 206; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 268, 296, 421.

[624] P. Devambez & E. Haspels, *Le sanctuaire de Sinouri près de Mylasa* II, Paris 1945, 15-17, pl. 22:1-22; Coldstream, *op.cit.*, 296, 377, 421.

[625] R.C. Bosanquet, *BSA* 8 (1901/02) 254-259; E.S. Forster, in *ibid.*, 272-280, pl. VII.

[626] A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 812. In general concerning the 1992 season see J. Whitley *et al.*, *BSA* 90 (1995) 405-428, and new topographical plan fig. 2 on p. 410.

[627] N. Papadakis, *AAA* 13 (1980) 61-67.

[628] K. Nowicki, "A Dark Age Refuge Centre Near Pefki, East Crete", *BSA* 89 (1994) 249-252, esp. 252.

the surface pottery from the summit is exclusively LM IIIC.[629] However, if there was a sanctuary here, one is entitled to imagine that it was abandoned at the same moment as the settlement to which it was closely associated, though not necessarily. The ruler's dwelling (A-B) at **Vronda** may have served for certain religious ceremonies; nearby a public shrine (G) was found. Yet, the site had been largerly abandoned by the late LM IIIC or early SMin period (p. 208, Fig. 434). In the **Kastro** settlement near Kavousi (Fig. 432) a stone cupule offering table was found in Room 1. Household shrines appear to have existed in various houses while a few votives were scattered in various areas of the settlement (p. 210, Fig. 438). Nearby, at Plaï tou Kastrou, there was a shrine which yielded animal figurines (p. 212).[630] The shrine of Eileithyia at **Pachlitsani Agriada**, near Kavousi, received visitors from the PG period onwards (p. 212, Fig. 433). The cult building was presumably constructed at that time. This was a rural shrine, presumably related the settlements of the surroundings, including Kastro. The rectangular building at **Vrokastro** (Karakovilia) dates in the first half of the 8th c. and since it is situated inside the cemetery it must have been devoted to the cult of the dead or to that of a chthonian divinity (p. 214, Fig. 442). In the Upper Settlement domestic shrines existed in various houses, including the ruler's house. The majority of the votives date in the PG and Geometric periods (p. 213, Fig. 445). At **Vasiliki** in Area 53 of the Minoan villa, on the rocky summit of Kephali, a few female (?) terracotta figurines were found, as well as a clay horse figurine from the foot of the rocky spur. They presumably date in the PG or Geometric period. In the same area there was a paving of slabs. The summit was continuously used from EM II to PG times.[631]

The peak sanctuary at **Thylakas**, in the Mirabello area, was visited from the Minoan period to the 3rd c. B.C., though it was particularly active during the Geometric and Archaic periods. The small shrine building is undated (p. 215, Fig. 451). Likewise, the date of construction of the temple of Aphrodite at Sta Lenika, near **Olous** is uncertain, but it cannot be excluded that it may date before the mid-8th c. B.C. (p. 215, Fig. 452). The sanctuary was situated on the border line between the territories of Olous and Lato; in late antiquity, as inscriptions attest, it was a dependency of Lato,[632] and this may have been so also in the EIA. A settlement seems to have developed gradually around the sanctuary, especially in the later history of the site.[633] SMin and PG (?) tombs have been excavated in the surroundings.[634] Thus, despite certain uncertainties, the sanctuary should be regarded as "extraurban". The temple of Apollo at **Dreros** was built in the LG period (p. 216, Fig. 453). At **Vrachasion (Anavlochos)** a votive deposit from an undetected sanctuary (?) of the Geometric and Archaic periods was excavated. The finds included numerous terracotta figurines, mostly female.[635] However, M. Tsipopoulou mentions that the material probably comes from tombs.[636] Another deposit at **Kremasma,** near Seïsi, contained numerous SMin and PG sherds and figurines, some of which were quite large. A wall was found to the W of the deposit.[637] The "Temple" at **Karphi** (p. 218, Fig. 463) was the public sanctuary of the community (LM IIIC-SMin, and perhaps extending into PG). There is also evidence for numerous household shrines (p. 342, Fig. 461). Continuity of cult appears an established fact in the cave at **Psychro** (so-called **Dictaean cave**).[638] Two PG vases,[639] Geometric votive material,[640] including bronze male and female statuettes, animal figurines of bronze and terracotta, jewels and weapons (the last undated) came from the cave.[641] According to Coldstream the

[629] *Ibid.*, 253-255.
[630] H. Boyd, *AJA* 5 (1901) 141-143 and fig. 7; Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 59.
[631] A. Zois, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 219f.; (1975) 384f.
[632] H. Van Effenterre, *REA* 44 (1942) 31-51, esp. 33; *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 21 (1969) 7-48.
[633] J. Bousquet, *BCH* 62 (1938) 387.
[634] Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 151f., 214.
[635] P. Demargne, 55 (1931) 365-412, esp. 379ff. See also G. Karo, *AA* (1930) 162f.; Y. Bequignon, *BCH* 59 (1929) 528; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) 1003.
[636] *Ειλαπινή. Τόμος τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Ν. Πλάτωνα*, Herakleion 1987, 254.
[637] Y. Bequignon, *BCH* 53 (1929) 529; S. Alexiou, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 17 (1963) 405; C. Davaras, *ΑΔ* 19 (1964) Χρον., 442.
[638] In general about the cave see J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford*, Oxford 1961 (pp. 2f. concerning the problems of identification); P. Faure, *La fonction des cavernes crétoises*, Paris 1964, 151-159; E.L. Tyree, *Cretan Sacred Caves*, Ph.D. diss. Columbia, Ann Arbor 1974, 116-146.
[639] Boardman, *op.cit.*, 56f., nos. 239-240; V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 255.
[640] Boardman, *op.cit.*, 1-75.
[641] Tyree, *op.cit.*, 126-128, 132f.

cave was certainly used for cult purposes in the 11th c.[642] The identity of the divinity worshipped is uncertain (Zeus or a female divinity and a male consort?).

The earliest pottery from the sanctuary of Athena (?) at **Afrati (Arkades)** belongs to the PG B period. Several rooms clustered together were built during the Geometric period and the oikos with the benches followed in the 7th c. (p. 224, Fig. 474). In the rural sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at **Kato Syme** (Fig. 468) we witness uninterrupted cult from the MM II period to the late Roman era (3rd c. A.D.). Buildings Q, L and J date in the LM IIIC, SMin/PG and LG/EO periods, respectively (p. 222, Fig. 469). The main bulk of the votives in the **Tsoutsouros** (Inatos) cave dates in the PG and Geometric periods, but the cult may go back to the LM III period. Some clay animal and several female figurines (mostly parturient, kourotrophoi or in a birthgiving position women, as well as embracing couples), clay and bronze double axes, jewels, seals and even terracotta boat models, all presumably of the Geometric period, have been reported from the cave. The divinity worshipped may have been Eileithyia Inatia.[643]

It has been claimed that in the cave of **Phaneromene** at Avdou cult activities were continuous from LM I to the 7th c. Among the finds of the Geometric period one could mention a few bronze male figurines and vases.[644] The **Spiliaridia** cave in the same district was presumably also a shrine in use from the LBA to the "historic" era. Among the finds terracotta and bronze animal and human figurines and jewels have been noted.[645] Some of the figurines presumably date in the SMin or EPG period, while Daedalic plaques were also identified.[646] Nearby, there was an EIA settlement.[647] At **Kalo Chorio Periados**, on top of a MM I hypaethral shrine, architectural remains of the PG and Geometric periods were found.[648] The first impression that the site of **Smari** was a peak sanctuary was later abandoned, but comparative evidence from other sites suggests that ritual dinners may have been also held in Building A (p. 220, Fig. 470). The **Skoteino** cave was presumably continuously used from the LM III (perhaps even from MM I) through the Geometric periods (numerous Geometric sherds, fewer PG and Orientalizing and ashes). There follows a gap in the material during the Archaic-Hellenistic period and cult activities are resumed in the 1st and 2nd c. B.C. The divinity worshipped may have been Britomartis, who was worshipped at the neighbouring town of Chersonassos, or some other female divinity.[649] The cult at the sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas at **Amnisos** was perhaps established towards the end of the 9th c. B.C., over the ruins of the Minoan period.[650] Building E-F was initially dated in the in the PG period; the front wall of an earlier edifice of the new-palatial period (D) was incorporated in the new structure (the function of the Minoan edifice remains unknown).[651] More recently, however, it was redated in the LM III period, and the remodelling in the Hellenistic period.[652] Schäfer has argued against the view that there was continuity of cult from Minoan times to the EIA.[653] In the black layer of ashes from the area of the hypaethral altar, the earliest material is PG, but the first votives date in the 9th c. These include bronze objects

[642] *GG*, 329.

[643] S. Alexiou, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 313; P. Faure, *La fonction des cavernes crétoises*, Paris 1964, 90-94; Tyree, *op.cit.*, 116-146; Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 85f.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 221. Gesell, *Minoan House Cult* (1973) 187 also reports a possible Geometric snake tube from the cave.

[644] S. Marinatos, *AA* (1937) 222f.; Faure, *op.cit.*, 160; Tyree, *op.cit.*, 116-146; Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 71.

[645] *BCH* 46 (1922) 522 (la rédaction).

[646] Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 71.

[647] *BCH* 46 (1922) 522.

[648] N. Platon, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 1 (1947) 639; 5 (1951) 98-102; 12 (1958) 214; Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 285, 372.

[649] S. Alexiou, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) Χρον., 312; Faure, *op.cit.*, 162-166; Tyree, *op.cit.*, 116-146; Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 68; P. Faure, in *Ειλαπινή. Τόμος τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Ν. Πλάτωνα*, Herakleion 1987, 341-345.

[650] S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1933) 94-100; (1934) 128-133; (1935) 196-203; *id.*, *AA* (1934) 246-248; (1935) 245f. (PG sherds are also mentioned); E. Stikas & S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1936) 81ff.; (1938) 130ff.; V. Stürmer, "Αμνισός (1983-1987)", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 28/29 (1988/89) 52-57, esp. 55; J. Schäfer, "Amnisos 1984-1988: Das Problem der Kultkontinität im Falle des Heiligtums des Zeus Thenatas", in *Transizione* (1991) 349-358; *id. et al.*, *Amnisos*, Berlin 1992, esp. 182ff., 228ff., 244ff. See also V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 250, 324f.; A. Vasilakis, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 28/29 (1988/89) 113.

[651] V. Stürmer, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 28/29 (1988/89) 54, 5, fig. 4 at p. 28.

[652] J. Schäfer, in *Transizione* (1991) 353.

[653] *Ibid.*, 357f.

from Cyprus, two bronze Cretan figurines and a few local sherds.[654] The bulk of the votive material, however, is LG and Orientalizing. Continuity of cult has been claimed by Marinatos for the nearby cave-sanctuary of Eileithyia, where, however, Desborough recognised only one PG sherd.[655] More recently, E. Tyree has identified a few Geometric sherds among the material from Marinatos' excavation.[656]

At **Knossos**, the cult in the Spring Chamber (p. 223) was established in the LM IIIC period and extended into the SMin period (11th c. B.C.). In the suburban sanctuary of Demeter[657] the sherds, terracotta figurines (including wheel-made bulls), pins and fibulae date from LG onwards. The clay and bronze beads were PG and Geometric. There were also Minoan objects (domestic), perhaps intrusions or heirlooms[658] and also some PG sherds mingled with the later finds.[659] The Hero shrine of Glaukos (?) received visitors from the Late Archaic through the later Hellenistic periods. At a deeper level there were remains of a LG or, more probably, Orientalizing house. No evidence was retrieved in order to suggest that this building served religious purposes (p. 223, Fig. 473).

The cave of **Stravomyti** is situated on the SW slopes of **Mt. Jouktas**, at an altitude of +400m. Nearby, there was a settlement of the Geometric period, sometimes identified with Homeric Lykastos (Il., II, 647). The cave was used in the Subneolithic/EM I and MM III/LM I periods, but it seems that cult activities started in the LM III period. The majority of the sherds date to the Geometric and Orientalizing periods. Inside the cave there was a built altar or offering table, and a sacrificial knife, dated in the 8th c. The divinity worshipped appears to have been female, but there exists no consensus about the name: candidates are Diktynna or a local Artemis (Evans), Eileithyia (Marinatos), or a divinity of underground waters (Faure).[660] Near the cave, at the site of **Vitsiles**, between the heights of Koryphi and Prophetes Elias, there was a shrine, in use during the MM period. Nearby, a rock shelter, known as "tou Diakou to kelli", was excavated at the base of the Koryphi peak, and yielded MM, LM and PG sherds. Marinatos identified the site with Homeric Lykastos (*cf.* above).[661] In the **Trapeza** cave (**Tylisos**), cult activities were held from the MM III/LM I to the SMin periods.[662]

Uninterrupted cult activities from the LM IIIC through the Geometric periods are attested beneath Temple A at **Prinias** (p. 224, Fig. 477).[663] The monumental temple of Athena/Astarte, on the acropolis of **Gortyna**, was presumably built towards the close of the Geometric period (p. 226, Figs. 478-479a). Human and animal terracotta figurines were also found on the N slopes of the hill of **Vourvoulitis**, a site situated not far and to the NE of Gortyna. The site was a sanctuary in use from the SMin and PG periods (and perhaps even earlier) down to the Orientalizing era, but subsequently was abandoned. A roughly square edifice (p. 227, Fig. 479b), tentatively dated by the director of the field survey in the 7th c., on analogy with its similarities to the temple on the acropolis of Gortyna, may have been a temple.[664] However, until the questions of chronology of the building are resolved by excavations one should not exclude that it may belong to the Geometric period. The sanctuary was presumably attached to a small settlement located at Charkia Pervoli, some 500m to the W and on the slopes of the same hill. Since the settlement and sanctuary were occupied for the same period of time, it has been suggested that their abandonment was due to the synoecism of Gortyna.[665] The peak

[654] J. Schäfer *et al.*, *Amnisos*, Berlin 1992, 228-230, 233, 235-239, esp. 244f. & 353f.

[655] *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 252f.; P. Faure, *La fonction des cavernes crétoises*, Paris 1964, 82-90. On the excavations of the cave see S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1929) 94ff.; (1930) 91ff. See also Schäfer *et al.*, *op.cit.*, 84f., 88, 352.

[656] *Cretan Sacred Caves: Archaeological Evidence*, Ph.D. diss. Columbia, Ann Arbor 1974, 124.

[657] J.N. Coldstream, *Knossos. The Sanctuary of Demeter*, *BSA* Suppl. vol. 8 (1973).

[658] *Ibid.*, 114ff.

[659] *Ibid.*, 180.

[660] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* II, London 1928, 68-71; S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1949) 108f.; (1950) 248-257; Faure, *op.cit.*, 173-175; Tyree, *Cretan Sacred Caves* (*op.cit.*) 116-146; Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 34.

[661] S. Marinatos, *ΠΑΕ* (1955) 309; Faure, *op.cit.*, 174.

[662] L. Banti, *ASAtene* 19/21 (1941/43) 9-74; Faure, *op.cit.*, 177.

[663] V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, 259; Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 14f.; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 217. The identity of the divinity is uncertain but Artemis is a likely candidate: I. Beyer, *Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias A*, Freiburg 1976, 38.

[664] G.F. La Torre, *ASAtene* 66/67 (1988/89) 290-298, Site VII; A. Di Vita, *ASAtene* 63 (1985) 366.

[665] La Torre, *op.cit.*, 290, figs. 11-13, 297f., pl. II, Site V.

sanctuary at **Kophinas** was in use from the MM IIB/IIIA period to the beginning of the 7th c. B.C. There was plenty of LM IIIC pottery, and smaller quantities of the SMin and PG periods. Cult activities were intensified during the LG period.[666] No public sanctuary of the Geometric period has been securely identified at **Phaistos**; some bronzes in the area of the temple of Leto (?) may belong still to the 8th c. but the temple was built towards the end of the 7th.;[667] the date and function of the building that lies on the hill of Ay. Georgios (Phalandra) are uncertain (p. 229, Fig. 483). One should not forget, however, that some rooms of Building AA and its dependencies, which was a house complex, in use throughout the 9th and 8th c. B.C., may have been used occasionally as household shrines (p. 228, Fig. 482). At **Ay. Triada**, the Geometric votive deposit in the area of the sanctuary ("Piazza dei Sacelli"), included pottery and figurines.[668] Temple A at **Kommos** (Fig. 487) was erected in the SMin period (1020-970 B.C.) and in the beginning of the 8th c. B.C. it was replaced by Temple B (Fig. 488; phase 1 extends into the late 8th c.). The status of the EIA sanctuary of Kommos is not clear yet. The Geometric and Archaic buildings unearthed in the immediate vicinity (Buildings Z, Q, V and F, Fig. 485) do not appear to have belonged to a settlement but most likely were auxiliary edifices of the sanctuary. It would not be unreasonable to assume that Kommos was a dependency of Phaistos, or perhaps of some other site(s) as well (p. 230).[669]

The sanctuary of Zeus at the **Ideaean cave** represents perhaps one of the clearest cases in which continuity of cult from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age is beyond doubt, as the large quantities and the variety of votive offerings of all kinds testify.[670] A possible sanctuary, in use from the LM IIIC through the Geometric periods is currently explored at **Sybrita** (p. 249, Fig. 493). Not far away is the well-known **Patsos** shrine (Ay. Antonios). Situated at an altitude of +490m, this rock shelter was dedicated in Roman times to the cult of Hermes Kranaios, the main divinity of the neighbouring town of Sybrita. The material belongs to the LM I, LM IIIB-C, PG, Geometric, Archaic and Roman periods. Among the finds of the EIA one could mention clay and bronze male and female figurines (SMin-LG), clay and bronze zoomorphic figurines (SMin-LG) and a painted plaque (PG).[671] Lastly, the sanctuary of Artemis at **Aptera** was perhaps established in the LG period (p. 249).

SOUTH ITALY-SICILY AND CARTHAGE

According to Thucydides an altar for Apollo Archegetes was raised on the foundation of **Naxos**, the earliest Chalcidian colony in Sicily (734 B.C.), "outside the modern town" (=Thucydides VI, 3), but the spot has not been securely identified yet.[672] Early colonial rectangular houses have also been excavated.[673] **Syracuse** was founded by Corinthians one year after Naxos (733 B.C.). In the Athenaion sanctuary on Ortygia, Corinthian LG and Early PC sherds were found.[674] Traces of early

[666] A. Karetsou & G. Rethemiotakis, *Κρητικὴ Εστία* 4 (1991/93) 289-292; A. Pariente, *BCH* 118 (1994) 821f.

[667] N. Cucuzza, *Quaderni ... Universita di Messina* 8 (1993) 21, quoting V. La Rosa.

[668] D. Levi, *ASAtene* 11/12 (1927/29) 620f.; L. Banti, *ASAtene* 19/21 (1941/43) 9-74, esp. 52-69.

[669] This is perhaps supported by the fact that the 2nd c. B.C. destruction of the sanctuary might be connected with that of Phaistos by Gortyna: see M. Ervin-Caskey, *AJA* 85 (1981) 462. However, it should not be excluded that a small community developed near the sanctuary: J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 283.

[670] J. Sakellarakis, *Kernos* 1 (1988) 207-214; *id.*, *AE* (1987) 239-263; *id.*, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 28/29 (1988/89) 22-27 and *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1983) onwards. See also Faure, *op.cit.*, 99-131 and Tyree, *op.cit.*, 116-146.

[671] Faure, *op.cit.*, 136-138; Tyree, *op.cit.*, 116-146; Kanta, *LM III Crete* (1980) 204f.; N. Kourou & A. Karetsou, *Sybrita. La Valle di Amari fra Bronzo e Ferro* I, ed. L. Rocchetti, ed., Roma 1994, 81-164.

[672] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 233f. On the location of the sanctuary see P. Pelagatti, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 303; and also *AR* (1976/77) 68f.; R.A. Wilson, *AR* (1981/82) 92; (1987/88) 121, and P. Pelagatti, in *La céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIIIe siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* III, Naples 1982, 141-163, concerning early pottery.

[673] On the topography of Naxos see P. Pelagatti, *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 291-311; P. Pelagatti & G. Vosa, *Kokalos* 22/23 (1976/77) 551-586. See also see also G.V. Gentili, *BdA* 41 (1956) 326-332, esp. 331; P. Pelagatti, *BdA* 49 (1964) 149-164; 57 (1972) 211-219, esp. 218f.

[674] P. Orsi, *Monumenti antichi ... dei Lincei* 25 (1918) 353-754, esp. 540-554, figs. 122, 127-129, 133, 140; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 322-325, 428; *id.*, *GG* (1977) 234; T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948, 50f.; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London 1980[3], 172. See also P. Pelagatti, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 117 and *id.*, in, *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* III, Naples 1982, 125-140 on early pottery from Ortygia and the area of the Ionic temple.

colonial rectangular houses were excavated nearby and in the area of the Ionic temple.[675] At **Gela**, in the area of the sanctuaries on the acropolis (including that of Hera), LG, EPC and Rhodian imports were found.[676] A pyxis of Cretan type comes from the native sanctuary of **Bitalemi**, but the origins of the cult there date to the late 7th c.[677] At **Zankle**, which was founded by Cumae shortly after Naxos, LG and EPC pottery was found in an area which appears to have been a sanctuary,[678] while at **Megara Hyblaia** (founded 724/23 B.C.) the earliest votive deposits start from *c.* 700 B.C.[679]

At **Metapontum**, at Chiesa del Sansone, in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios some votive terracotta figurines may date around 700 B.C.[680] LG pottery was also found in the sanctuary of Demeter at **Heraclea** (Policoro hill).[681] Finally, in the sanctuary of Athena at **Francavilla Marittima**, near Sybaris the earliest phase belongs to the late 8th-early 7th c. B.C. This was an Oenotorian site which was progressively hellenized after the foundation of Sybaris in *c.* 720 B.C.[682]

In the Tanit sanctuary at Salammbô at **Carthage** substantial quantities of 8th c. Greek vases (mostly Euboean and Corinthian) were found. These, however, may not indicate that Greeks were visiting the sanctuary, since they may have been brought there by the Phoenicians.[683]

This brief review of the evidence from sanctuaries leads to the following remarks. In several sites, the cult appears to have originated in the LBA. The question whether there is continuity in cult from the LBA to the EIA in sanctuaries is a complex and, at the least, equivocal issue which cannot be treated here.[684] I simply note that continuity is well established at several Cretan sanctuaries, such as Kato Syme, Prinias, Kophinas, the so-called Dictaean (Psychro) and the Idaean caves, or the rock shelter at Patsos, and presumably the caves of Tsoutsouros, Phaneromene, Spiliaridia, Skoteino and Stravomyte, and less likely at Amnisos. Cult continuity appears also established in certain Cycladic (Ay. Irini on Kea), mainland (Philia, Kalapodi) and East Greek (Ephesos) sites. In other places, the nature of the LBA activities is more obscure (Aetos, Delphi, the Athenian acropolis, the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia in the Peiraeus, Prasies, Eleusis, Teichos Dymaion, Olympia, Tegea, Koukounaries, Iria, Delos, Samos] or simply has nothing to do with cult practices (Isthmia, Argive Heraion, Asine, Grotta, Kommos, sanctuary of Athena at Miletos, etc.). At many places, unbroken continuity from one era to another appears highly unlikely: at Epidauros there was no early temple,

[675] G. Vosa, *Kokalos* 22/23 (1976/77) 551f.

[676] P. Orlandini, *NSc* (1962) 340-408, esp. 405-407, figs. 88-89; G. Fiorentini, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 55-64, 65; E. De Miro, in *ibid.*, 76f.; J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, 323, 326, 427.

[677] Coldstream, *op.cit.*, 375, 427. Fiorentini, *op.cit.*, 70 concerning the date of the beginning of cult activities.

[678] G. Vallet, *Rhégion et Zankle*, Paris 1958, 140, pl. 7; Coldstream, *op.cit.*, 323, 325, 42; *id.*, *GG* (1977) 237; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London 1980[3], 171.

[679] Boardman, *op.cit.*, 176.

[680] P.C. Sestieri, *NSc* (1940) 94f., fig. 34; A.W. Van Buren, *AJA* 37 (1941) 471f., figs. 20, 21:4; Boardman, *op.cit.*, 180. On the foundation of the colony in general see Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 235.

[681] D. Adamesteanu, *ASAtene* 60 (1982)301-303.

[682] P.G. Guzzo, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 245f.; M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *BABesch* 68 (1993) 1-47; R.A. Tomlinson, *AR* (1994/95) 93; Boardman, *op.cit.*, 179.

[683] Boardman, *op.cit.*, 211; M.E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West*, Cambridge 1993, 193-196, fig. 38.

[684] In general on (dis-) continuity between LBA and EIA cult practices see B.C. Dietrich, "Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Cult Continuity", *Acta classica* 11 (1968) 153-169; *id.*, "Some Evidence of Religious Continuity in the Greek Dark Ages", *BICS* 17 (1970) 16-31 and 162f.; *id.*, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin & New York 1974, 191-289; *id.*, "The Dorian Hyacinthia: A survival from the Bronze Age", *Kadmos* 14 (1975) 133-142; *id.*, "Evidence of Minoan Religious Traditions and their Survival in the Mycenaean and Greek World", *Historia* 31 (1982) 1-12; R.V. Nicholls, "Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity, *c.* 1200-700 B.C.", in *Auckland Classical Essays presented to E.M. Blaiklock*, ed. B.F. Harris, Auckland & Oxford 1970, 1-38; P. Lévêque, "Continuités et innovations dans la religion grecque de la première moitié du Ier millénaire", *PP* 28 (1973) 23-50; C. Rolley, *Les trépieds à cuve clouée*, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 131-146; *id.*, "Rupture et continuité dans les âges obscurs. Y avait-il des sanctuaires mycéniens?", *REG* 90 (1977) pp. xxvi-xxix; *id.*, "Les grands sanctuaires panhelléniques", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 109-114; D. Levi, "Caratteri e continuità del culto cretese sulle vette montane", *PP* 33 (1978) 294-313; C. Le Roy, "Mémoire et tradition: réflexions sur la continuité", in *Aux origines de l'hellénisme. Hommage à Henri Van Effenterre*, Paris 1984, 163-172; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, 47-53; C.M. Antonaccio, "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 86-90. On the possible connections between the cult of Hera and LBA religion see J.V. O'Brien, *The Transformation of Hera*, Lanham 1993.

just an altar, and there is a long hiatus in the use of the site between the Mycenaean and Geometric periods; a similar gap in the sequence between the Bronze Age and the EIA can be observed in the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia in the Peiraeus, at the caves of Phyle on Mt. Parnes and of Aspri Petra on Kos, in Marmaria at Delphi, even if one assumes that the sanctuary of the LBA was located here, which seems unlikely,[685] and also in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo. In the other places which fall into the same category no cult buildings of either period have been securely identified (for instance at the Athenian Acropolis, Aphaia on Aigina and Amyklai). At Philia, on the other hand, there may have been a cult building in the LBA, but no such edifice of the EIA has been unearthed.

In conclusion, continuity of some sort seems to be the emerging pattern, even if an hiatus, shorter or longer, intercalates between the LBA and the EIA in the majority of the cases: preservation of memory of a sacred spot, or even the recollection that a spot was once inhabited, would often dictate the choice of the site, though we must concede that the founders of sanctuaries in the EIA may not have been always aware of the earlier human activity, in which case the choice of the site would have been a matter of pure coincidence; for instance, the Dorians may not have retained the memory of all the sanctuaries which had existed before their arrival. In Crete, on the other hand, the continuity appears to have been more conscious than on the mainland. In general, religious beliefs and cult practices evolved, new divinities were introduced, older ones were either assimilated to new ones or fell in oblivion. Yet, the transition does not appear to have produced sudden and radical effects on the religious behaviour of the EIA communities. The changes, and these were indeed considerable, would have been gradually introduced over a period of *c.* 300-400 years, between *c.* the 12th and the 9th c. B.C., but at some point the earlier religion became practically obsolete.

The most popular divinities of the EIA were Apollo (almost 40 possible cases), Athena (especially in central Greece, the East Greek islands and Asia Minor) and Artemis (almost 30 cases for each). Other favoured divinities were Zeus (more than a dozen instances, often located on mountain tops and the majority lacking architectural remains), Demeter (*c.* 15 instances, though several are conjectural or uncertain), Hera (*c.* 10), Aphrodite (*c.* 9) and Poseidon (*c.* 7, usually near the coast -with the exception of his possible early sanctuaries in Arcadia- and those mentioned in Homer). Dionysos was well-liked in the Cyclades (3 sanctuaries) and in cave sites (2, and *cf.* also the proximity of Building K at Minoa to a similar cave opening, p. 196), the cult of Hermes is practically confined to Crete (2 rural sanctuaries; *cf.* also the conjectural border shrine at Portes in Arcadia), Asclepios in the Peloponnese (4 possible sanctuaries) and perhaps on Kos (1). The Kabeiroi were worshipped at Samothrace and Lemnos, which were semi-hellenized, and near Thebes where, curiously, their cult seems to predate that in the two former sanctuaries. The cult of Hephaistos is confined to semi-hellenized Lemnos. Eileithyia appears exclusively in rural or cave shrines in Crete (4). The Nymphs and/or Pan were worshipped exclusively in cave sites, such as at Aphytis, Polis (Ithaca), Korykeion, Pani, Phyle, Kephalari and Kos, but curiously their cult does not appear to have been popular in Crete, where caves were often used as shrines.[686] Pre-hellenic divinities were worshipped in various sites and were often assimilated with gods of the Olympian pantheon, such as Aphaia on Aigina, Hyakinthos at Amyklai or Alea at Tegea. In these places, as a rule, the EIA sanctuary occupied a cult place of the LBA. Iphigeneia was assossiated with Artemis (Aulis, Brauron, Loutsa and ?Aigeira). The same stands for certain Eastern divinities, such as Astarte, assimilated with Aphrodite at Eretria and with Athena in Gortyna. Equally important with the cults of Olympian divinities were those addressed towards the dead or heroes from the epic or mythic cycles. Herakles may have been worshipped at Hymettos and Zagora, Pelops at Olympia, Menelaos and Helen, Achilles and Alexandra/Kassandra at Sparta, Agamemnon at Mycenae (and presumably also near Sparta), Odysseus at Ithaca, Phrontis at Sounion. In general, in a large number of cases it would seem

[685] See S. Müller, *BCH* 116 (1992) 475-488. The terracotta figurines from the sanctuary of Apollo are few and it cannot be sustained that there existed a public sanctuary there. On the other hand, the rich deposit from Marmaria could have originally been contained in tombs or could indicate the existence of a sanctuary nearby.

[686] In addition to the caves enumerated here, five or six additional Cretan caves may have been used for religious purposes in the EIA. Caves served also as burial grounds in Crete during the PG period. P. Faure, *La fonction des cavernes crétoises*, Paris 1964, 147; *id.*, "Nouvelles recherches sur trois sortes de cavernes Crétoises", *BCH* 91 (1967) 134f.; E.L. Tyree, *Cretan Sacred Caves*, Ph.D. diss. Columbia, Ann Arbor 1974, 116-118, 119, fig. 4.

that the divinity worshipped in later times (Archaic onwards) may not have been the same as the one which had received worship in the PG or Geometric periods. Indeed, in several sites, new divinities appear to have supplanted earlier ones. This process is not limited only to newly founded sanctuaries of the EIA but also in places where there existed a sanctuary in the LBA. Uninterrupted continuity from the LBA to the EIA is attested in a handful of sites, and even there it seems that the character of the cult differed radically from one era to the other.

Let us now return to the subject of the genesis of the earliest Greek temples (*cf.* Map 4). The majority of the cult buildings examined in the previous pages are located in the outskirts or at a certain distance outside the settlement proper. The earliest DA structures which may have been devoted to the cult of an "Olympian" divinity have been found in Crete (Pachlitsani Agriada, Kato Syme, Kommos A), on Kea in the Cyclades and at Poseidi in northern Greece. All these sanctuaries were "extraurban". At Kato Syme and Kea cult continuity with the LBA appears an established fact, while at Poseidi and Kommos the earliest evidence for cult practice belongs to the SMyc/SMin period. Slightly later, though still early in the EIA, temples were built in other "suburban" or "extraurban" sanctuaries, such as Kalapodi (*c.* end of 9th c.), Iria (*c.* 800) and slightly later Ephesos (*c.* 750), where cult continuity with the LBA has also been asserted. Whether, however, the construction of cult buildings in the beginning of the EIA upon cult places of the LBA, has anything to do with the early date of these buildings, remains an unanswered question.

In the cases where cult edifices were located in the heart of the settlement (excluding the LM IIIC "urban" cult buildings at Karphi and Vronda which, strictly speaking, belong to the end of the LBA), the exact dating of the building is either uncertain (Aetos, Eretria G and Hypsile) or cannot date before the middle of the 8th c. (Asine B). Other possible candidates, such as so-called Temple A at Aigeira, are doubtful. It should be stressed that the date of construction of several buildings located in "suburban" or "extraurban" sanctuaries is also uncertain (Perachora, Hymettos, Delos, Olous). On the other hand, there is ample evidence of the presence of early cult buildings inside or in the immediate vicinity of cemeteries (for instance Areopagus, Grotta, Tsikalario, Vrokastro); the cult in these places was addressed to deceased ancestors or chthonian divinities (or both). At Naxos (Mitropolis Sq., close to the LH IIIC fortification wall) and in the Areopagus the cult persisted after the end of the Geometric period and seems to have developed into a public cult of heroic nature.

It therefore seems that at least until *c.* 800 B.C., possibly even until *c.* 750 B.C., few -if any at all- Greek settlements possessed an "urban" temple. Small settlements which may be qualified as villages and have been almost entirely excavated or at least sufficiently explored, such as Vathy Limenari on Donousa and Zagora on Andros, or EIA settlement sites in northern Greece such as Vitsa Zagoriou, Assiros and Kastanas, have failed to yield an early cult building which could be qualified as a temple. Future excavations and research may of course alter this picture; one should however bear in mind that more than one century of intense archaeological investigations in Greece and Asia Minor has passed and almost 300 EIA cult places have been detected (Map 3), and yet practically all the "urban" temples unearthed date from *c.* 750 B.C. onwards. This can hardly be a mere coincidence.

PART 4

INTERACTION BETWEEN RULERS' DWELLINGS AND TEMPLES[687]

In the first part of this chapter it became evident that there exist a number of sites which have yielded evidence for hypaethral cult practice in front or in the immediate vicinity of the ruler's dwelling. We should also ask why do we encounter early cult buildings only outside the settled communities. Indeed, since temples were certainly not unknown prior the mid-8th c. B.C., why were not such edifices erected in the midst of settlements? The answer lies perhaps in the role fulfilled by the chieftains' dwellings discussed in the previous sections. Scholars have often emphasised the fact that rulers' dwellings of EIA date were located in proximity of sanctuaries or cult areas, but seldom

[687] For a more elementary discussion and classification see Mazarakis Ainian, *Temples* (1988) 106-116.

developed in detail this observation.[688] Other scholars, such as Nilsson, had long ago argued that certain public cults of the poleis derived from earlier household cults.[689]

Settlements lacking an urban temple

According to A. Snodgrass, settlements which failed in acquiring a temple dedicated to a poliad divinity, were abandoned without reaching a "polis" status.[690] Snodgrass quotes a number of such sites to illustrate this (Ay. Andreas on Siphnos, Vathy Limenari, Zagora and Emporio). To these one could add the Cretan sites at Kastro near Kavousi, Vrokastro and Smari, and also mainland sites such as Nichoria, Vitsa Zagoriou, Assiros and Kastanas. Of all these settlements only a few (Ay. Andreas, and the uncertain case at Vathy Limenari) have not yet afforded evidence of the existence of a leader's dwelling, though the brevity of the preliminary reports concerning the two above mentioned sites does not allow us to pursue further the discussion. A substantial portion of the fortified acropolis of Ay. Andreas remains unexcavated (Fig. 293). Mrs. V. Philippaki suggests that the building on the highest point of the hill (Θ) may have been a temple,[691] but even if it were, there is a good chance that it may belong to the late 8th c., period during which we witness the appearance of several "urban" temples in the Greek World. Moreover, it is not clear whether the settlement was abandoned at the end of the 8th c. B.C.[692] At Vathy Limenari there seems to have been no flagrant difference between the members of the community, as at Zagora.

A typical example of this category of rulers' dwellings are the rulers' houses at Vitsa Zagoriou in Epirus (Fig. 30). The small village was founded in the 9th c. B.C. and was continuously inhabited until the late Classical period, presumably by a population practising transhumance.[693] Wall 43 and Building Z appear to have been the successive chieftains' dwellings, which may have been continuously (?) occupied from Geometric times to the settlement's abandonment (p. 93).

All these settlements, with the exception of Emporio which was abandoned *c.* 600 B.C. and some insignificant settlements of northern Greece which continued to be inhabited down to the Classical period, came to an end towards the end of the 8th or early 7th c. B.C. (Nichoria slightly earlier, around 750 B.C.). In most cases the desertion seems to have been peaceful (sometimes following a natural disaster), with the exception of Nichoria and perhaps of Smari which suffered a violent destruction by fire.[694] Several theories have been put forward in order to explain the reasons of the tranquil desertion of several sites from LG to EA times as for instance that of a drought,[695] but

[688] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 249; A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora* 1, Sydney 1970, 30; J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAWG* 272 (1984) 19.

[689] M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 485ff.

[690] *Archaeology* (1977) 24f.

[691] *AΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 433 and p.c. by the excavator.

[692] In *ibid.*, it is noted that a 5th c. tomb was discovered in House A, which is dated in the Geometric period. This suggests that the settlement had been abandoned by that time. Whether the 6th c. B.C. relief pithoi fragments mentioned in the same report attest to habitation, remains to be confirmed. Since the majority of the surface finds at the site are Geometric (*ibid.*) the statement that the houses were also used in the Classical period [V. Philippaki, *AAA* 6 (1973) 100] remains to be proven.

[693] J. Vocotopoulou, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 86--90; S. Dakaris, in *Palast und Hütte*, ed. D. Papenfuss & V.M. Strocka, Mainz 1982, 357-361.

[694] Nichoria: McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 326. According to the excavators, Unit IV-5 and the settlement as a whole were destroyed during the First Messenian War by Spartan aggression. Smari: D. Chatzi-Valianou, *Lyktos* 1 (1984) 19; the assumption that the edifice was destroyed in a conflagration is based on the fact that charcoal fragments were strewn all over the building's floor and signs of burning were detected as well. One should be reminded that Room H19 at Zagora was presumably also destroyed by a fire which may have been caused by the collapse of the roof onto the floor and into the burning hearth [A. Cambitoglou, *AE* (1970) 214]. This is puzzling for it seems that no traces of a violent destruction were detected in the other houses of the settlement, though one should consider the possibility that Zagora was abandoned following a natural disaster [A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 111; *id.*, *AE* (1970) 167f.].

[695] J. McKesson Camp II, "A Drought in the Late Eighth Century B.C.", *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 397-411; the same article in an abbreviated form: *ASAtene* 59 (1981) 55-61 and also the discussion in *ibid.*, 157-161 (interventions by Sakellariou, Schilardi, Coldstream & Karousou). Camp favours the theory of a widespread drought in Greece during the LG and EA periods, which may explain the abandonment of several settlements and also the colonisation movement.

the most plausible one being the act of synoecism, e.g. the transfer of the population of several small villages towards a larger urban centre.[696]

Settlements with temples which succeeded earlier rulers' dwellings

Many settlements have yielded evidence that they acquired an "urban" temple (this process begins in the mid-8th c. B.C. and reaches its peak around 700 B.C.), while their earlier history was marked by the existence of a chieftain's dwelling and the absence of a temple. At Aigeira an EA temple (Building B) was built partly over the ruins of Building A (Fig. 248);[697] at the same moment or slightly earlier the summit of the acropolis appears to have ceased to serve for habitation.[698] Around 600 B.C. a temple, the plan of which recalls a Mycenaean palatial megaron (Table VI:8), was erected upon the E limit of the ruins of the Geometric complex at Phaistos (p. 229 and Fig. 481, no. 2).[699] There are also the cases of Antissa and Asine, which however are uncertain, since only a small portion of the area inhabited has been explored (Figs. 356 and 220, respectively). At Antissa no Geometric sanctuary has been detected yet (provided that one does not consider Buildings III and IV as temples), though a rich deposit of Hellenistic terracotta figurines (women, children, animals) was discovered in the hard-earth stratum above the earlier ruins.[700] Since Building IV was disturbed down to floor level in the Hellenistic period,[701] one might conjecture that the inauguration of the cult had something to do with the rediscovery of the edifice. Here, we could also mention the case of Asine, though not only a large hiatus separates the PG ruler's house (Building C, Fig. 228) and the first cult building on the summit of Barbouna (Building B, Fig. 238), but also the two areas are far from one another and certainly unrelated (Fig. 220, nos. 1 and 8).

Rulers' dwellings which coexisted with urban temples

In certain sites, the ruler's dwelling coexisted at a certain moment with an "urban" temple. This is for instance the situation at Karphi, towards the close of the LBA (Fig. 461). It may not be totally coincidental that there is no tangible evidence that the community was governed by a single ruler, since there appears to have existed at least two rulers' dwellings. It should be stressed however that Karphi was perhaps already abandoned by the PG period and therefore one should seek parallels in LBA Crete rather than with settlements such as Smari and Vrokastro which continued to exist until roughly the end of the 8th c. or the early 7th. Room 1 at Karphi is usually considered to have been an hypaethral shrine,[702] though it has been recently suggested that it was roofed (Fig. 464).[703] In this room or enclosure there was a low square platform, identified as an altar, and a bench, on which the well-known statues of the goddesses with upraised hands would have stood. One further goddess came from the northernmost room of the temple's annexes. Yet, objects which have been identified as votives were also collected in Rooms 26, 27, 57, 58, 85, 87, 106, 102, 115, 116, 89, 79, 16/17 and 70![704] The dispersion of votive objects in Cretan settlements of the end of the LBA and the EIA is not an unusual phenomenon (*cf.* Vrokastro, Kastro Kavousi, Phaistos). One would be willing to identify the site with a peak sanctuary, but this is impossible due to the extent of the ruins and also on account that the main bulk of the material is of everyday use, attesting to habitation.[705] Could it be that each

[696] Snodgrass, *Archaeology* (1977) 25; J.N. Coldstream, *RWAWG* 272 (1984) *passim*; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1252b.

[697] W. Alzinger, *Klio* 67 (1985) 30f.

[698] It may not be totally coincidental that Aigeira became the principal cult place of the *ethnos* of the Achaians: see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 8.

[699] For a plan of the temple see M. Riccardi, *ASAtene* 64/65 (1986/87) 56, fig. 46.

[700] W. Lamb, *BSA* 32 (1931/32) 51, 61f.

[701] *Ibid.*

[702] J.D.S. Pendlebury *et al.*, *BSA* 38 (1937/38) 75f.; "apparently open to the sky since no trace of roofing material was found". Indeed, the excavators at Karphi were able to recover on the floor of roofed spaces, carbonised matter which was "due to the action of the soil rather than to any conflagration": *ibid.*, 136. See also *ibid.*, 77.

[703] B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 166, fig. 243; *id.*, *SMEA* 26 (1987) 257-279.

[704] Gesell, *Cult* (1985) 79-82.

[705] The excavated portion represents 1/5 of the entire settlement: K. Nowicki, *SMEA* 26 (1987) 237-247, figs. 2-3, here Fig. 462. On the other hand, it has been established that in MM times the site was a peak sanctuary: N. Platon, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 5 (1951) 119f.

family possessed a domestic sanctuary of its own, the only exceptions being the "temple" and perhaps Rooms 16-17, which would have been communal sanctuaries? Yet, if it were so, why did some of these "private" cult rooms open directly onto the street, certain not even communicating with the house with which they formed an integral part? I have no ready answers to these questions.[706] On one hand, since there seems to be no connection between the only certain public sanctuary of the village (the "Temple") and the presumed ruler's dwellings, apart from the fact that both units are located fairly close to the "Temple", one cannot claim that communal religious ceremonies were held inside the chieftain's house. On the other, if one accepts that Room 16-17 was also a public shrine, the fact that it is closely associated with the "Great House" cannot have been a pure coincidence. In that respect, it would be an omission not to recall that despite the fact that public cult buildings existed in the Mycenaean palaces, it is generally agreed among scholars that the megaron of the *wanax* also served for certain official religious ceremonies. Whether a settlement like Karphi may be included in this scheme, remains to be proven.

A roughly similar case with Karphi is observed at Vronda where there existed a public, it seems, roofed cult building (G), near the central square of the settlement (Fig. 434). This shrine, as well as the ruler's dwelling and the majority of the houses seem to have been abandoned at the end of LM IIIC or early during the SMin period, and only one structure, Building E, may have been inhabited into early MPG times.[707] Consequently, the cases of Karphi and Vronda should be compared with LM IIIC sites and not with those of SMin/PG date.

Rulers' dwellings preserved after the construction of an urban temple

There exist four sites where the earlier chieftain's house was preserved after the erection of a temple, dedicated to a poliad divinity. The question which arises is did these edifices continue to serve as rulers' residences or was their function altered? Concerning Eretria (Fig. 105), I argued previously that Building A was piously preserved after the erection of the temple of Apollo (Building D) perhaps in commemoration of the person who once lived there. What may have happened at Eretria is exemplified by F. de Polignac, according to whom "la cite éxalte les indispensables vertus héroïques et dirigeantes de ses champions au moment où elle en condamne implicitement les fondements institutionels et idéologiques de par sa formation".[708]

At Lathouriza the process was different (Fig. 141). I have argued that when the "Tholos" was built (7th c.?), certain religious ceremonies perhaps still continued to take place in Room II of the leader's residence. At a later period, the "Tholos" acquired a bench, meaning that ritual dining was now practised inside the edifice. The roughly simultaneous (?) construction of House XVIII, which I suggested could be identified with the new ruler's dwelling, hints that Unit I-IV was transformed into a communal building, perhaps a kind of *prytaneion* or *ekklesiasterion*, if it is permissible to use these terms for such a small settlement.

The cases of Koukounaries and Prinias are also uncertain. At Koukounaries (Fig. 320) no temple coexisted with the period of use of Building A (one should recall that this edifice may have been occupied until *c.* the mid-8th c. B.C.), though the sanctuary of Athena on the slopes lower down the hill appears to have been already established by that time. Building B was built in the third quarter of the 8th c.,[709] at which period the hypaethral sanctuary was certainly in use. Building C was built around 720 B.C. (phase C1) but was damaged by an earthquake a few years later; its repair (phase C2, *c.* 710/700 B.C.) roughly coincides with the erection of the temple of Athena and the "House of the Seals". Yet, shortly after the reconstruction of Building C, the high plateau was abandoned, and the population moved to lower terraces, in the neighbourhood of the temple. Building

[706] For a splendid discussion of the enigma see Desborough, *GDA* (1972) 120-129. According to L.V. Watrous ["Aegean Settlement and Transhumance", in *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 2 (1977) 3 and *Lasithi, Hesperia* Suppl. 18 (1982) 5, 19f.] Karphi would have been a seasonal site: in winter the inhabitants would have descended at Siderokephali, a settlement in the valley outside Lasithi.

[707] L. Preston-Day, W.D.E. Coulson & G.C. Gesell, *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 384f.; 64 (1995) 116. Yet, the cemetery close to Vronda was occasionally used until the end of the MG period [*ibid.*, 387 and G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 389-420].

[708] *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 148: the author refers in this passage chiefly to Eretria.

[709] D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 247.

C remained the only structure of the summit, until shortly before the middle of the 7th c. B.C., at which moment the lower settlement, with the exception of the temple of Athena and the "House of the Seals" which continued to be visited until late Classical times, was in the process of being abandoned. One is presented with two choices: either Building C2 was still a ruler's dwelling, which ruler would not have been any longer in good terms with the other members of the community, or it became a public edifice where the representatives of a new aristocratic regime would have gathered ("Hall of Gatherings"?). The latter hypothesis seems more credible since one would expect the erection of the temple and perhaps slightly later of the *prytaneion* to have marked the beginning of a new era during which centralised authority was supplanted by a more democratic form of government.

As with Koukounaries, one cannot establish on the evidence available, what function(s) Building B at Prinias fulfilled after the erection of Temple A (Fig. 476). It may have either continued to be used as a ruler's dwelling or it may have been converted to serve some public function; the latter hypothesis seems more likely in view of the fact that the "agora" was located there (*cf.* the agoras of Dreros and Lato, where the *prytaneion* was located close to the temple).[710] The bipartite arrangement of the buildings at Prinias also recalls Temple C (also known as Temple A2) and Building A1 at Kommos (an *hestiatorion*?), dated in the Classical period.[711]

In the four sites just discussed, none of the temples was erected before *c.* 725 B.C. At Karphi and Vronda on the other hand "temple" and settlement flowered in the 12th c. B.C., to which period several Cretan,[712] Cycladic and mainland[713] cult buildings may be ascribed, a fair proportion of which is of public character.[714]

Rulers' dwellings and suburban/extraurban sanctuaries

Several settlements which yielded evidence for the existence of a ruler's dwelling possessed also a "suburban" or "extraurban" sanctuary, which sanctuary's importance rarely exceeded the limits of the territory controlled by the settlement. It is worth noting that in several cases it is possible to identify a fertility or chthonian cult, often associated with the cult of heroes or the veneration of ancestors.

It has been suggested that the town of Eretria possessed a "suburban" sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia already from the LG period. Themelis emphasised that one should make a distinction between the sanctuaries of Artemis Amarynthia and Artemis Amarysia and argued that since Artemis Amarysia and Apollo Daphnephoros were closely associated together, their respective temples would have been located not far from one another.[715] Subsequent investigations by the Swiss team have brought to light a second cult centre next to that of Apollo Daphnephoros, presumably dedicated to the cult of a female divinity (Fig. 104, around Structure H). The earliest dedications there seem to date in the 8th c. and 7th c. B.C. A second votive deposit in the same area belongs to the Archaic period.[716] Both deposits are characterised by the presence of numerous hydriai, which are often dedications in sanctuaries of Artemis. However, such classes of votives are more often associated

[710] Dreros: P. Demargne & H. Van Effenterre, *BCH* 61 (1937) 15-18. Lato: P. Ducrey & O. Picard, *BCH* 96 (1972) 567-592. See also S.G. Miller, *The Prytaneion*, Berkeley 1978, 93-98 and 78-86, respectively.

[711] J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 164-168, 171-173.

[712] Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 148-151.

[713] B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 1986, 169-199; G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean Religion*, Athens 1977, 13-26; R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material", *OpAth* 8 (1968) 39-60. See also Chapter I, Part 10, pp. 259ff.

[714] S. Hood, "Minoan Town Shrines?", in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory. Studies Presented to F. Schachermeyr*, ed. K.H. Kinzl, Berlin & New York 1977, 158-172 where it is demonstrated that before *c.* 1450 B.C. there already existed public shrines inside settlements, some of which were also in use in LM III times.

[715] P.G. Themelis, *AE* (1969) 166. According to him, the former would have been situated at Amarynthos which he located on the hill Palaiochoria, *c.* 8 km E of Eretria [concerning the identification of Amarynthos see L.H. Sackett *et al.*, *BSA* 61 (1966) 64-66, Site 62] and the latter below the Byzantine church of Ay. Paraskevi, *c.* 1,5 km E of Eretria, where the foundations of an ancient temple were detected. The surface sherds there seem to date in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

[716] A. Altherr-Charon & S. Amstad, *AntK* 25 (1982) 157f.

with sanctuaries of Demeter,[717] and now E. Sakellaraki has made a strong case that the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia could be identified with a site at Ay. Kyriaki, near the village of Amarynthos, where the earliest material dates towards the end of the Geometric period (p. 314).[718] As for the sanctuary of Aphrodite/Astarte, its relationship to the inhabited area (Fig. 101, no. 15) is not clear yet, though it seems that it lay at the outskirts of the settlement.

At a short distance N of the village of Lathouriza there was a small chapel the original construction of which would have corresponded with the foundation of the village (Fig. 153). The character of the cult practised here cannot be determined.

At Koukounaries (Fig. 320) and Emporio (Fig. 369) the sanctuary of Athena and that by the harbour,[719] respectively, were originally "suburban" but subsequently became "urban". As already noted, the pre-temple phase of the sanctuary of Athena at Koukounaries coincides with the last and major occupation period of the small plateau on the summit of the hill. Provided that the date of the temple's erection (*c.* 700 B.C.) is correct, one has to assume that a significant change in the institutions or in the living conditions of the small community occurred at the same time, which resulted in abandoning the high plateau in favour of lower terraces. The reasons of the definitive abandonment of Koukounaries (but not of the sanctuary) *c.* half a century after the erection of the temple are not quite understood. At Emporio on the other hand, the sanctuary down in the harbour was apparently founded earlier than the settlement on the slopes of the hill of Prophetes Elias and the hypaethral sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis. Around 600 B.C. one observes a shift of the population towards the harbour area. Thus, the earlier "urban" sanctuary of Athena became around 600 B.C. "suburban", while the new settlement developed around the harbour sanctuary.[720]

It is well known that the temples of Zagora and Emporio were built after the abandonment of these settlements. At Zagora (Fig. 309), the temple was erected *c.* one century and a half after the settlement's desertion, and of the ruler's dwelling in particular.[721] Yet, it should be stressed that the sanctuary was continuously visited, presumably by those who had abandoned it, and their descendants, until the end of the 5th c. B.C.[722] The sanctuary was presumably dedicated to Athena, but one should bear in mind that Herakles was also honoured in this sanctuary in later times, as an inscribed dedication of a kantharos of the second half of the 5th c. B.C. proves.[723] As at Zagora, the cella of the Archaic temple of Athena at Emporio enclosed the earlier hypaethral altar (Fig. 371). The temple there was built *c.* 50 years later than the settlement's desertion.[724] The Megaron Hall appears to have been used until the 6th c. B.C., but it could have not served any longer as a ruler's dwelling, since the slopes of Prophetes Elias were no longer inhabited. One would be tempted to assume that it now served communal functions in connection with the sanctuary: for instance it may have been used as an *hestiatorion* during festivals. It is roughly at the same moment (late 7th c.) that the altar was renovated.[725] Shortly after the middle of the 6th c. B.C. the temple of Athena was erected, and the Megaron Hall presumably passed out of use.

The case of Praisos is different since the so-called "farmstead" is situated at a certain distance to the SE of the nucleated settlement. On one acropolis of the latter there was a sanctuary in the open air in the Geometric or perhaps PG period (Fig. 430, nos. 1-2).

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[717] S. Guettel Cole, "Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and its Countryside", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 207 who in fact identifies the divinity with Demeter.

[718] Excavations in the property of Michaïl revealed a rich votive deposit. The earliest finds belong to the end of the Geometric period (sherds and three bronze fibulae), the latest in the Hellenistic period: see E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *ΑΔ* 42 (1987) Χρον., 213; 45 (1990) Χρον., 160; *id.*, "Le sanctuaire d'Artémis Amarysia en Eubée", *Kernos* 5 (1992) 235-263; E.B. French, *AR* (1993/94) 35.

[719] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 51-98.

[720] It seems that the temple in the latter area was still standing, though in a ruinous condition, until the 6th c. A.D. (*ibid.*, 82).

[721] A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 82-84.

[722] *Ibid.*, 84.

[723] *Ibid.*, 89, no. 285. Concerning the identification of the deity with Athena see *ibid.*, 89, n. 284 and *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1972) 266f.

[724] J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 17.

[725] *Ibid.*, 8.

We have seen that the inhabitants of Vronda may have gradually moved up to the Kastro. Roughly throughout the life span of the latter of the two settlements there existed a rural chapel at Pachlitsani Agriada, which was devoted to the cult of Eileithyia (Fig. 433). Moreover, there seems to have existed a sanctuary just outside the limits of the village at Kastro (on the slope of "Plaï tou Kastrou"), though it has not been established yet whether the traces of walls reported represent a cult building or a temenos wall.[726]

A chthonian chapel was also discovered in the SW slope of the hill Karakovilia (Fig. 442), area which served as a burial ground for the Vrokastro community (Fig. 441). Whether it was devoted to the cult of a chthonian divinity or to that of the dead, is impossible to determine.

Rulers' dwellings converted into temples

The theory that some LBA or EIA rulers' dwellings finally ended up as temples is not a new one, but was always superficially developed.[727] There are three places where this theory could be tested, Tiryns, Thermon and Eleusis, but unfortunately all are ambiguous.

The case of Tiryns (Fig. 218) leads us back to the LBA, for Building T was erected in the LH IIIC period. It seems that this edifice escaped the final destruction at the end of LH IIIC. The round altar/bothros was subject to two transformations, the first occurring during the LH IIIC period, the second around the middle of the 8th c. B.C. and/or in the EA period. The first dedications of the neighbouring votive deposit belong to the middle of the 8th c. B.C. It is therefore possible that the LH IIIC building, which was doubtless the ruler's dwelling, lasted into the DA and was in the end converted into a temple.[728]

There are however two points which require further elaboration. Firstly, there is no tangible proof that the transition from "anaktoron" to "temple" was achieved without interruption. Indeed, it is possible that at a certain moment during the DA the building was abandoned and remained in a ruinous condition until the mid-8th c. B.C., at which time it would have been repaired and reused as a temple. Secondly, no significant changes are to be observed in the functions fulfilled by the LH IIIC building and its predecessor of the LH IIIB2 period; one simply notes a diminution of the material wealth of the occupant(s) of Building T. The altar/bothros implies a connection of some sort between cult practice and ruler's dwelling during both periods (13th-12th c. B.C.). One assumes that the LBA rulers at Tiryns, among their other duties, were in charge of certain public cults. Indeed, it is commonly assumed that the Mycenaean *wanax* received divine protection and that he played an important role in cult practice.[729] W.C.K. Guthrie has argued that he was an earthly representative of the gods,[730] while most scholars rightly emphasise that the Mycenaean ruler was not a divine king of

[726] H. Boyd, *AJA* 5 (1901) 149; G.C. Gesell *et al.*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 354. This sanctuary yielded a deposit of clay animal figurines among burnt earth.

[727] K. Rhomaios, *AΔ* 1 (1915) 275-277; A. Frickenhaus, in *Tiryns* I, Athen 1912, esp. 31-41; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 485ff., esp. 487; J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 328-337; *id.*, in *Tempel und Stätten der Götter Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas, Köln 1970, 55-70. Note I. Beyer's plates' volume *Der minoisch-mykenische Palasttempel und seine Wirckung auf den dorischen Tempel*, Freiburg 1981.

[728] K. Müller, *Tiryns* III, Augsburg 1930, 213-215 believed that the LH IIIB megaron survived until *c.* 750 B.C., at which moment it would have been destroyed and replaced by Building T. For a similar opinion see G. Karo, *Führer durch Tiryns*, Athen 1934², 48. See also Nilsson, *op.cit.*, 475-479 and H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 435. This is however most unlikely. If some edifice survived the final catastrophe, this would have been Building T.

[729] For instance see C.G. Thomas, "The nature of Mycenaean Kingship", *SMEA* 17 (1976) 93-116, esp. 108-113; *id.*, "The Roots of Homeric Kingship", *Historia* 15 (1966) 388-407, esp. 388-393; *id.*, "From Wanax to Basileus. Kingship in the Greek Dark Age", *HispAnt* 6 (1976) 187-206, esp. 188f.; J. Puhvel, "Helladic Kingship and the Gods", in *Minoica. Festschrift J. Sundwall*, ed. E. Grumach, Berlin 1958, 327-333; P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 19-134, esp. 130-132. See also recently J. Wright, "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 57-60.

[730] "Early Greek Religion in the Light of the Decipherment of Linear B", *BICS* 6 (1959) 42.

the Oriental kind, neither the chief-priest of his subjects,[731] though not a few have supported the idea of the divinity of the Mycenaean *wanax*.[732] As C.G. Thomas points out, the *wanax* would have executed certain cult activities within the palace; in fact he may have been in charge of certain traditional ceremonies, as was the case of the archon *basileus* in Classical Athens.[733] Unfortunately, one is unable to follow closely the evolution of the institutions at Tiryns during the DA. I suspect that around 700 B.C. the old ruler's dwelling was transformed into a temple. Perhaps, the gap, if there exists one, would have been short, for had it been prolonged, one would have expected Building T and the altar to have been covered by a considerable fill of debris, and their "rediscovery" would have been a matter of pure chance. The renovations of the altar in the paved court prove that the walking surface in the 8th c. B.C. was the same as the one of the Mycenaean Age.

Megaron B at Thermon (Fig. 45a) was built sometime between the close of the Bronze Age and the PG period. Originally it may have been a ruler's house, like its predecessor Megaron A, in which ritual dining was performed in honour of deceased ancestors. The alternatives that Megaron B was a temple or a communal cult building for the celebration of sacred feasts appear less likely, due to the presence nearby of other structures and perhaps of EIA tombs, which suggest that the area was still inhabited. The amount of the votive offerings from the late 8th c. onwards (versus the almost total absence of dedications belonging to the preceding period) indicates that the cult of Apollo was firmly established (or at least the worship was formalised) by the LG period. There are two possibilities: either Megaron B was converted into a temple simultaneously with the inauguration of the sanctuary, i.e. during the late 9th-early 8th c., or, more likely, that the sanctuary, was established over the ruins of the ruler's house (*cf.* traces of modest structure upon the ruins of Megaron B and evidence for sacrifices). Consequently, as at Tiryns it cannot be determined any longer whether the transition from ruler's dwelling to temple occurred with or without a break. Here too, however, if such a gap is accepted, it may not have been long. It is possible that at least in places, the upper preserved surface of the walls of Megaron B served as a substructure for a new, presumably apsidal building, built of perishable materials and surrounded by an apsidal peristyle.

Travlos has argued that the LBA Unit B/B1-3 at Eleusis was presumably not a temple, but perhaps the residence of the leading members of an important Eleusinian family (Fig. 170).[734] The ceramic sequence indicates that the area was abandoned before the end of the LBA and reoccupied in the Geometric period, perhaps as early as *c.* 900 B.C.;[735] the reuse of the old building is practically certain for (1) two Geometric handles were discovered in Room B1, (2) a curved retaining wall was built in front of Building B's entrance in the beginning (?) of the 8th c. B.C.[736] and (3) a propylon was added in the N entrance of Room B2 in the LG (?) period.[737] Yet, the earliest indications of cult practice date in the second half of the 8th c. (erection of massive peribolos walls and sacrificial deposit). The adyton of the subsequent Telesteria was located above the ruins of Unit B/B1-3 and

[731] See for example G.E. Mylonas, "The wanax of the Mycenaean State", in *Classical Studies presented to E. Parry*, Urban, Chicago and London 1969, 66-79; *id.*, "Ο *Fάναξ* των πινακίδων", *AE* (1966) 127-148; *id.*, Το Θρησκευτικόν Κέντρον των Μυκηνών, Athens 1972, 34f.; G. Pugliese Carrateli, "Aspetti e problemi della monarchia micenea", *PP* 14 (1959) 401-431; M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, Roma 1968, 235; Th.G. Palaima, "The Nature of the Mycenaean *wanax*", *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 134.

[732] For instance see T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, 35, 100, 105-109, 139, 143, 158; S. Marinatos, "ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΕΣ", in *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson* I, ed. G.E. Mylonas, St. Louis 1951, 126-134; F.R. Adrados, "El culto real en Pilos y la distribucion de la tierra en epoca Micenica", *Emerita* 24 (1956) 353-416; P. Walcot, "The divinity of the Mycenaean King", *SMEA* 2 (1967) 53-62, where it is assumed that the Mycenaean *wanax* was regarded as a living god.

[733] *SMEA* 17 (1976) 111-113. Concerning the function of the archon *basileus* in Athens see P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 325-372.

[734] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 327-333.

[735] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, 56f., 60f. *Cf.* also K. Van Gelder, "The Iron-Age Hiatus in Attica and the *Synoikismos* of Theseus", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991) 60 argues that Eleusis may have not been inhabited between the Mycenaean period and the LPG period.

[736] According to J. Travlos [*ASAtene* 61 (1983) 330]. In an earlier study Travlos maintained that the wall could well date in the end of the 9th c. B.C.: in *Tempel und Stätten der Götter Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas, Köln 1970, 67 and fig. 6:3 at p. 66.

[737] J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 330 and fig. 2.

was called "anaktoron".[738] Literary sources attest that the origins of the sanctuary were closely connected with the mythical ruler of Eleusis, e.g. Keleos and his wife Metaneira, who received Demeter and subsequently built her a temple, and also with the other *basileis* of Eleusis (including Eumolpos) to whom the goddess revealed her mysteries.[739] Moreover, as long as the sanctuary existed, the Hierophant and other high ministrants of the cult were selected from the members of Eumolpid family while other ministrants of the cult were chosen from the family of the Kerykes.[740] According to the tradition, the first Mysteries were celebrated by Eumolpos, who is regarded as contemporary with Keleos.[741] The literary tradition, according to which Eleusis possessed several *basileis*[742] agrees with the archaeological evidence, for as I noted previously, the location of Unit B/B1-3 (*cf.* Fig. 163) excludes it from being the residence of *the* ruler of the entire LBA settlement, though it may have been that of the leading members of a genos. Moreover, it has been suggested[743] that Eleusis is an exceptional case since the rulers were perhaps priests. Perhaps then Travlos was right in suggesting that the edifice should be identified as the dwelling of the successive leaders of the Eumolpid family, though his opinion that Room B was devoted to the cult of Demeter, while Rooms B1-3 served as the family's living quarters, is less credible.[744] In my opinion it is likely that by the EIA the Eumolpid family surpassed in importance the other great families of Eleusis; the cult which in the LBA would not have exceeded the boundaries of the family may have acquired in the DA a paneleusinian character and eventually, around the middle of the 8th c. B.C., a panhellenic one. One could suggest that at that point, the complex ceased to serve as a dwelling and was henceforth exclusively devoted to cult practice, together with the surrounding area.[745] Whether the last occupant of Building B was the young male person who was buried in front of his new dwelling (the "Megaron", Fig. 174) which was now situated outside the sacred precinct (Fig. 164), is an assumption which cannot be tested. The chronological sequence certainly does not contradict such a view, and Kourouniotes had already conjectured before the discovery of the tomb, that the hero cult in that area of the Sacred House was connected with a person who was a "friend" or had some connection with Demeter and Kore.[746] This hypothesis, however, cannot be easily defended, for we cannot be sure whether the complex beneath the Telesterion was continuously used between the end of the Bronze Age and the Geometric period.

Thus, at Tiryns, Thermon and perhaps at Eleusis one observes a development which has its roots in the LBA, though in none of these sites continuity can be positively proven and the evidence does not speak in favour of an unbroken transition from house to temple. Therefore, it would be safer to assume for the time being that there exists no certain case of an unbroken transition from a ruler's dwelling into a temple, and that whenever such a conversion is observed, it probably reflects a conscious symbolic act which marks the end of an old regime and the beginning of another.

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[738] *Id.*, "Το ανάκτορον της Ελευσίνος", *AE* (1950/51) 1-16.

[739] However, I should stress here that the myth is in this particular case a questionable guide: see W. Rostoker & E.R. Gebhard, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 348f. and C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 14.

[740] *Cf.* R.S.J. Garland, "Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens", *BSA* 79 (1984) 99-104 with earlier literature.

[741] In general G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, esp. 3-9, 14-22, 229-237.

[742] R. Drews, *Basileus*, New Haven & London 1983, 106: "basileis are the several high-born leaders of a single community". This definition suits the case of Eleusis but not the totality of the Greek World.

[743] C. Kerényi, *Eleusis. Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter*, Princeton 1967, 22.

[744] J. Travlos, in *Tempel und Stätten der Götter Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas, Köln 1970, 60-68; *id.*, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 327-337.

[745] R.S.J. Garland, *BSA* 79 (1984) 83f. suggests that the gentile priesthood "possibly ... derives from a period when a priest was such by virtue of his position at the head of the family" and that "when the family expanded into a genos, its head retained his priestly duties, and when the state absorbed the genos its cults became official". The claim that the cult of Eleusinian Demeter near Miletos coincided with the foundation of this city (Herodotus, IX, 97) is perhaps a later invention of the Milesians, presumably post-dating the unification of Eleusis with Athens, which event in my opinion could not have been accomplished before the late 8th c. B.C. See S. Diamant, "Theseus and the Unification of Attika", *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982) 38-47 [*contra* see R.A. Padgug, "Eleusis and the Union of Attika", *GrRomByzSt* 13 (1972) 135-150 & C.G. Thomas, "Theseus and Synoicism", *SMEA* 23 (1982) 337-349].

[746] K. Kourouniotes, *RA* 11 (1938) 97f.

CONCLUSIONS

The interaction between rulers' dwellings and temples, as exposed in the previous pages, leaves us with certain questions. The genesis of the "urban" temple seems closely linked with the abandonment or change of function of rulers' dwellings, but we are unable to observe this pattern in the totality of the Greek World. The regional distribution of rulers' dwellings is roughly even throughout the mainland and the islands, but in one area, in Asia Minor, no such buildings, dated in the PG or Geometric periods, have come to light. But there we have other "anomalies", such as the early massive fortifications of Old Smyrna, or the early and exceptional peripteral temple at Ephesos. In this area, where Greeks had settled next to indigenous and sometimes hostile populations, the conditions dictated a different development which may have led earlier to the isonomia of the polis-system than the rest of the Greek World.[747] On the other hand, one must not forget that our knowledge of the earlier levels of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, such as Old Smyrna, Miletos or Ephesos, is full of lacunae.

PART 5

RULERS' DWELLINGS AND HERO CULT[748]

E. Rohde with book *Psyche* (Freiburg 1894, 1898^2) was among the first who studied the phenomenon of hero cult in ancient Greece. Rohde argued that that hero cult preceded the circulation of the Homeric epics. He further suggested that hero cult derives from the veneration of ancestors. L. Farnell on the other hand in his well known study *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921) claimed that hero cults were closely linked with the epics, i.e. that they derive from the latter. The past decade numerous scholars have studied the phenomenon of the emergence of hero cult in Early Iron Age Greece, each following a different approach or emphasising certain aspects of the topic. Several among them have adopted Nagy's view, according to which the rise of hero cults is a development of normal worship or veneration of ancestors.[749]

J.N. Coldstream attempted to connect the rise of hero cult in Geometric Greece with the wide circulation of the epics in the 8th c. B.C.[750] Indeed, the earliest instances of hero cult belong to the third quarter of the 8th c., i.e. the period during which Homer lived and the epics became widely known. The first inscriptions on vases belong to the same period; the two most famous graffiti of this period, that on the Dipylon oinochoe of *c.* 740 B.C.[751] and on the kotyle of Nestor at Pithekoussai, dated *c.* 720 B.C.[752] are in dactylic hexameter, thus proving that the élite of the second half of the 8th c. could read and write poetry. The roughly simultaneous appearance of figured scenes on vase painting has also been connected with the circulation of the Homeric poems.[753] According to J. Hurwit the aristocrats of the LG period through the narrative art of the period aimed in underlining

[747] "On the balance of all available evidence, it seems unlikely that there was much left of monarchy in the Ionic cities of Homer's own days" and "Torn away by the roots, the Ionians had lost their religious attachment to the spirits and cults of their old homelands": J.M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East*, London 1962, 38 and 41, respectively.

[748] Concerning hero cults during the LG and EA periods see in general H. Abramson, *Greek Hero Shrines*, Ph.D. diss., Berkeley 1978 and now see Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995). See also numerous contributions in *Ancient Greek Hero Cult. Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Göteborg, April 21-23, 1995*, ed. R. Hägg (acts forthcoming).

[749] *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greece*, Baltimore 1979.

[750] "Hero Cults in the Age of Homer", *JHS* 96 (1976) 8-17.

[751] Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 298f.; L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, ed. A. Johnston, Oxford 1990^2, 76, no. 1, pl. 1; B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 158-163.

[752] Coldstream, *op.cit.*; D. Ridgway, *L'alba della Magna Grecia*, Milano 1984, 71-75; Jeffery, *op.cit.*, 235f., 239 no. 1, pl. 47; Powell, *op.cit.*, 163-167. *Cf.* Il. XI, 632-635.

[753] See G. Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art*, Jonsered 1992 (*SIMA* 100), with earlier literature. See also R. Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen 1952; K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, München 1964; A. Snodgrass, "Poet and Painter in Eighth Century Greece", *ProcCambrPhilSoc* 25 (1979) 118-130; *id.*, "Towards the Interpretation of the Geometric Figure-Scenes", *AM* 95 (1980) 51-58.

their heroic descent which gave them the right to manage the communal affairs and to maintain power, in a society which was rapidly developing towards the isonomia of the polis.[754] Coldstream based his assumption on the fact that in areas where burial customs did not change radically during the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, as for instance in Thessaly and Crete where the custom of burying the deceased in tholos tombs persisted, hero cults are not attested. In these areas, the funerary architecture of the Bronze Age could not have had an impact on the people of the 8th c., while this would not have been the case in places where the new burial habits would have rendered any chamber or tholos grave a oddity reminiscent of a glorious past, as for instance in Attica. Th. Hadzisteliou-Price refuted Coldstream's theory since she was convinced that in certain instances the cult of heroes precedes the "Age of Homer".[755] However, her arguments concerning the early appearance of such cults are not convincing and one could further object that since the poems appear to have been shaped and transmitted orally during the "Dark Ages", some form of hero-worship could have preceded Homer's own time.

C. Bérard, in trying to interpret the case of the hero cult at the West Gate at Eretria suggested that this was a way for the leading aristocracy, which would have taken over from the *basileus* the managing of the communal affairs, to make decisive "democratic" steps without enacting the reaction of the previous governing élite and therefore enabling a peaceful transition in the institutions of the rising polis.[756]

A. Snodgrass in a series of studies argued that the establishment of hero cults towards the end of the 8th c. should be explained as one of the consequences of the shift from a pastoral into an agricultural economy: the small but free landowners who were threatened by the new élite which was being shaped, were trying to establish connections with their estates through tracing their ownership of land to legendary ancestors.[757] There can be no doubt that the phenomenon of the rise of hero cult in Attica during the 8th c. B.C. is associated in some way or another with the migration from the centre towards the surrounding territory,[758] and a similar interest appears to have persisted into the 7th c.[759] Snodgrass argues that the epics could not have possibly instigated the rise of hero cult at graves of the prehistoric (mainly Mycenaean) period since Mycenaean burial customs differ radically from Homeric ones (inhumations, chamber or tholos tombs, multiple burials, etc.). He therefore suggests as an alternative explanation of the phenomenon that the free landowners of the end of the 8th c. wished to give a heroic pedigree to their land, which they possessed since generations. Snodgrass himself, however, expresses some doubts about the validity of his own theory, since he acknowledges that hero cults are also attested in areas were there was no free peasantry, as at Messenia where the population was submitted very early to the Spartan rule (the 1st Messenian war is usually placed in the mid-8th c.); one should therefore seek other explanations for the phenomenon of the rise of hero cults in these areas (for instance at Messenia a large proportion of the population had suffered from the Spartan tyranny and was nostalgic of the period of Mycenaean autonomy[760]).

[754] *The Art and Culture of Early Greece*, London 1985, 124.

[755] "Hero-Cult and Homer", *Historia* 22 (1973) 129-144; *id.*, "Hero-Cult in the *Age of Homer* and Earlier", in *Arktouros. Mélanges B.W.W. Knox*, Berlin & New York 1979, 219-228.

[756] C. Bérard, "Récupérer la mort du prince: héroïsation et formation de la cité", in *Mort, morts* (1982) 78-105; *id.*, "L'héroïsation et la formation de la cité: Un conflit idéologique", in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine. Actes du colloque international organisé par le CNRS et l' École Française de Rome, Rome, 2-4 Dec., 1980*, Paris & Rome 1983, 43-62.

[757] "Les origines du culte des héros dans la Grèce antique", in *Mort, morts* (1982) 107-119; *id.*, "The Archaeology of the Hero", *Annali Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 10 (1988) 19-26; *id.*, "The Rural Landscape and its Political Significance", *Opus* 6/7 (1987/89) 60-62. This theory can be applied perhaps to Attica, since it seems that "the Athenians had turned their backs on overseas ventures and preferred to colonise their own countryside" during the MG and LG periods [Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 133-135, quotation p. 135]. K. Van Gelder's view [*Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991) 62] that "the Attic countryside remained uninhabited until repopulation began in a late phase of the Protogeometric period" seems too extreme.

[758] See also R. Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures*, London 1987, 128-130.

[759] See however *id.*, "A Crisis in Archaeological History? The Seventh Century B.C. in Attica", *BSA* 84 (1989) 316, 319.

[760] N. Papachatzis, *Η θρησκεία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, Athens 1987, 76 but see G.S. Korres, "Η προβληματική δια την μεταγενεστέραν χρήσιν των μυκηναϊκών ταφών Μεσσηνίας", in *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, Β', Athens 1981/82, 363-450.

J. Whitley follows a similar line of arguments, since he argues that competition for land-ownership was the cause of hero cult in Attica; the landowners were aristocrats who felt that their estates were threatened by the lower social classes of the rising isonomia of the polis which was emerging towards the end of the 8th c. B.C.[761]

According to I. Morris, the diversity of hero cult practices in connection with tombs of the prehistoric period cannot receive a satisfactory explanation with general theories, like those forwarded by Snodgrass, Whitley or Polignac, who argue that the social classes are in a constant strife and are trying to maintain themselves in power or to seize power. The rise of hero cult in the second half of the 8th c. can be explained through the prism of the ideological conflicts between the remnants of the élite of the Dark Ages and the isonomia of the polis.[762] The various social groups seek the help of their glorious heroes in order to achieve their goal. Therefore, hero cult is a reflection of the pressure exercised upon the existing social system.

F. De Polignac has argued that the cults of heroes generate from the polis which is in its formation, i.e. the state in the effort to legalise and protect its new borders, establishes cults of gods or heroes outside the city limits, along the borderline.[763]

C. Antonaccio in a series of studies underlines the difference between the hero cults at tombs of the prehistoric period (normal cult of the dead in her opinion) and the other forms of hero cults.[764] Each case should be examined separately, and one should avoid generalisations. Certain types of hero cult could be explained as the effort of the ruling class (Big Men) to appropriate the heroic past (Hesiod's race of heroes) in order to maintain power.

It is rather difficult to distinguish hero cult from ancestral cult and furthermore from cults addressed to chthonian divinities.[765] One of the reasons is that it would have been customary to honour both the hero or ancestor *and* a chthonian divinity, as perhaps at Xobourgo. Since there seems to have been no specific rituals and offerings enabling one to distinguish among various categories of tomb or hero cult,[766] each case should be examined separately. Modern scholars have focused their attention on what has become known as "tomb cult".[767] Here I will focus on another aspect of hero cult in Early Iron Age Greece, that connected with the burials of the contemporary "élite", and their dwellings.[768] I deliberately exclude from the discussion the better known instances of hero cult associated with prehistoric tombs and those which were connected with eponymous heroes from the epic and mythic cycles, such as the Agamemnoneion at Ay. Ioannis by the Chaos stream near Mycenae (Figs. 199, no. 4, 205), the shrines of Menelaos and Helen at Therapne, of Alexandra/Kassandra and Agamemnon, and of Hyakinthos at Amyklai, all three near Sparta, as well as the Heroön of Astrabakos (?) and the Achilleion, to the E and NE, respectively, of the acropolis of Sparta (Fig. 274, nos. 3-4), the cave-shrine of Odysseus at Polis in Ithaca (Od. VIII, 390f. and XIII, 13f.), or the hero shrines of Hippolytos at Troizen and of Phrontis at Sounion (Od. III, 278ff., Fig. 157).[769] It should be noted, however, that it seems that in certain areas where "tomb cult" at prehistoric graves was practised, a sanctuary devoted to the cult of an Olympian divinity later arose.[770] In other places, mythical heroes were perhaps worshipped beside Olympian gods in

[761] *JHS* 108 (1988) 1-9.

[762] "Tomb Cult and the Greek Renaissance", *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 750-761.

[763] *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984.

[764] Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995); *id.*, "Contesting the Past: Hero Cult, Tomb Cult, and Epic in Early Greece", *AJA* 98 (1994) 389-410; *id.*, "The Archaeology of Ancestors", in *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece*, ed. C. Dougherty & L. Kurke, Cambridge 1993, 46-70.

[765] Now see R. Hägg, "Funerary Ritual, Veneration of Ancestors and the Cult of the Heroes in Geometric Greece", in *Ancient Greek Hero Cult. Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Göteborg, April 21-23, 1995*, ed. R. Hägg (acts forthcoming).

[766] *Cf.* R. Hägg, "Gifts to the Heroes in Geometric and Archaic Greece", in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, ed. T. Linders & G. Nordquist, Uppsala 1987 (*Boreas* 15) 93-99.

[767] C. Antonaccio, "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 90.

[768] A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Rulers' Dwellings, Tombs and Hero Cult in Early Iron Age Greece", in *Ancient Greek Hero Cult. Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Göteborg, April 21-23, 1995*, ed. R. Hägg (acts forthcoming).

[769] For references see *supra* Part 3, pp. 307ff.

[770] As at Prosymna: C. Antonaccio, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 94-96.

sanctuaries: Pelops at Olympia, Herakles on Mt. Hymettos and perhaps at Zagora. Herakles was also connected in one way or another with stories involving important sanctuaries, such as those of Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia and Delphi.[771] The hero shrines at Therapne, Olympia and Sounion were established in places where according to tradition the tombs of these heroes would have been situated, but it is not easy to tell whether the myth preceded the inauguration of the cult or vice-versa. The reasons for the location of other hero shrines are more ambiguous. For instance, it is not clear why the Agamemnoneion was located *c.* 1 km away from the alleged tomb of Agamemnon (Pausanias II, 16, 6), but there must have existed a local tradition linking this spot with this major epic hero: Cook suggested that Agamemnon was supposedly murdered here,[772] while Snodgrass argued that the location was chosen due to the proximity of a Mycenaean bridge (Fig. 199, no. 4).[773] The theory that the spot was chosen by the Mycenaeans in order to define their territorial claims against the Argives seems unjustified, due to the proximity of the shrine to Mycenae. On the other hand, the choice of the cave of Polis at Ithaca may have been conditioned by the epics, and specifically the passage in the Odyssey where the 13 Phaeacian kings each offered Odysseus a bronze tripod. The tripods found in the cave were indeed 13, but it is not clear what came first, the story which generated the cult or the cult which generated the story.[774] Whether the presence of Mycenaean tombs had something to do with the inauguration of this cult cannot be proven (likewise, the people who performed rituals inside a cave at Koukounaries at Paros may not have been aware that a Mycenaean tomb existed there).[775]

Cult in the honour of the recently deceased was often performed in contemporary cemeteries, inside roofed or enclosed structures (Mycenae, Asine, Areopagus, Academy, Anavyssos, ?Thorikos, ?Paralimni, Paroikia,[776] Grotta, Tsikalario, Xobourgo, Pythagoreion on Samos,[777] Vrokastro). Usually, this category is not associated with hero cult but mostly with the veneration of ancestors or with the cult of the dead. Inside cemeteries and more informal grave plots there were either rectangular (Academy, Anavyssos, ?Thorikos, Grotta, Tsikalario, Xobourgo and Vrokastro) or curvilinear buildings (Mycenae, Asine -Building S-, Areopagus and Paralimni). The exact character of the cult in these places cannot be easily determined, and each case should be examined separately.

The cult in honour of the founders of a settlement deserves also our attention. The alleged cases of a cult addressed to a "hero-ktistes" at Lathouriza and on the summit of the acropolis of Minoa have been dismissed (see Chapter I). A stronger case has been argued for Vitsa Zagoriou where a group of four graves of *c.* 900 B.C., the oldest of the settlement, became the focus of an ancestral cult (Fig. 33).[778] These were located between the houses, to the SW of the settlement, unlike the remaining tombs which were grouped in two distinct grave plots just outside the inhabited space (Fig. 30). Until a detailed report appears, it is not possible to tell whether the four MG graves in the Lower Town of Minoa, within the inhabited area, represent a similar case.[779] Likewise, one could speculate that the cult activities which begin around the middle of the 10th c. in a cave near the summit of the acropolis at Koukounaries (Fig. 320),[780] was addressed to a mythical "founder",

[771] See C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 220f.

[772] R.M. Cook, in *Γέρας Α. Κεραμόπουλλου*, Athens 1953, 113.

[773] *Mort, morts* (1982) 112.

[774] A. Mazarakis Ainian, "Ομηρος και αρχαιολογία: Η συμβολή των Ευβοέων στη διαμόρφωση του έπους", in *Συνάντηση με τον Όμηρο και την Οδύσσεια στο Ιόνιο, Κέρκυρα 13-15 Οκτ. 1995*, ed. S. Dimoulitsas, Athens 1996 (in press).

[775] I. Morris, *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 751f., 753.

[776] Ph. Zapheiropoulou and J. Kourayios excavated a communal grave of warriors who died towards the end of the 8th c., over which, in the beginning of the 7th c., low enclosure walls divided the area into small compartments in which rituals were performed in honour of the deceased throughout the 7th c.: See J. Kourayios, in *Le Cicladi ed il Mondo Egeo. Seminario internazionale di Studi, Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata. Dipartimento di Storia, Roma, 19-21 Novembre 1992* (in press) and A. Kalogeropoulou, *Καθημερινή*, Feb. 27, 1993.

[777] Excavated by M. Viglaki and reported in *Σαμιακή* 1542, Nov. 7, 1994, p. 1. On PG pottery from the Pythagoreion see K. Tsakos, *ΑΔ* 22 (1967) Χρον., 463; 24 (1969) Χρον., 385; *id.*, *ΑΑΑ* 1 (1968) 168; on architectural remains of the Geometric period see Syriopoulos, *MX* (1983) 206, with references.

[778] J. Vocotopoulou, *Βίτσα*, Athens 1986, 208-210, 327; *id.*, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 89.

[779] L. Marangou, *Έργον* (1993) 96-99.

[780] D. Schilardi, *JFA* 2 (1975) 91f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1976) 289; (1986) 197, 203.

accidentally (?) discovered, a burial of the LBA, but the evidence published so far does not even allow to associate the cult activities with the tomb.[781] The beginning of the hero cult by the West Gate at Eretria (Fig. 106) dates around 680 B.C. Bérard's assumption that the rich graves belong to the founding family of the city, or at least to a family which played a major role in the synoecism which led to the creation of Eretria,[782] cannot be accepted any more, since, judging by the finds, Eretria was founded several generations earlier.[783] In the 7th c. the cults of hero-founders was intensified, especially in the West, in connection with the foundation of colonies.[784]

We have seen that the circular paving inside Unit IV-1 at Nichoria (Fig. 264) may have been associated with some sort of ancestral cult, though of a more abstract nature, since no grave was aimed at. The comparable paving in the East Room of the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi may have served a similar function (Fig. 85), though a purely domestic function cannot be ruled out. At Nichoria, in the late 8th c. B.C., after the abandonment of the settlement, a warrior burial inside a pithos (Fig. 273) became perhaps a symbol, reflecting the "conscious wish by the living to enlist the dead hero's continued vigilance to ward off the incursions of the hated foe from across the Taygetos" (i.e. the Spartans).[785] Morgan suggested that this may have been "the grave of some individual who had achieved prominence in the course of whatever conflict surrounded the end of the settlement".[786] It would have been tempting to identify this "prominent" individual with the last occupant of Unit IV-5, which was violently destroyed by fire around 750 B.C., but no supporting evidence entitles one to do so.

There are three or perhaps four cases in which the house of a ruler was perhaps transformed into a "heroön", immediately or shortly after the death of the occupant of the house: Thermon (Megaron A), Lefkandi (Toumba building) and Eretria (Building A). A similar case has been argued by Travlos regarding the Sacred House at Eleusis. It is not possible to evaluate yet the evidence from a fairly recent discovery at Marathon, where a cist tomb which contained vases, ornaments and weapons was found inside a house of the PG period (the date of the tomb is not stated in the preliminary report).[787]

The case of Thermon is perhaps the most ambiguous of all, due to the confusion surrounding the circumstances of the excavation. It seems, however, that the old chief's house, Megaron A, changed function in the last period of its use, presumably in the beginning of the EIA. The presence of graves within the apsidal compartment and of inverted pithoi containing ashes in the main room indicate that the building was a heroön in the latter part of its use (Fig. 45a). Since, however, the building was constructed several centuries earlier, originally it must have served as a dwelling. It seems that Megaron B was built next to one or more warriors' cremation graves. For the time being it cannot be determined whether this edifice was a new ruler's dwelling, an edifice intended for the worship of one or more dead, or a temple of Apollo, though in my opinion, the first assumption is more justified.

At the death of the hero of Lefkandi, the anaktoron was deserted, the cult ceased and only the massive mound with which burials and building were covered preserved their memory to the subsequent generations (*cf.* Figs. 87-88). The fact that the building was used only for one generation and the area henceforth was used as a burial ground (*cf.* Fig. 81) but no cult was inaugurated in connection with the deceased couple would favour Whitley's model of "unstable" settlements ruled by Big Men.[788] I should recall here, however, that a number of scholars believe that the building post-dates the burials which were discovered inside the main room and consequently argue that it

[781] *Cf.* I. Morris, *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 753.

[782] C. Bérard, in *Mort, morts* (1982) 89-105; *id.*, in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine*, Paris & Rome 1983, 43-59 (*supra* p. 350, n. 756); *id.*, "L'urbanisme d'une cité grecque", *DossAParis* 94 (1985) 29f.

[783] On the pottery of the 9th c. at Eretria see Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 3, with references. On the pottery of the MG II period see A. Andreiomenou, *AE* (1983) 187, with references.

[784] See C. Antonaccio, "Hero Cult in Colonial Sicily", in *Ancient Greek Hero Cult. Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Göteborg, April 21-23, 1995*, ed. R. Hägg (acts forthcoming).

[785] McDonald & Coulson, *Nichoria* III (1983) 109, 260-265 (quotation p. 326).

[786] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 99.

[787] H.W. Catling, *AR* (1984/85) 11.

[788] J. Whitley, "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 341-365, esp. 349.

was planned from the beginning to serve as a heroön;[789] for those who accept this explanation, the edifice should be regarded as a funerary "palace", i.e. a large-scale model of the undetected as yet residence of the deceased couple.[790]

At Eretria the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros was perhaps initially a residential quarter of the aristocracy which was given over to the cult of the gods when towards the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th c. B.C. the apsidal *hekatompedon* of Apollo was built (Fig. 104). The death of the "prince" who was perhaps buried with his sceptre by the West Gate (Figs. 106-107) roughly coincides with the construction of the *hekatompedon*. Since Building A, which does not appear to have been a temple, was piously preserved, one could suggest that it had originally served as a dwelling of the "prince", and after his death it would have been preserved as a memorial of the person who once dwelt inside.[791] However, I acknowledge that this assumption cannot be tested, and therefore cannot be treated in any other way than as an appealing idea.

The LG "Sacred House" at Eleusis (Fig. 173) was probably devoted from the moment of its construction to cult practice, in connection with the burial nearby (Fig. 177). Whether the deceased person could have been the last occupant of Unit B/B1-3, as argued by Travlos,[792] is a matter of speculation. It seems likely, however, that the house of the hero was the "Megaron", in front of which he had been buried (Fig. 174). Yet, this person was neither a warrior nor famous for his wealth during his lifetime since no burial offerings accompanied him in the journey to the underworld. In other words, he could have been a priest, perhaps an Hierophant of the Eumolpid family, as Travlos had suggested. Moreover, the young male was buried in front of the "Megaron", the construction of which appears to have preceded his death. It is however practically impossible to prove that this was the house of the deceased and not a funerary cult building. Nevertheless, since cult practices appear to have started immediately after the death of the hero and almost simultaneously with the destruction of this edifice, the former hypothesis appears more credible. Likewise, the dead hero was aged only 30, something which explains why the "Megaron" appears to have been used for a short period only (*cf.* also the case of Lefkandi). The erection of the "Sacred House" may not have coincided with the death of the hero; as in the case of Eretria, where the triangular heroön was built *c.* 40 years after the leader's death[793] the "Sacred House" may have been built a few years later, while in the meantime the cult would have been restricted in the open air between the porch of the "Megaron" and the grave (Pyre 305).

Two uncertain instances of hero or ancestral cults associated with ruined dwellings of important figures, real or mythical, have been found at Asine and the Academy. In the former site an ancestral (?) cult was perhaps inaugurated in the LG period above the ruined PG apsidal building (Building C). In the latter, an ancestral or hero cult was established in the LG period next to an EH apsidal building; the excavator suggested that the focus of the cult was in fact the "rediscovered" EH building which would have been regarded as the house of the local mythical hero, Academos. It can hardly be coincidental that most of the above mentioned cases of hero cult are associated with buildings of apsidal plan (apsidal rulers' dwellings at Lefkandi, Thermon and Asine, apsidal building of the EH period which may have been regarded as the house of a hero, not necessarily Akademos, at the Academy). This could indicate that in the LG period the Greeks of continental Greece thought that the distinguished ancestors once dwelt in houses of such plan.

From the previous analysis it would seem that the practice of hero cult in the PG period was confined to small family groups, within the *oikos*, and that the persons dignified at their death with honours were regarded as exceptional beings during their lifetime as well. The sequence observed at Lefkandi where the data has been fully and scientifically presented, suggests that the notion of a "hero" during the Early Iron Age was closer to that present in the epics, since no cult seems to have

[789] This is for instance the opinion of M. Popham [p.c. and also M.R. Popham, E. Touloupa & L.H. Sackett, "The Hero of Lefkandi", *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 171-174], D. Ridgway [*L'alba della Magna Grecia*, Milano 1984, 30f.] and C. Bérard [*MusHelv* 42 (1985) 274; *id.*, *Desmos* 11/12 (1986) 9-11].

[790] C. Bérard, *MusHelv* 42 (1985) 274; *id.*, *Desmos* 11/12 (1986) 9f.

[791] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 10f., 21.

[792] *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 333f.

[793] C. Bérard, *DossAParis* 94 (1985) 29 and H. Abramson, *Greek Hero Shrines*, Ph.D. diss., Berkeley 1978, 163-166.

been inaugurated at the death of the occupants of these dwellings. At Thermon, provided that the sequence of events have been correctly described in the previous pages, this notion of the "living hero" appears to have lasted longer. Throughout the 9th and early 8th c. B.C. the evidence for hero cults associated with rulers' dwellings is silent. In the LG period, when tomb cult was at its peak, the old ruler's house at Eretria changed status at the death of its occupant since it presumably ceased to serve as a dwelling and was presumably converted into a kind of "Sacred House" instead. At Eleusis a cult building was erected next to the dwelling and the tomb of a dead person who may have been the head of a genos, devoted to priesthood. At Asine and the Academy the focus of the cult was perhaps a ruined apsidal house. In the first instance the building may have once housed a powerful family of the 10th c. B.C. and therefore one suspects that the history of the spot was remembered by the local people; in the latter the discovery by chance of the humble EH apsidal structure may have generated the cult of a hero, though we have seen that another alternative, perhaps more attractive, could be that the cult was associated with the contemporary burials in the vicinity.

In this context, I should perhaps mention that a certain confusion surrounds the status of early "extraurban" or "interstate" sanctuaries, such as Thermon, Pherai, Delphi, Sounion, the Amyklaion, etc. For some of these cases P. Calligas has claimed that the area was initially the seat of patriarchal households (*oikoi*) which from *c.* 800 onwards gave way to a sanctuary.[794] Cult practice was according to Calligas confined to the interior of the *oikos*, a hypothesis partly held by myself since 1985, though I always underlined the fact that communal hypaethral sanctuaries existed inside settlements even before 800 B.C. Calligas' assumptions are interesting, despite the fact that the evidence from the sites he has discussed is scanty, and at the most ambiguous. The only clear case of the establishment of a sanctuary of an Olympian divinity upon an EIA formal burial ground is Pherai were PG graves were dispersed beneath the later temple of Zeus Thaulios, but the main cult place of the Geometric period developed elsewhere, in the nearby temenos of Artemis Enodia, where hundred of votives of the Geometric period were found (p. 310f.).[795] However, it is not clear whether the tombs should be associated to a nearby elusive "patriarchal" *oikos*, nor can one be certain that the transition from cemetery to sanctuary occurred without a break, in which case there could have been a loss of memory concerning the nature of the site. Other examples however, could be adduced in favour of Calligas' assumption, though in its majority the evidence is again inconclusive: a temple which according to the excavator could be identified with that of Athena Itonia at Koroneia[796] was built, so it seems, over a burial ground of the Geometric period; however, only one LG tomb was recognised and consisted of a bronze vase which contained a few calcinated bones, a bronze knife, an iron spearhead and an iron sword (p. 313 and Fig. 70).[797] At Corinth cult activities were held on top of four PG cist graves from the Early Classical period down to 146 B.C.,[798] while something similar was observed inconnection with eight (?) MG graves near the "Underground Shrine".[799] Yet, there must have been no intention in the choice of the sanctuary of Apollo at the same site, which lies in the midst of burials of the PG and Geometric periods (Fig. 192), or of that of Demeter and Kore,

[794] The transformation of Delphi from a village and sanctuary into an interstate sanctuary is beyond questioning: see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 106ff. Concerning other alleged cases see P. Calligas, "From the Amyklaion", in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, ed. J. Motyka Sanders, London 1992, 44f.; *id.*, "Θεσσαλία και Εύβοια κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου", *Διεθνές Συνέδριο για την αρχαία Θεσσαλία στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ρ. Θεοχάρη*, Athens 1992, 300; *id.*, "Πρώιμη ιστορία των ιερών του Σουνίου", in *Πρακτικά Δ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ. Αττικής*, Kalyvia 1993, 301-312, esp. 303f.; *id.*, "Η 'Ομηρική' Κεφαλονιά", in *Πρακτικά Ε' Διεθνούς Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου, 17-21 Μαΐου 1986*, 3, Argostoli 1991, 73; *id.*,"Η αρχαία Σκύρος", in *Ίδρυμα Ν.Π. Γουλανδρή. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Διαλέξεις 1986-1989*, Athens 1990, 82-88.

[795] Y. Bequignon, *Recherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie*, Paris 1937, 50-74. See also *BCH* 49 (1925) 458-460.

[796] See however the doubts concerning the identification of the sanctuary in J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* I, Chicago 1988, 326-332.

[797] Th. Spyropoulos, *Έργον* (1975) 16; *ΠΑΕ* (1975) 400, 405, fig. 7 at p. 408. Concerning the "interstate" character of the sanctuary at Koroneia see *ΠΑΕ* (1975) 392ff. (provided that the identification with the Itonion is correct).

[798] This is the so-called "Heroön": C.K. Williams II *et al.*, *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 6-9; 43 (1974) 1-6; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1972/73) 11f.; A. Pariente, in *BCH* Suppl. 22 (1992) 207, no. 11; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 214-216.

[799] Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 216f.

where an isolated LPG/EG burial was also found (p. 319).[800] On Delos, a hero cult developed in later times at a LG tomb situated by the NW corner of the altar of Zeus Polieus.[801] At Eretria, the inauguration of the apsidal *hekatompedon* of Apollo coincides with the burial of the "prince" by the West Gate, while a warrior's tomb of the 9th c. was excavated in the fringes of the sanctuary (*cf.* Fig. 101 and p. 60). At Thermon, at least one EIA warrior burial seems to have occupied the area in front of Megaron B (p. 131f.), while two or three graves were contained inside Megaron A (p. 44f., Fig. 45a), but the situation remains confused. The strong ties with hero cult at Thermon may be one of the reasons for which the site became, presumably from the LG period onwards, the religious meeting place of the Aetolian *ethnos*.[802] Lastly, it has been often argued (including H.-V. Herrmann) that the rise of the sanctuary of Olympia (Fig. 254) should be associated with the cult of Pelops and that the Olympic games initiated as funerary contests performed in his honour (Pausanias, V, 13, 1).[803]

Thus, it seems that there must have been some connection between the location of burials of warriors of high status or heroes and the rise of certain sanctuaries, which curiously became the centre of worship for several communities of the surroundings. Moreover, several spots which have revealed rulers' dwellings of the EIA developed into important sanctuaries, many of which became the symbolic or religious focus of *poleis* or *ethne*, while a few acquired panhellenic fame.[804] It may not be irrelevant to note here that the cult of Hera and "Tomb Cult" in the Argolid, according to a recent opinion, were "ultimately connected with a social group for whom the myth of the Herakleidai had particular resonance",[805] while a story related by Pausanias (II, 36, 5) could perhaps be explained as a dim memory of the pattern: Lyssippos, one of the leaders of the Argives who captured Asine in *c.* 710 B.C., died during the attack and was buried next to the temple of Apollo.[806] The construction of Temple A on the Barbouna hill (Fig. 238) roughly coincides with this mythical (?) event but what makes this case different from those described above, provided of course that Pausanias' story was true, is that the sanctuary of Asine was already there when the burial was made!

In conclusion, I am convinced that Coldstream is right that the rise of hero cults in the LG period was partly due to the spread of the Homeric epics.[807] In the light of the recent discoveries at Lefkandi, however, one could object, as indeed J.P. Crielaard has done, that "hero cult functioned independently from the circulation of the Homeric epics" and that "existing practices served as an example for the poems, rather than vice versa".[808] Crielaard further argues that Homer was acquainted with both ancestor and hero cult: he underlines the fact that Homer is familiar with

[800] K. Dickey, *Corinthian Burial Customs ca. 1100 to 550 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr 1992, 130; N. Bookides & J.E. Fisher, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 286-289. The foundation of the latter is usually placed around the middle of the 7th c.

[801] *CRAI* (1908) 162f.; F. Poulsen & Ch. Dugas, *BCH* 35 (1911) 352-354; Ch. Dugas, *Délos* XV, Paris 1934, 52.

[802] See also C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 9.

[803] The huge EH II circular tumulus, known as Pelopion I, became presumably the focus of the cult of Pelops in the EIA: H. Kyrieleis, in *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, 1988*, ed. W. Coulson & H. Kyrieleis, Athens 1992, 22-24; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 170-176. C. Rolley, *FD* V, 3, Paris 1977, 139 dated the inauguration of the cult of Pelops to the beginning of the first millennium. H.-V. Herrmann argued earlier that the first Pelopion dates in the Mycenaean period ["Zur ältesten Geschichte von Olympia", *AM* 77 (1962) 18-22; *id.*, "Pelops in Olympia", in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 59-74]. The sanctuary of Olympia was from the moment of its foundation in the beginning of the 10th c. B.C. an "extraurban" one. Originally it attracted visitors only from the immediate surroundings but by the early 8th c. B.C. had acquired a panhellenic character. See Rolley, *op.cit.*, 111f.; Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 55f.; J.M. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100-480 B.C.*, Ithaca & London 1985, 83; Morgan, *op.cit.*, 57ff., esp. 64.

[804] For instance Thermon, Aigeira and Eleusis. Concerning the two first sites see Morgan, *op.cit.*, 8f. *Cf.* also the nature of the cult of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine [M.-F. Billot, *Αρχαιογνωσία* 6 (1989/90) esp. 81-83].

[805] J.M. Hall, "Heroes, Hera and the Herakleidai in the Argive Plain", in *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 11-13 June, 1994*, in press (abstract).

[806] See Morgan, *op.cit.*, 11.

[807] *JHS* 96 (1976) 8-17. K. Fagerström, "Wealth Destruction as a Sign of Iron Age Political Strife; the Greek Example", *CSA* 1 (1993) 56 suggests that the rise of hero cults and the spread of the epics "are parallel outputs of the same general feeling" but adds that he does not believe "that the songs originated the cults".

[808] "Homer, History and Archaeology", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 266-273, quotations pp. 269, 270, respectively.

"monuments to important dead from the past, ancestor and hero cult, specific practices related to these cults, and, very importantly, these cults' potential for political manipulation",[809] which is presumably also a correct statement. Yet, one should not forget that the epics were not conceived in the 8th c., but were doubtless transmitted orally from generation to generation throughout the DA. The phenomenon of hero cult must have been stimulated by the dim memory of exceptional individuals who lived during the LBA and the DA, the extraordinary exploits and virtues of whom were kept alive and remembered through the epic poems. The races of men in Hesiod's *Works and Days* suggest that around 700 B.C. it was believed that there had existed a generation of heroes between those of Bronze and Iron, who were contemporaries with the Age of the Trojan War. It is usually thought that this generation of heroes is an interpolation, perhaps by Hesiod himself. Even if this is true, it means that around 700 there was a conscious interest for a glorious past which had immediately preceded the Ages of Homer and Hesiod. My personal feeling is that today, it is possible to argue that Homer's stories and Hesiod's race of heroes were partly based on the dim memory of exceptional men who lived in the Early Dark Ages. It is perhaps also at that point that the Greeks became fully aware that the long period that had elapsed since the fall of the Mycenaean civilisation had ultimately resulted in deeply affecting their religious beliefs, and consequently it was only then that they experienced for the first time a feeling of "distance" regarding their ancestors; they started to be seriously interested in their "heroic" past and through the newly acquired skill of writing they were able to write down the Homeric epics (or at least portions of these), which consequently became familiar to an even wider audience. Under such conditions, the sharp rise of hero cult during the LG period, especially in connection with tombs of the Late Bronze Age, may be regarded, in certain cases, as an act of the ruling class wishing to emphasise its ties with the old rulers and the legendary heroes, justifying by this act its own privileged position.[810] In some regions the cults of heroes were instigated by social or more complex political reasons. In general, the act of honouring ancestors and heroes in the LG period should be interpreted as a wish of certain families or social groups, and in some cases of entire communities, to preserve and emphasise for various reasons their ties with the past at an age during which the economic, social, political and religious conditions were rapidly changing all over the Greek World.[811] It is under these circumstances that the available wealth was now diverted from the grave to the gods and heroes.[812]

[809] *Ibid.*, 272f.

[810] As in the case of the "chiefdoms model", in which the chief claims heroic or divine ancestry in order to re-establish his superiority: J.C. Wright, "From Chief to King in Mycenaean Society", in *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 67f.

[811] I. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer", *ClAnt* 5 (1986) 129 suggests that hero cult at Mycenaean tombs meant that "the eighth-century *basileis* were the direct lineal descendants of the heroic *basileis*". K. Fagerström, *CSA* 1 (1993) 56 argues that "hero-cults can be seen as the conspicuous ritual establishment of the prestige of dominating families, alluding to alleged and claimed pedigrees".

[812] Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 52-54. See also C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 6, 19; C. Antonaccio, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 103.

CHAPTER IV

THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

PART I

HOMERIC QUESTIONS

In this study I do not aim to proceed with a thorough comparison of the Homeric poems with the archaeological record. However, a few notes regarding the Homeric houses, temples and other aspects of the material culture of the Homeric heroes might contribute towards a better understanding of the archaeological data.

A. THE NATURE OF HOMERIC KINGSHIP

In Homer each community usually had at its head a single ruler called *basileus*. It is not clear still whether these *basileis* were highborn leaders who held the right to rule on a hereditary basis,[813] or whether they held power due to their competence to lead, thanks to their personal wealth, charismatic virtues, and their abilities to attract followers and make alliances (Big Men).[814] Whitley observes that in Homer, despite the fact that good birth is a condition of high status, it is not a guarantee as well, and since a *basileus* has to attract and maintain followers, Homeric (and consequently, in his opinion, DA) *basileis* may had been Big Men.[815] Gradually, however, especially from the middle of the 8th c. B.C. onwards these Big Men would have "given way to a system of collegial rule by a land-owning nobility",[816] though in some places this system may have been preserved or reappeared.[817] In the small DA communities, the use of a chieftain's house for several centuries could be taken as an indication that kingship was hereditary, though this argument is inconclusive. It is more likely, in my opinion, that the model of the "chiefdom" fits better EIA Greece, i.e. a system between hereditary kingship and the Big Man system, in which power is vested on the chief on a hereditary basis but is constantly challenged by peers, as appears to have been the case in early Mycenaean times, before the consolidation of the *wanax*-king.[818]

Yet, one is faced with the well-known problem: does Homer portray the institutions of his own period (late 8th c. B.C., according to widespread opinion), those of the three preceding centuries (11th-9th/early 8th c. B.C.), those of the remote Mycenaean era, especially before the destructions of

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[813] As argued by H. Van Wees, *Status Warriors*, Amsterdam 1992, 31f., 281-294.

[814] On the theory of "Big Men" in EIA Greece see B. Qviller, "The Dynamics of the Homeric Society", *SOsl* 56 (1981) 117-120; W. Donlan, "The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece", *ClPh* 80 (1985) 293-308, esp. 303; J. Whitley, "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 341-365; K. Fagerström, "Wealth Destruction as a Sign of Iron Age Political Strife; the Greek Example", *CSA* 1 (1993) 53 & *id.*, *GIAA* (1988) 139-144. See also K.A. Raaflaub, "Homer und die Geschichte des 8. Jh.s v. Chr.", in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung*, ed. J. Latacz, Stuttgart & Leipzig 1991, 235f.; J. Luke, "The Krater, *Kratos*, and the *Polis*", *GaR* 41 (1994) 23-32. *Contra* see J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 12f. and Van Wees, *op.cit.* and in his "Princes at Dinner", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 168-177. R. Drews, *Basileus*, New Haven & London 1983, 100-115 claims that monarchs are not portrayed in the epics. In general on "Big Man" systems see *Private Politics: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach to 'Big-Man' Systems*, ed. M.A. Van Bakel *et al.*, Leiden 1986.

[815] "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 351.

[816] W. Donlan, "The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece", *ClPh* 80 (1985) 305.

[817] J. Whitley, *BSA* 86 (1991) 352.

[818] J.C. Wright, "From Chief to King in Mycenaean Society", in *Aegaeum* 11 (1995) 63-75 (definition pp. 66-68).

c. 1200), but also of the LH IIIC period,[819] or lastly an amalgam of the institutions of all these periods? The problem lies beyond the scope of this study but cannot be altogether ignored. It is commonly assumed that the epics include elements and features of the Mycenaean, DA and 8th c. strata, and that they also contain later interpolations.[820] What matters here is to which of these strata should one assign the socio-political structure of Homeric society. Several scholars have dealt with this subject and the emerging trend is to place the basic features of Homeric society, and kingship in particular, in the DA or in the 8th c. B.C.,[821] though it should be stressed, that not a few maintain that

[819] As for instance S. Hood, "The Bronze Age Context of Homer", in *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter & S.P. Morris, Austin 1995, 25-32. See also J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World*, London 1976, 180-186 who argues that the setting of action in the epics is the 12th of more likely the 13th c. B.C., but adds that one should not seek for much historical fact.

[820] See for instance T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, *passim*; C.M. Bowra, *Homer*, London 1972, 51-53; D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1959, *passim*; W. Taylour, *The Mycenaeans*, London 1983², 40-42; G.S. Kirk, "The Homeric Poems as History", in *CAH* II, 2B (1975) 820-850; Snodgrass, *DAG* (1971) 386-394. Most recently: E.S. Sherratt, "Reading the Texts: Archaeology and the Homeric Question", *Antiquity* 64 (1990) 807-824; J. Driessen, "Homère et les tablettes en Linéaire B. Mise au point", *AntCl* 61 (1992) 5-37; E. Pöhlmann, "Homer, Mykene und Troia: Probleme und Aspekte", *Studia Troica* 2 (1992) 187-197, esp. 196.

[821] See for example, G.S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge & New York 1962, 35-38 (the cultural background of the poems is largely post-Mycenaean); M. Finley, *WO* (1979) esp. 31 and 157, where it is argued that the world portrayed in the Odyssey is a reflection of the 10th and 9th c. B.C.; Page, *op.cit.*, 186f. and 202 who maintains that the poems contain only "faint and distorted echoes" of the Mycenaean society; Bowra, *op.cit.*, 171, 178: the social system reflects the period between the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation and the growth of the city-state; R. Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics, Sather Classical Lectures* 20 (1946) esp. 27: the cultural reference is Mycenaean, but the context need not have been equally ancient; P.A.L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*, Cambridge 1973, 156-172 who concludes that the Homeric society is that of 9th c. B.C. Greece; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Glasgow 1980, esp. 14, 22, 38f. according to whom it is the late DA period which "coincides with a wide range of phenomena" in the epics and therefore Homer depicts a society of that date; Ch. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization*, New York 1961, 129-138, 183-186, 263-268 and *id.*, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece*, New York 1977, 6-9 & 119-121: the main features of Homeric society belong to the late DA; P. Oliva, *The Birth of Greek Civilization*, London 1981, 58 & 60f.: "the principal features of Homeric society are those which were characteristic from the time in which the legends of Troy took on epic form in the Ionian and Aeolian milieu"; P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 210-214, who maintains that the Homeric society is largely contemporary with that of Homer's own time, e.g. the 8th c.; R. Drews, *Basileus*, New Haven & London 1983, esp. 5-7 & 98f.: the author claims that Homer's kingship refers to a period of a few generations after *c.* 1200 B.C. but that the meaning of the word *basileus* refers to Homer's own lifetime; Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 35 states that the Homeric picture is likely to derive from the DA, while in earlier years the same author claimed that the epics contain "a mixture of practices derived from a diversity of historical sources" ["An Historical Homeric Society?", *JHS* 94 (1974) 114-125]; A. Andrews, *Greek Society*, Harmondsworth 1971 (reprint of 1967 edition) 43f. places the Homeric society after the Ionian migrations; C.G. Thomas, "From Wanax to Basileus: Kingship in the Greek Dark Age", *HispAnt* 6 (1976) 187-207 places the background of Homeric society between 1150 and 750 B.C.; B. Qviller, "The Dynamics of the Homeric Society", *SOsl* 56 (1981) 109-155, esp. 113 who locates the Homeric World in the late 9th or early 8th c. B.C.; A.W.H. Adkins, "Homeric Values and Homeric Society", *JHS* 91 (1971) 1-14 follows Finley and so does C. Mossé, "Ithaque ou la naissance de la cité", *AnnAStorAnt* 2 (1980) 7-19, esp. 17f.; J. Sarkady, "Outlines of the Development of Greek Society in the Period between the 12th and 8th Centuries B.C.", *ActaAntHung* 23 (1975) 107-125, esp. 123, where it is assumed that Homer refers to the 9th and 8th c. B.C.; see also G. Finsler, "Das homerische Königtum", *Neue Jahrbucher für das klassische Altertum* 17 (1906) 313, who placed the Homeric society in the beginning of the historical period; O.T.P.K. Dickinson, "Homer, the Poet of the Dark Age", *GaR* 33 (1986) 20-37 concludes that "Homer has most relevance to the Dark Age" (p. 35); I. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer", *ClAnt* 5 (1986) 81-129 argues that "the society of the poems, derived from Greece in the eighth century B.C." (p. 115) and adds that Mycenaean and DA societies are absent from the epics which "describe a particular élite viewpoint" (p. 127); J. Whitley, "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 343 argues that Homeric society may be regarded as a poetic amalgam of contemporary societies of the late DA (10th-9th c.); for H. Van Wees, *Status Warriors*, Amsterdam 1992, 54-58, the Homeric Society conforms basically to what we know of the Dark Ages to the Early Archaic Age, though certain features, such as Homeric geography may well be reflections of the Mycenaean period; J.R. Lenz (*Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 175-256) is of the opinion "that the society depicted in the Homeric poems reflects in fundamental ways that of the poet's own time" (p. 181); J.P. Crielaard ("Homer, History and Archaeology", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 201-288) favours a dating of Homer and his World in the early 7th c. B.C.

the Homeric World is above all Mycenaean.[822] My personal conviction is that the Homeric society cannot be equated with that portrayed in the Linear B script; the material culture, the institutions, the religious attitudes and customs of the Homeric heroes present instead many affinities with the 8th c. world, but also with the preceding Dark Ages. Yet, certain details suggest that there was no fundamental break between the institutions of the Mycenaean era and of those of the EIA. The main difference between the two periods is that while the *wanax* of the Mycenaean state, as revealed to us by the tablets and the archaeological record, was the head of a complex administrative structure which controlled a vast territory,[823] the *anax*, as portrayed in the epics was in most cases but a *primus inter pares*,[824] whose power often did not exceed the limits of one single settlement and its immediate surroundings and sometimes, though not always, he may have even shared it with other noblemen. Likewise, Hesiod's "gift-devouring kings" are usually thought to represent local aristocrats or a collegial rule of kings. The same stands for the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, usually dated in the 7th c., where we hear of the rule of several *basileis*.[825] It should be stressed here that Homer uses also the term *basileus* to designate a ruler; *anax* and *basileus* are in fact interchangeable in the epics, though

[822] M.P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, London 1933, *passim* and esp. 206 & 211: the Homeric poems reflect mainly the Mycenaean Age; J.V. Luce, *Homer and the Heroic Age*, London 1975, *passim* and esp. 71ff. and 79ff., according to whom the structure of Homeric society is Mycenaean rather than DA; M.T. Arnheim, *Aristocracy in Greek Society*, Plymouth 1977, 23-48, esp. 28 and 47f.: the author maintains that the society in the epics is that of the Mycenaean period, though he adds that perhaps the disruption between the Mycenaean and DA society was not very important; S. Marinatos, "ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΕΣ", in *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson* I, ed. G.E. Mylonas, St. Louis 1951, 126-134 who regarded Homeric kingship as Mycenaean; G.E. Mylonas, "The Wanax of the Mycenaean State", in *Classical Studies presented to B.E. Perry*, Urbana, Chicago & London 1969, 66-79 where the poems serve as evidence for the Mycenaean period.

[823] The overlordship of Agamemnon in the Trojan expedition has been taken by some scholars as an indication of an hegemony of Mycenae over the other palatial centres in the LBA [see for instance Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 218; Nilsson, *op.cit.*, 217f., 222f.]. This seems rather unlikely [C.G. Thomas, "A Mycenaean Hegemony? A Reconsideration", *JHS* 90 (1970) 184-192; J.T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece*, London 1976, 136f.]; for instance the Linear B tablets from Pylos never mention the *wanax* of Mycenae but on the contrary attest that the *wanax* of Pylos ruled the entire Messenian peninsula (Chadwick, *op.cit.*, 35-48; *id.*, "The Two Provinces of Pylos", *Minos* 7 (1963) 125-141]. According to Drews (*Basileus*, New Haven & London 1983, 5-7 & 98f.), Homer's Agamemnon derives from the Thessalian warlords of the 12th c. B.C. In the Catalogue of Ships, in the second Book of the Iliad Agamemnon is portrayed as a ruler of the NE Peloponnese only. In an earlier passage however (Il. II, 108) he is said to rule over several Aegean islands. This may have been true, but the essential point is that at home, figures such as Nestor or Menelaos are not subjected to the power of the king of Mycenae. For those who accept that the Catalogue of Ships is a dim memory of the political geography of the Mycenaean Age, the inevitable conclusion is that the *wanax* of Mycenae did not rank higher than the other Mycenaean rulers. Agamemnon's temporary overlordship during the Trojan expedition should either be regarded as a poetical fiction, or something which would have occurred only during conjoint expeditions. Yet, if we accept that the Catalogue reflects the DA or the Geometric period, the status of the heroic "leaders" can be better understood; indeed, lately, scholars are beginning to question the "Mycenaean" origin of the Catalogue: see for instance J.K. Anderson, "The Geometric Catalogue of Ships", in *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter & S.P. Morris, Austin 1995, 181-191 and A. Gounaris, "Η απουσία των Κυκλάδων από τον *Νηών Κατάλογον*. Ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση βάσει του μύθου", in *Β' Κυκλαδολογικό Συνέδριο, Θήρα, 31 Αυγ.-3 Σεπτ. 1995*, proceedings forthcoming. Concerning the questions related to the Homeric Catalogue of ships see also: D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1959, chapter IV; T.W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, Oxford 1921; G. Jachmann, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias*, Köln 1958; V. Burr, "ΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. Untersuchungen zum homerischen Schiffskatalog", *Klio* Beiheft 49 (1944); R. Hope Simpson & J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford 1970; G.L. Huxley, "Mycenaean Decline and the Homeric Catalogue of Ships", *BICS* 3 (1956) 19-30; A.J. Toynbee, "The Homeric Catalogue of the Contingents in Agamemnon's Expeditionary Force", in *Some Problems in Greek History*, Oxford 1969, 1-12; D. Marcozzi & M. Sinatra, "Il catalogo delle navi: un problema ancora aperto", *SMEA* 25 (1984) 303-316; N. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa, "Οι Κυκλάδες κατά τη μυκηναϊκή περίοδο. Υποθέσεις για την απουσία τους από τον Νηών Κατάλογο", *AAA* 21 (1988) 129-136 assumes that the Cyclades are not mentioned in the Catalogue because they were allies of one or more Mycenaean states.

[824] *Cf.* the status of Alcinous (Od. VII, 10; VIII, 390f.) and even of Agamemnon in the Trojan expedition.

[825] J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 208-210.

the latter is never used to designate a divinity.[826] It is generally believed that the counterpart of *basileus* in the Linear B tablets is the *qa-si-re-u*, a rather unimportant official, perhaps the chief of a semi-independent provincial town or village,[827] who seems to have been responsible with the allocation of bronze and for this reason "would very possibly need an insignium, perhaps a sceptre, underlying his status".[828] This also matches with the assumption that one of the main differences between the Mycenaean and EIA periods lies in the size of the dominated territory; indeed, it has been often claimed that after the collapse of the centralised Mycenaean kingdoms, Greece was segmented into petty "states", a fact which the archaeological record leaves no doubt about. The reason for which the new rulers were called *basileis* as well as *anaktes* may be, as scholars have often suggested, that the local rulers gained their independence after the upheavals of the end of the LBA and therefore from local governors assumed the leadership of a self sustained community.[829] Perhaps, in those places where life continued immediately after the upheavals of the end of the LH IIIB period, the *wanax* may have continued to rule, though his kingdom would have become much smaller. If this assumption is correct, one might find it easier to understand why by Homer's time, *anax* and *basileus* came to have roughly the same meaning.[830] Remains however to establish the degree of continuity between the LH IIIC period and the succeeding centuries, down to the monumental composition of the poems sometime during the second half of the 8th c. B.C.

In certain of the mainland sites there are hints that the rulers who lived between the 12th and 8th c. B.C. were ethnically related to the Mycenaeans or at least acted as if they were the descendants of the people who lived in the same area in the LBA. At Tiryns, the new residence of the ruler (Building T: LH IIIC-DA) was erected in the same place as the earlier similar residence. In early 10th c. B.C. Lefkandi, one observes that the deceased couple wished to emphasise its ties with the Mycenaean period: horses were sacrificed and buried next to the deceased couple (Fig. 90) according to a well attested Mycenaean aristocratic custom,[831] and the warrior's ashes were placed in a 12th c.

[826] P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 215-230, where the uses in the two poems of *anax*, *basileus* and their derivatives are assembled. See also B.C. Dietrich, in *Atti e memorie del 1. congresso internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 27 Sett.-3 Ott., 1967*, Roma 1968, 1008, n. 101; R. Descat, "L' idéologie homérique du pouvoir", *REA* 81 (1979) 230; E. Lévy, "Lien personnel et titre royal: *Anax* et *basileus* dans l'Iliade", in *Le système palatial en Orient, Grèce et à Rome, Colloque de Strasbourg 19-22 juin 1985*, ed. E. Lévy, Strasbourg 1987, 291-314.

[827] On the functions of the *qa-si-re-u* see Carlier, *op.cit.*, 108-116; J.L. O'Neil, "The Words Qasireu, Qasirewija and Kerosija", *ZivaAnt* 20 (1970) 11-14; L.A. Stella, *La civiltà micenea nei documenti contemporanei*, Roma 1965, 54-57, 62f.; see in first place M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956, 404 (*pa2-si-re-u*). See also G.S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge & New York 1962, 29; D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1959, 186-188; J.V. Luce, *Homer and the Heroic Age*, London 1975, 79f.; J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World*, London 1976, 70f.; W. Taylour, *The Mycenaeans*, London 1983[2], 41f.; A. Amaraschi, "Terminologia della regalità a Micene", *AttiMemFirenze* 23 (1958) section 4; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Glasgow 1980, 40f.; J. Driessen, "Homère et les tablettes en Linéaire B. Mise au point", *AntCl* 61 (1992) 25-27.

[828] N. Kourou, "Sceptres and Maces in Cyprus", in *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1994, 214.

[829] In general previous two notes and also C.G. Thomas, *HispAnt* 6 (1976) 188, 190f.; F. Gschnitzer, in *Colloquium Mycenaeum*, ed. E. Risch & H. Mühlstein, Neuchâtel & Genève 1979, 128; S. Deger-Jalkotzy, "Frühgriechische Herrschaftsformen in mykenischer Zeit", *Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg* (1989) 133-151; *id.*, "Discontinuität und Kontinuität: Aspekte politischer und sozialer Organisation in mykenischer Zeit und in die Welt der homerischen Epen", in *Transizione* (1991) 53-66.

[830] On the meaning of *anax*, *basileus* and their derivatives: Carlier, *La royauté...* (*op.cit.*) 141-150, n. 15 at p. 141 for references. I should point out that the fact that the title *basileus* is not applied to divinities proves that in Homer's times there existed a dim memory that *anax* originally meant a person of superior status.

[831] M. Andronikos, *Totenkult, AHom* III, W, 1968, 85-87; V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* I, Nicosia 1967, 117-119, with references; E. Kosmetatou, "Horse Sacrifices in Greece and Cyprus", *JPR* 7 (1993) 31-41; E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988*, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990, 94-102 (Dendra); G. Rizza, "Tombes de chevaux", in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C."*, Nicosia 1973, 294-297, 322; *id.*, in *Creta Antica: cento anni di archeologia italiana, 1884-1984*, Roma 1984, 247, concerning several 12th (?) c. horse burials discovered at Prinias. On horse burials of the EIA see V. Karageorghis, "Horse Burials on the Island of Cyprus", *Archaeology* 18 (1965) 282-290; *id.*, *Salamis in Cyprus*, London 1969, 23-150; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1979/80) 50f. (Knossos).

B.C. urn of Cypriot manufacture (Figs. 94-95). A spear of the Mycenaean period was perhaps the sceptre of the heroised warrior of Eretria (Fig. 107). One should also recall here the cases of Asine and Grotta. At the first site a grave of the 11th c. B.C. was found in the dromos of a Mycenaean chamber grave, other graves were opened inside the ruins of the settlement of the Mycenaean period and in one case a Mycenaean vase was used for libations on top of a tomb of the 11th c. B.C.[832] The last instance may be compared with a recent discovery at Grotta where a LH IIIC hydria was intentionally deposited above a LPG grave (Fig. 331). These few examples attest to the transmission from generation to generation of heirlooms; it also provides a satisfactory explanation of the fact that the Homeric poems occasionally mention objects (such as the well-known boar's tusk helmet) which were in use during the Mycenaean period.[833]

Crete is a special case. The palace of Knossos may have continued to serve as an administrative centre, for much longer than previously thought.[834] Whichever the issue of this embarrassing problem, two points should be made: (1) Even if Knossos was ruled for a long period by Mycenaeans, Cretan society retained its Minoan character throughout the LBA. (2) It is likely that in LM IIIC times there was a new influx of Mycenaeans from mainland Greece.[835] This last point may perhaps explain the erection of several chieftains' dwellings of mainland character (Karphi, Prinias, Smari) in Crete from the 12th c. B.C. onwards. If then one should seek a continuous tradition between the LBA and EIA institutions in Crete, one should expect to detect features of autochthonous (e.g. Minoan) and mainland (e.g. Mycenaean) strata. One should of course investigate thoroughly the material evidence of the LM III period, and especially the sites which possessed buildings which may have been ruler's dwellings in order to establish the extent of the Minoan and mainland traditions.[836] This would lead me far from the chronological scope of this study.

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[832] Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 98; B. Wells, *Asine* II, 4:2, Stockholm 1983, 123.

[833] G.S. Kirk, "Objective Dating Criteria in Homer", *MusHelv* 17 (1960) 189-205; H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, *passim*; B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 190-206; J.P. Crielaard, "Homer, History and Archaeology. Some Remarks on the Date of the Homeric World", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 201-288.

[834] In general see A. Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm 1941, 84; L.R. Palmer, *The Find-Places of the Knossos Tablets*, Oxford 1963; *id.*, *The Penultimate Palace of Knossos*, Rome 1969; M. Popham, *The Last Days of the Palace at Knossos*, *SIMA* 5 (1964); *id.*, *Kadmos* 5 (1966) 17-24; *id.*, *The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos*, *SIMA* 12 (1970); S. Hood, *Kadmos* 4 (1965) 16-44; *id.*, *The Minoans: Crete in the Bronze Age*, London 1971, 149f.; L. Pomerance, *The Final Collapse of Santorini*, *SIMA* 26 (1970); J.T. Hooker, "The Context of the Knossos Tablets", *SMEA* 5 (1968) 17-19; E. Hallager, *The Mycenaean Palace at Knossos: Evidence for Final Destruction in the LH IIIB Period*, London 1977; W.-D. Niemeier, "The Character of the Knossian Palace Society in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century B.C.: Mycenaean or Minoan?", in *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981*, ed. O. Krzyszkowska & L. Nixon, Bristol 1983, 217-236; P. Warren, "The Destruction of the Palace of Knossos", in *The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 B.C.*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Larnaca 1989, 33-37. For a concise discussion of the problem see J.T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece*, London 1976, 70-80, R.F. Willets, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete*, London 1977, chapter 9, and P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 38f.

[835] Notably Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) esp. 193-195; *id.*, in *Πεπραγμένα του Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A', Athens 1973, 62-69.

[836] L. Pernier & L. Banti, *Guida degli scavi italiani in Creta*, Roma 1947, 35f.; A. Di Vita, *ASAtene* 57/58 (1979/80) 491; J. Oelmann, "Ein achäisches Herrenhaus auf Kreta", *JdI* 27 (1912) 38-51; E. Hallager, "The History of the Palace at Knossos in the Late Minoan Period", *SMEA* 19 (1978) 19f.; W.-D. Niemeier, in *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981*, ed. O. Krzyszkowska & L. Nixon, Bristol 1983, 227; C. Laviosa, "La casa TM III a Festos: osservazioni sull' architettura cretese in età micenea", in *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di D. Levi* 1, *CdA* 12 (1973) 79-88; N. Platon, *La civilisation égéenne*, 2, Paris 1981, 321-326; Sinos, *Hausformen* (1971) 104-106; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) *passim*; Y. Tzedakis & E. Hallager, *AAA* 16 (1983) 14; 17 (1984) fig. 10 at p. 13; E. Hallager, in *Πεπραγμένα του Ε' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A', Herakleion 1985, 148-150. Large edifices of "mainland" character have been discovered at Gournia, Tylisos, Chania and Ay. riada (the two latter date in the LM IIIA2 period); these were perhaps rulers' dwellings. The status of these "palatial" buildings is however uncertain: Tylisos may have still been a dependency of Knossos and Ay. Triada may have played the role previously held by Phaistos: see Platon, *op.cit.*, 323. It should be stressed however that Phaistos was still occupied in the LM III period, but the nature and extent of this occupation has not been elucidated yet: see Laviosa, *op.cit.*, 79-81.

B. THE HOMERIC HOUSE

The progress of excavations of edifices of the transitional period between the LH IIIC and LG periods calls for a re-examination of the questions connected with the Homeric houses and palaces. It has been repeatedly noted that the epics describe "a particular élite viewpoint" and were in fact composed to satisfy the élite.[837] Therefore, the houses of the heroes are those of the *aristoi*, or at least those that would have been fit for the *aristoi*, even if their description was not entirely conform with the reality of the EIA.[838] It has been habitual to compare the Homeric *megaron* (palace or *oikos*) with the palatial centres of the LBA, such as Mycenae, Tiryns or Pylos, and even those who accept today that the epics reflect the state of affairs of EIA Greece confess that the general impression accords better with the Mycenaean rather than with the DA or 8th c. reality.[839] The discourse is enormous and I hope to return to the topic in a future study. Here, however, I would like to mark a few points, drawing most of them from the study of M. Knox but taking into account the increased body of evidence (Table X).[840]

The Homeric term μέγαρον (pl. μέγαρα) designs sometimes the main room of the nobleman's home, or the entire *oikos*.[841] There is no hint which would allow one to argue that Homer has in mind a specific type of building, and in fact there can be no single reconstruction of an imaginative "Homeric" house.[842] In modern literature the term "megaron" is usually used to designate a rectangular free-standing building, entered from the short side and comprising a main room, a porch and in some cases a second anteroom.[843] Some scholars prefer to restrict the use of the term to the Mycenaean era, others include earlier and later periods as well. Sometimes, oikos and apsidal buildings are not considered as "megara", though Homer does not specify the type of the facade and the form of the ground plan of his "*megara*", and he also uses interchangeable terms, such as δώματα, δόμοι and οἰκία. One scholar has even made a plea for abandoning altogether the use of the term.[844]

As M.O. Knox correctly points out, it is most probable that Homer would have called the main room of the chieftain's dwelling at Zagora (Fig. 306) a "*megaron*".[845] The same stands for other

[837] I. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer", in *ClAnt* 5 (1986) 127.

[838] *Ibid.*, who speaks generally about the historical value of the epics.

[839] For instance O.T.P.K. Dickinson, "Homer, the Poet of the Dark Age", *GaR* 33 (1986) 29 and E. Pöhlmann, "Homer, Mykene und Troia: Probleme und Aspekte", *Studia Troica* 2 (1992) 191f. See also A. Veneri, "Omero e il palazzo miceneo", in *Transizione* (1991) 177-186.

[840] "*House* and *Palace* in Homer", *JHS* 90 (1970) 117-120; *id.*, "Megarons and Megara. Homer and Archaeology", *ClQ* 23 (1973) 1-21. See also Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 128-133 and the outdated but still useful H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 406-451.

[841] M.O. Knox,*ClQu* N.S. 23 (1973) 2.

[842] See for example J.L. Myres, "On the Plan of the Homeric House, with Special Reference to Mycenaian Analogies", *JHS* 20 (1900) 128-150; E. Gardner, "The Greek House", *JHS* 21 (1901) 293-305, esp. 294-298; G. Dickins, "Some Points with Regard to the Homeric House", *JHS* 23 (1903) 325-334; S.E. Bassett, "The Palace of Odysseus", *AJA* 23 (1919) 288-311; A.J.B. Wace, "Notes on the Homeric House", *JHS* 71 (1951) 203-211; D. Gray, "Houses in the *Odyssey*", *ClQ* 49 (1955) 1-12; J. Bérard, "Le plan du palais d' Ulysse d'après l'Odyssée", *REG* 67 (1954) 1-34; A.J.B. Wace & F.H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer*, London 1962, 489-497.

[843] For instance see A. Boethius, *BSA* 24 (1919/21) 163; E.B. Smith, *AJA* 48 (1944) 101; V. Müller, "The Development of the Megaron in Prehistoric Greece", *AJA* 48 (1944) 342; D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1945[3], 385; W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London 1950[3], 392; B. Schweitzer, "Megaron und Hofhaus in der Ägäis des 3-2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.", *BSA* 46 (1951) 160-167; Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) 30; M.P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, London 1933, 72; *id.*, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968[2], 17; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 129f.; M.O. Knox, *ClQu* N.S. 23 (1973) 1f.; A. Johnston, *The Emergence of Greece*, Oxford 1976, 143; J. Warner, *AJA* 83 (1979) 134, 137; S. Laufer, "Megaron", in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 208-215; A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, ed. R.A. Tomlinson, Harmondsworth 1983[4], 89. The word "megaron" appears in almost every study concerned with Greek architecture but rarely is a definition provided. Now see K. Werner, *The Megaron during the Aegean and Anatolian Bronze Age*, Jonsered 1993 (*SIMA* 108) 3-5.

[844] P. Darcque, "Pour l'abandon du terme *mégaron*", in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 Juin 1987*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 21-31.

[845] *ClQu* N.S. 23 (1973) 2.

agglutinative leaders' dwellings, such as Room AA at Phaistos, Building A at Vronda, etc., despite the fact that such edifices were not free-standing and had no porch. Even one-room free-standing oikoi, such as Building C at Koukounaries or House Z at Vitsa Zagoriou, which was apsidal in its second building phase, might have been called "*megara*" by Homer. One then suspects that Homer would have used this term to designate any ruler's or noble's dwelling, regardless of its plan and external appearance (*cf.* Table X). Certain elements, however, which repeatedly recur in the poems allow one to define the essential "prerequisites" of the home of a hero.

The heroes sometimes participate in the construction of certain units of their house (*cf.* the chambers of Odysseus and Paris), while the word τέκτων serves to designate all kinds of builders and technicians, such as architects, carpenters and ship builders. On the other hand we know that in the Mycenaean period there was a specialised terminology for each of the above mentioned categories of workmen: *to-ko-do-mo, te-ko-to* and *na-u-do-mo*, respectively.

Homer nowhere mentions that mud brick was used for the construction of the walls, as was the general practice during both the LBA and EIA, but discordantly describes stone built houses and usually with worked stones (Il. XVI, 212; Od., XXIII, 193). It is of course established today that the Greeks of the 8th c. were capable of working stones (stoneworking in the Corinthia,[846] Temple II at Iria, postern gate of the acropolis wall at Minoa, Fig. 348,[847] Old Smyrna fortification walls, Fig. 397,[848] etc.), though the widespread use of the new techniques did not affect profoundly Greek architecture before the early 7th c. B.C.

The roof may have been either pitched or flat, though the former type may have prevailed (Il. XVII, 737ff.; XXIII, 711ff.; XXIV, 488). Both systems were in use during the LBA and the EIA, though in the former period the majority would have been flat,[849] and this appears to have been the case of the palatial megara at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and elsewhere. The axial roof beam of the presumably pitched Homeric roof appears to have been called μέλαθρον (always in singular) and the oblique cross beams ἀμείβοντες or δοκοί. Steep roofs are often observed in the building models of the Geometric period (Argos, Perachora, Aetos, Samos, Figs. 495-508). The large apsidal buildings of the EIA élite were doubtless roofed in a similar manner (Fig. 89), but the manner of roofing of the corresponding rectangular buildings is not easy to reconstruct. On the other hand, the Cretan and several Samian models depict structures with flat roofs (Figs. 502-504, 510). The μεσόδμη (Od. XIX, 37; XX, 354) is an ambiguous term which often occurs in connection with the walls of a *megaron* (τοῖχοι μεγάρων καλαί τε μεσόδμαι). It may have been synonymous with σταθμός which is also an obscure term usually associated with the roof (παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος) or the door (Od. XXI, 44f.). The σταθμός may have been a vertical element (Od. XVII, 96ff.: παρὰ σταθμὸν μεγάροιο, κλισμῷ κεκλιμένη), perhaps a wooden parastade, but it is also possible to identify it, as well as the μεσόδμη, with the posts set in an upright position against the inner face of the wall of several PG and Geometric buildings (*cf.* Lefkandi Toumba, Eretria A, Nichoria IV-1, etc.).

The internal free-standing supports of the Homeric *megaron* were presumably circular in section but Homer offers no evidence of the spatial arrangement of these supports with the main room of the *megaron*. Therefore, any further analysis of the question would have been sterile.

The Homeric *megaron* was additionally provided with a πρόδομο and an αἴθουσα. The use of two terms is usually taken as proof that the description tallies with the central megara of the Mycenaean palaces.[850] Lorimer, however, was able to show that Homer had in mind a single porch,[851] since in Od. IV, 297 Telemachos and Peisistratos are invited to sleep at the αἴθουσα of Menelaos'

[846] A.C. Brookes, "Stoneworking in the Geometric Period at Corinth", *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 285-290; R.F. Rhodes, "Early Stoneworking in the Corinthia", *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 229-232.

[847] L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 369-371, pl. 196β.

[848] R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 97f., 122.

[849] *Contra* see S. Iakovides, "Mycenaean Roofs: Form and Construction", in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 147-160.

[850] See for instance the LH III palatial megara at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos (O. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge 1993, 154-156, figs. 5.29, 5.30, 5.31, respectively) and the early Mycenaean "mansion" at Sparta (R.L.N. Barber, "The Origins of the Mycenaean Palace", in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, ed. J. Motyka Sanders, London 1992, 11-23, fig. 8 at p. 12), but also in the LH IIIC House O at Korakou (G. Hiesel, *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 51).

[851] *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 415-422.

megaron and later on (v. 302) we are informed that they are sleeping in the πρόδομος. This detail alone suggests that the Homeric palace is not such an exceptional building, since visitors are offered accommodation in the anteroom of the edifice, a practice understandable in an EIA context but impossible to imagine in a Mycenaean palace. The Homeric porch has columns (Od. XVII, 29) and at least one side door which has been regarded as a reference to the analogous side doors of the Mycenaean palatial megara, including Gla.[852] However, side doors leading to ancillary rooms are also encountered in the porch of Geometric rulers' dwellings, as those at Zagora which led to Rooms H22 and H28 (Fig. 307c).

Regarding the position of the doors of the Homeric *megaron* the situation seems complicated. The details in the episode of the slaying of the suitors in Od. XXII has often been regarded as evidence that the *megaron* possessed a single entrance. The action, however, taking place in Od. XXI, 381-385 implies the existence of a side entrance which must have been situated near the front rather than in the back of the main room. Such side doorways have indeed been detected in rulers' dwellings of the EIA (Nichoria IV-1a, Lefkandi Toumba, Antissa III-1) but are lacking from their counterparts of the LBA. The thresholds were usually of stone (Od. XX, 258), a feature consistent with both the LBA and EIA.

The floor of the *megaron* was of trodden earth (Od. XXI, 120; XXII, 455), like those of the rulers' dwellings of the EIA but certainly dissimilar to the plastered floors of the Mycenaean palatial megara. The main room of the Homeric palace is provided with a hearth and seats. One assumes that the former would have been centrally placed but in one episode we hear that Penelope is sitting by the hearth, near the wall (Od. XXIII, 89ff.). This could be taken either as an indication that hearths were not always axially placed (*cf.* Kastanas, Vathy Limenari) or that the size of the room was small and therefore somebody sitting by the fire would have inevitably been next to the wall (*cf.* Zagora H19, and several other rulers' dwellings of the EIA). The shape, size and type of hearth are not specified but again on one occasion Odysseus sits "ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν κονίῃσιν, πάρ πυρί" (Od. VII, 153f.), something which could mean that the hearth was raised regarding the floor, like the circular hearths of the Mycenaean palaces or the "altar" in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria. However, EIA hearths were often bordered by upright slabs which projected beyond the level of the floor (Smari, Prinias B and *cf.* also the hearth outside the feasting hall at Lathouriza). In the poems the hearth sometimes serves for the preparation of food, especially for roasting meet (Od. XIV, 420ff. in the hut of Eumaios and XVIII, 44), and doubtless for heating and lighting.[853] There were also braziers called λαμπτῆρες. Fagerström has argued that the circular paving in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria fits the description (Od. XIX, 61-64), but this seems unlikely since it seems that Homer has in mind portable structures.[854] On the other hand, the loom weights which were found by the side walls of the same room corroborate Homer's picture of the discrete use of space by the women for household activities.[855]

The members of the *oikos* and guests who are invited in the *megaron* usually sit by the hearth (Od. VI, 305: XXIII, 89ff.). During the dinner the participants should be presumably visualised sitting along the side walls of the main room (Od. VII, 95: θρόνοι περί τοῖχον ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καί ἔνθα). Such an arrangement brings to ones mind the throne of the Mycenaean megaron but also the benches in the rulers' houses of the EIA (Nichoria IV-1b, Asine C, Zagora Rooms H19, H22, Smari A, Lathouriza Rooms I & II). The *megaron* of Nestor is provided also with stone seats by the entrance (Od. III, 405-409), i.e. presumably beneath the porch, as in the case of Building T at Tiryns.

The Homeric palace appears to have been provided with annexes, usually called θάλαμοι. These annexes served as bedrooms or as storerooms for food and armour (*cf.* Lefkandi Toumba); sometimes they are located at ground level, other times in the upper storey. The θάλαμος of Odysseus and Penelope is situated on the ground floor but it had been built before Odysseus acceded

[852] G. Hiesel, *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 252, no. 28.

[853] G. de Pierpont points out that it is usually not possible to be certain that the various related episodes take place in connection with the main or some subsidiary hearth: "Le rôle du foyer monumental dans la grande salle du palais mycénien", in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique*, ed. P. Darcque & R. Treuil, *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 257.

[854] Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 206, based on Od. XVIII, 307.

[855] K. Fagerström, "Finds, Function and Plan: a Contribution to the Interpretation of Iron Age Nichoria in Messenia", *OpAth* 17 (1988) 33-50, esp. 41f.; on two possible structures which may have been loom stands in Geometric houses at Asine (Fig. 230) and Xeropolis/Lefkandi (Fig. 97) see *id.*, *GIAA* (1988) 132f.

to power (Od. XXIII, 192ff.). The food cellars are partly underground (e.g. the apsidal compartment in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria; *cf.* also the pithos-nests in the apsidal compartment of the Toumba building at Lefkandi). The women's quarters and bedrooms were presumably situated upstairs (θάλαμος, ὑπερῶϊον, ὑπερῶϊα). The location of Penelope's θάλαμος is also problematic (Od. XXI, 42ff.). There was also a μέγαρον γυναικῶν (Od. XVIII, 185ff.) which would have been situated either in the ground floor or in the ὑπερῶϊον. The smaller megara at Tiryns and Pylos were previously thought to fit the description ("queen's megaron"), but it is today argued that these reflect a dual system of administration instead.[856] An upper storey appears to have existed in the Mycenaean palatial megara (Tiryns and Mycenaean frescoes) but also in the EIA (staircase at Lefkandi Toumba, Fig. 89, possible loft at Nichoria IV-5, Fig. 270, and perhaps at Zagora H19, Vronda, Vrokastro and Praisos. *Cf.* also a mid-6th c. B.C. house model from the Heraion at Samos, Fig. 506[857]). E. Pöhlmann argues that the mention of staircases and upper storeys in the epics reflects the Mycenaean period, rather than the EIA.[858] However, the substructure for a staircase at the Toumba building at Lefkandi (Fig. 86), if correctly interpreted as such, proves that such elements were also known in EIA Greece.

Outside the *megaron* there was a yard (αὐλή) which was usually bordered by a low fence or peribolos, an ἕρκος with a door which could be locked (Il. IX, 476). No such flimsy peribolos surrounds the courts of the Mycenaean palaces, but a similar picture emerges from the situation at Eretria (Fig. 104, first phase, Xeropolis/Lefkandi, Fig. 96, Old Smyrna, Fig. 414b, etc.). In the courtyard of the palace of Priam (Il. XXIV, 163ff.) and that of Odysseus (Od. XXII, 297) there were heaps of dung in the court, animals were slaughtered before consumption, a picture congruous with the EIA archaeological record but unthinkable for the Mycenaean palaces. An altar consecrated to the cult of Zeus exists in the courtyard of Odysseus' home (Od. XXII, 334), a feature recurring both in LBA (Tiryns) and EIA (?Koukos, Tiryns T, Lathouriza, Eretria, Zagora, Emporio, Prinias, Table IX) contexts. In Odysseus' courtyard there is also an enigmatic structure, the θόλος (Od. XXII, 442, 459, 466), which is generally identified with a round silo, unparalleled in a LBA context but comparable to those from Xeropolis/Lefkandi (Fig. 98) and Old Smyrna (Figs. 408, 410-411), and now also to the round buildings at Oropos situated in front of Building Θ and all surrounded by a peribolos (Fig. 77). Lastly, within the courtyard there are θάλαμοι which belong to the members of the household (Telemachos has a θάλαμος in the courtyard of this father's house, Od. I, 425 and the 50 sons of Priam and his 12 sons-in-law dwell in similar units at Troy, Il. VI, 242-250),[859] while the houses of Hector and Paris were located nearby (Il. VI, 317). This last reference, if not regarded as a poetical exaggeration, points towards the layout of the mainland palaces of the LBA, though it could also fit cases such as the acropolis of Koukounaries, provided that one accepts that the plateau was inhabited by the expanded family of the ruler.

In conclusion, it becomes clear that the basic elements of the Homeric house can be found in the architecture of the PG and Geometric periods and that there is no longer need to trace back the Homeric palace to the Mycenaean period, though certain descriptions, such as the architectural complexity could derive from the palatial architecture of the LBA.[860] The discovery of the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi (Fig. 89), however, regardless whether we consider it a "palace" or a "funerary palace", has provided us with the missing elusive evidence which Finley would have certainly liked

[856] K. Kilian, "Zur Funktion der mykenischen Residenzen auf dem griechischen Festland", in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, ed. R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1987, 21-36; *id.*, "The Emergence of *Wanax* Ideology in the Mycenaean Palaces", *OJA* 7 (1988) 291-302; *id.*, "Μυκηναϊκά ανάκτορα της Αργολίδας. Αρχιτεκτονική εξέλιξη από την οικία του αρχηγού στο ανάκτορο του WA-NAX", in *Πρακτικά Β' Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Αργολικών Σπουδών, Άργος, 30 Μαΐου-1 Ιουνίου 1986, Πελοποννησιακά* 14 (1989) Παράρτημα, 3-40.

[857] Schattner, *Hausmodelle* (1990) 63, fig. 26 at p. 64, pl. 16.1-2, no. 26

[858] *Studia Troica* 2 (1992) 191f.

[859] The latter reference may derive from descriptions of palaces from Egypt and the Middle East: see O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *GaR* 33 (1986) 29.

[860] See for instance E.S. Sherratt, "Reading the Texts: Archaeology and the Homeric Question", *Antiquity* 64 (1990) 814, 817, who, however, assumes that staircases, upper chambers and reference to flat roofs in the epics betray a LBA stratum, while pitched roofs, earthen floors and relative simplicity denote a DA or "post-palatial" stratum. Nevertheless, all features which Sherratt considers "early" are encountered in the DA as well.

to have known at the time he was writing his *World of Odysseus*.[861] It is therefore possible to imagine that Homer had in mind such grandiose structures as the one at Lefkandi when he described the palaces of the heroes of the past.[862] In that respect B. Powell's suggestion that "Homer had his audience - possibly in the banquet halls of Lefkandi" acquires more credibility, despite the fact that no such "banquet hall" of the first half of the 8th c., period during which Powell assumes Homer would have lived, has been found yet at Lefkandi.[863] If, however, one accepts that the poems were transmitted orally through the Dark Ages, the central room of the Lefkandi building would have been appropriate for *aoidic* performances. In the 8th c. the poems were doubtless sung in less pretentious Euboean aristocratic dwellings, such as Building A at Eretria (Fig. 105).[864]

C. HOMERIC TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES[865]

It has often been emphasised that the epics show signs that the concept of the "polis" was on its way.[866] Since the monumental composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey is generally agreed to have taken place in the 8th c. B.C., it is not at all strange to detect such evidence, for it is generally accepted that the rise of the Greek "city-states" is to be placed at precisely this period. To restrict the discussion to the topic of this study, I should make clear that I adhere to the opinion of those scholars who maintain that one of the features which indicate that a community is rapidly evolving into a "polis" is the "urban" temple, dedicated to a poliad divinity.[867] As I hope to have shown in the preceding sections, practically no nucleated communities possessed such a temple before the mid-8th c. B.C. For the LG and SG periods the number of sites which have revealed "urban" temples rises sharply, especially in the years around 700 B.C.

In Homer, to use M. Finley's words, temples "creep into the poems".[868] Roofed cult buildings are mentioned seven times in the Iliad and twice in the Odyssey.[869] If we restrict the discussion to the sure "urban" temples mentioned in the poems[870] we may mention the temples of Athena at Troy (Il. VI, 88, 275, 297, 379) and Athens (Il. II, 549), that of Apollo at Troy (Il. V, 446 and VII, 83), and

[861] *WO* (1979) 148 (first ed. 1954): "The core of the Homeric palace belongs to the early first millennium B.C." though he had to concede that the scale, the intricacy and the rich decoration "belong to the imagination ... as the poets tried, with the help of their inherited formulas, to elevate the pitiful buildings they knew, which they also knew to be inappropriate, to something they could not visualize but imagined to be appropriate".

[862] J.P. Crielaard, "Les Mycéniens et les poèmes épiques d'Homère", *DossAParis* 195 (1994) 133.

[863] *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 185.

[864] Powell concludes that "it would be hard to find an historical audience that fits more closely what we can infer from the poems than the affluent, seafaring Euboians" (*ibid.*, 231). Powell argues that the person who wrote down the poems was not Homer himself, but a Euboean "adapter" who worked around 800 B.C. (Powell even suggests that he could be identified with Palamedes) and that the first copies circulated among Euboeans (*ibid., passim*, esp. 232-236). It should be also underlined that the *aiodos* would have sung only portions of the Iliad or the Odyssey, due to the extraordinary length of the poems (*ibid.*, 228f.).

[865] Most recently, see J.P. Crielaard, "Homer, History and Archaeology", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 247-265.

[866] C. Mossé, AnnAStorAnt 2 (1980) 8; P. Lévêque, "Genèse de la cite, contradictions sociales et mutations religieuses", in *AttiCAntCl* 11 (1980/81) 347f.; J. Sarkady, *ActaAntHung* 23 (1975) 123; C.G. Thomas, "Homer and the Polis", *PP* 21 (1966) 5-14. *Contra* see Finley, *WO* (1979) 34.

[867] Snodgrass, *Archaeology* (1977) 24; J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAWG* 272 (1984) 10.

[868] *WO* (1979) 149.

[869] Il. I, 37-41, V, 446, VI (four references), VII, 83. Od. VI, 9f. and XII, 346f.

[870] The location of the temple of Apollo at Chrysa (Il. I, 39) is unknown. The status of the temple of Helios, which Evrylochos promises to erect in Ithaca is also obscure (Od. XII, 346). The "stone threshold" of Apollo at Delphi (Il. IX, 405; Od. VIII, 80) may refer to the entrance of the temenos of Apollo and not to a temple and the "ποσιδήιον" at Scheria (Od. VI, 266) may not be a temple but an open-air sanctuary. For a general discussion of the temples mentioned in the epics see T.D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, New York 1965, 491-493; H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 439-451; N. Himmelmann, *Über bildende Kunst in der homerischen Gesellschaft*, Mainz 1969, 13f.; F. Oelmann, "Homerische Tempel und nordeurasische Opfermahlhäuser", *BJb* 157 (1957) 11-52 and n. 1 for earlier literature on this topic. G.S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge & New York 1962, 186; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult*, *AHom* III, V, 1974, 105-112.

those of unspecified gods at Scheria (Od. VI, 10).[871] Should these temples be considered as reflections of Homer's own lifetime? The context of the Phaeacian temples leaves no doubt that Homer had in mind those of his own days,[872] but the passage of Theano appears to be linguistically late,[873] which accords well with the likelihood that the cult image of Athena was seated.[874] If scholars are as a rule in agreement that the reference to temples in the epics does not reflect the Mycenaean Age, on the other hand it has been often claimed that the passage in the Odyssey (VII, 80-81) in which Athena visits the "πυκινόν δόμον" of Erechtheus, reflects the Mycenaean period,[875] though it should be stressed that other scholars maintain that we witness here an Athenian interpolation,[876] as in the passage in the Catalogue of Ships, where Athena is said to possess a temple where she "received" Erechtheus (Il. II, 549).[877] Interpolations or not, these two passages bespeak that at a certain period, when Greece was ruled by "kings", there existed a close relationship between the ruler and the divinity.[878] On the other hand, one cannot deny that in the "Age of Homer" free-standing temples were regarded as an important, if not indispensable element of a polis.[879]

Apart from temples, several suburban or extraurban sanctuaries are mentioned in the epics. Delphi is referred to as "Pytho" (Il. II, 519; Od. VIII, 79-81; XI, 581), at Delos there is a palm tree next to the altar of Apollo (Od. VI, 162-167), and the fame of Dodona appears established too (Il. XVI, 233-235; Od. XIV, 327f.; XIX, 296f.). Sacrifices are performed in honour of Poseidon Helikonios which could be an indirect reference to the panionian festival at Mykale (Il. XX, 403-405), while the reference to "divine Elis" where chariot-races take place (Il. XI, 697-701) could hint the knowledge of the sanctuary at Olympia. Homer also knows the cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos (Od. XIX, 188-190), as well as the sanctuaries of Aphrodite at Paphos in Cyprus (Od. VIII, 362f.), Poseidon at Onchestos (Il. II, 506), Apollo at Ithaca (Od. XX, 278) and the as yet undetected sanctuary of Poseidon at Geraistos in southern Euboea (Od. III, 165-179).[880]

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[871] *Cf.* H. Van Wees, *Status Warriors*, Amsterdam 1992, 29; Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space. Fragments of a Discourse", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 5.

[872] It is commonly assumed that the passage in which Nausithous is said to have erected a fortification wall, houses, temples and to have divided the land (Od. VI, 9f.) refers to the foundation of a colony of the late 8th c. B.C. Other scholars on the other hand assume that Scheria refers to the colonisation of Ionia in the beginning of the first millennium B.C. [for instance, Finley, *WO* (1979) 156]. This is unlikely, for no Ionian settlement has yielded evidence for such an early "urban" temple (the temple at Ephesos was built around the middle of the 8th c., while Old Smyrna seems to have acquired an "urban" temple around 690 B.C.).

[873] T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, 212.

[874] See however B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 206 who argues that the fact that the statue is seated does not constitute a criterion for dating.

[875] T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, 107f., 143, 291; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 488-501; C. Picard, *Les religions préhelléniques*, Paris 1948, 241; C. Antonaccio, "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 89. It is not clear if the passage refers to a specific shrine inside the palace of Erechtheus (which would be an anachronism) or that the goddess enters a cult building in which both she and Erechtheus are worshipped: see Ch. Kardara, "Ο πυκινός δόμος του Ερεχθέως", *AE* (1960) 165-184 and N. Kontoleon, *Το Ερέχθειον ως οικοδόμημα χθόνιας λατρείας*, Athens 1949, who argue that Athena does not enter the palace of Erechtheus but a shrine of Erichthonios-Erechtheus, the local hero, whose mother was Athena.

[876] U. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1884, 247-249; W. Helbig, *L' épopée homérique expliquée par les monuments*, Paris 1894, 542; G.E. Mylonas, in *Classical Studies presented to E. Parry*, Urbana, Chicago & London 1969, 71; *id.*, *AE* (1966) 136. Lorimer (*Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 436f.) argues against this assumption.

[877] Wilamowitz and Helbig, *op.cit.*, and Lorimer, *op.cit.*, 447-449; Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 145, n. 1.

[878] The passage of the Odyssey could still be regarded as a reminiscence of an earlier belief, according to which the divinities occasionally descended to a king's dwelling. This hypothesis is further strengthened by another passage of the Odyssey (VII, 203) in which one learns that in earlier days, whenever a sacrifice was celebrated, the gods joined the humans in the ritual meal which followed and sat next to them. Concerning the passage from the Iliad see M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968², 488.

[879] See S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 35; B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 195f.

[880] For a discussion of most of these sanctuaries see J.P. Crielaard, "Homer, History and Archaeology", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 255-262.

D. THE PRIESTLY ROLE OF HOMERIC RULERS

Throughout the Homeric poems, among the various duties and prerogatives attached to kingship, those connected with religion are most prominent. As R. Mondi writes "the social role of the Homeric *basileus* is to a large extent a religious one. His responsibility as chief sacrificer and preserver of ritual custom is at least as important as his function as commander in chief".[881]

In the Iliad and the Odyssey we hear of the celebration of numerous sacrifices and libations to the gods by the various leaders (see for instance Od. IV, 763; VII, 135-139; XIV, 248-253). On three occasions it is specifically mentioned that they take place in the courtyard in front of the hero's dwelling (Il. XI, 774; XXIV, 306 & Od. XXII, 334). Even before Troy, where the Greeks lived in temporary barracks, Achilles performs a libation in the centre of the courtyard in front of his *κλισίη* (Il. XVI, 231). Every killing of an animal is the occasion of a feast and vice versa.[882] Such feasts usually take place in the residence of the host, and the gods receive their share of meat and wine. In the mind of Homer, there had been a time when the gods sat next to the mortals during a ritual meal (Od. VII, 203). However, as T.D. Seymour wrote long ago, in the epics "the gods are not the hosts; they are invited to be guests".[883] The notions of sacrifice and dining in the poems are extremely important, and one remarks how trivial a role temples play on such occasions. It seems that Homer portrays a society in which cult practice is mainly connected either with an hypaethral altar or with the heroes dwelling.[884]

During each meal, the portions of the meat which were offered to the gods were burned, presumably inside the hearth of the host's dwelling (Il. IX, 205-220; Od. XIV, 420-429) or an outdoors altar.[885] The hearth, the sanctity of which is beyond doubt,[886] served to roast the meat which was consumed by the participants in the feast; the roasting of the meat is the responsibility of men.[887] The offerings of libations was also a regular practice during the feast (Il. IX, 175; X, 578; Od. III, 339 & 390; VII, 179; XIII, 50; XVIII, 423; XX, 271). S. Scully, who rightly emphasises the fact that "the polis contrasts with the oikos and (human) domos, which are *never* called sacred in Homer", concedes however that each household was in some sense sacred since the hearth was sacred and there was an altar of Zeus Herkeios in the courtyard of Odysseus' *oikos*.[888]

It therefore appears that the Homeric leader acted also as a priest. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that few priests are specifically nominated in the Iliad, and only one, or

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[881] "ΣΚΗΠΤΟΥΧΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ: An Argument for Divine Kingship in Early Greece", *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 201. For a concise view of the other functions of the Homeric rulers see P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 151-209.

[882] T.D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, New York 1965, 502; in general on Homeric banquets see S. Marinatos, "Ἀνδρες υπερφίαλοι", *ΠΑΑ* 40 (1965) 1-14; O. Murray, "The Symposion as Social Organisation", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 195-199 and in general *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990; H. Van Wees, "Princes at Dinner", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 147-179.

[883] Seymour, *op.cit.*, 503; J.P. Crielaard, in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 255.

[884] The only passages which deal with sacrifices in connection with a temple (Il. VI, 93f., 274f., 308f.; II, 549ff., concerning the temples of Athena in Troy and Athens, respectively) have often been regarded as later interpolations: *supra* p. 368). It seems that the primary function of a temple in Homer's mind was to house votive offerings (Il. VII, 83 and presumably Il. IX, 404f., concerning the temples of Apollo at Troy and Delphi, respectively) and perhaps the cult image of the divinity (Il. VI, 86-97, 269-278 & 286-312, concerning the temple of Athena at Troy). Lorimer (*Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 442-449) and other scholars argue however that the passages dealing with the temple of Athena in Troy are Athenian interpolations, three of the arguments being that Athena throughout the Iliad is "a bitter and consistent enemy" of the Trojans, Theano is never qualified as a priestess of Athena, except in Il. VI, 298 (see for instance Il. V, 70 & XI, 224) and the offering of a robe recalls the offering of the peplos to Athena during the Panathenaia. The fact that a large seated cult image is alluded to, is a further indication in the eyes of these scholars, that the passages are post-Geometric additions. I prefer to leave this question unanswered and simply retain the fact that temples are but exceptionally mentioned in the epics.

[885] The two passages quoted refer to the huts of Achilles and Eumaios. This is proof enough that the hearth of every house could serve for a burnt sacrifice to the gods. See also Od. X, 10, where it is mentioned that Aiolus' house is full of the smell of sacrifices. Yet, Aiolus is no ordinary mortal.

[886] S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 17.

[887] H. Van Wees, in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 158.

[888] *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 17.

perhaps two in the Odyssey;[889] no priest followed the Achaean army to Troy and only once do we hear of a priest performing an animal sacrifice (Il. I, 450ff.), and he is neither a Greek nor a Trojan. Chryses was the priest of Apollo in the city of Chryse in the Troad (Il. I, 11, 23, 370). As a rule priests appear to have been attached to a specific sanctuary. The fact that Maron, the priest of Apollo at Ismarus dwelt in the god's grove (Od. IX, 197-200), may be taken as an indication that the sanctuary in question would have been located at some distance from the settlement.[890] The same stands for a sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Ida, whose priest was Laogonos, son of Onetor (Il. XVI, 604: "ὃς Διὸς ἱρεὺς Ἰδαίου"). Yet, Panthous may have been the priest in Apollo's sanctuary at Troy (Il. XV, 522), Theano was the priestess of Athena (Il. VI, 94-96, 275-277, 298, 309-310), Dares the priest of Hephaistos (Il. V, 9-10) and Hypsenor, son of Dolopion, the priest (ἀρητὴρ) of the Scamander (Il. V, 77f.), but the location of the two latter Trojan sanctuaries to which these priests would have been attached is not specified. Since it is not specifically mentioned that Panthous is a priest (the fact that he and his son are favoured by Apollo does not necessarily imply that he occupied a priestly office) and since the Theano passage could be an interpolation, one should be cautious before stating that priests were attached to "urban" sanctuaries in the Homeric World. Still, even we accept that the passage in which Theano invokes the protection of Athena for the sake of the entire community is not an interpolation (Il. VI, 305), the parallel priestly role of the nobility remains undeniable: priests are certainly known to Homer, but their competence was severely curtailed by the religious duties and prerogatives of the ruling nobility.[891]

It has sometimes been argued that due to the divine descent of most heroes in the epics, their intimate association with the gods, the fact that they possessed a sceptre and a temenos and because epithets such as "godlike", "like an immortal", "honoured like a god", etc. were connected with them, and lastly based on the two well-known passages of Erechtheus and Athena (Il. VI, 546-551 & Od. VII, 80f.), the kings would have been regarded as earthly representatives of the gods[892] or even as gods.[893] None of these arguments permits one to infer such a thing. To claim divine ancestry does not necessarily imply divine status to the holder of such a genealogy: on many occasions the epithets which denote divine descent (δῖος, διογενής, διοτρεφής, θεοειδής, etc.) may be safely regarded as poetic formulas;[894] still, if one wishes to regard these as actual references of divine ancestry, the fact alone that the holders of such titles are mortals suggests that at the most a heroic status is implied.[895] The expression "honoured as a god" may have meant that as *basileis* received precious gifts by the community or other *basileis*, similar gifts were offered to the gods.[896] The religious spirit of the Greeks gave them the strong feeling that the gods often interfered in their life. Yet, the omnipresence of the divine was not something restricted to the ruling class. It has been often claimed that the sceptre should be regarded as proof "of the divine sanction on which the king bases

[889] Concerning the nature of Homeric priesthood see Th.D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, New York 1965, 495f. One of the suitors is called θυοσκόος (Od. XXI, 145; XII, 318; see also Il. XXIV, 221). The functions of the θυοσκόος are not specified, but he must have been a priest of some sort. Perhaps he performed the formal sacrifices to the gods during the feasts carried by the suitors in Odysseus' house, replacing in this way Odysseus, who would have been in charge of such sacrifices, had he been at home.

[890] For an attempt to identify Apollo's grove see D. Triantaphyllos, *Thracia Pontica* 3, 1985, Sofia 1986, 132f.

[891] P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 165, rightly assumes that since the priests in the epics are not numerous, the king was in a way the chief priest of his subjects.

[892] W.C.K. Guthrie, "Early Greek Religion in the Light of the Decipherment of Linear B", *BICS* 6 (1959) 42.

[893] S. Marinatos, "ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΕΣ", in *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson* I, ed. G.E. Mylonas, St. Louis 1951, 126-134; P. Walcot, "The Divinity of the Mycenaean King", *SMEA* 2 (1967) 53-62; T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, 35, 100, 105-109, 139, 143, 158; R. Mondi, *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 201-216. It is worth noting that these authors refer to the LBA period.

[894] Yet, S. Scully in his *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca & London 1990, 19, bases in part his theory of the sanctity of the polis on the use of similar epithets, such as *hieros* (*hire*), *egatheos*, *zatheos* and *dios*, which designate a polis in Homer.

[895] Finley, *WO* (1979) 135: Homer "never crossed the line between the mortal and the immortal".

[896] S. Langdon, "Geometric Gift-Exchange: Observations on Bronze Votive Offerings", *AJA* 89 (1985) 338, suggests "that the gift-exchange system of heroic society served as a model for Geometric votive offerings by the aristocratic class"; *id.*, "Gift Exchange in the Geometric Sanctuaries", in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, ed. T. Linders & G. Nordquist, Uppsala 1987 (*Boreas* 15) 107-113.

his authority".[897] Even if this was so, does it ensue that the king was considered to be divine himself? The fact that the sceptre seems to have been used mainly to address an assembly, could mean that it symbolised an abstract idea of divine will and justice and may have denoted the essential qualities which a king should possess.[898] However, the symbolism of the *skeptron* in EIA Greece and Cyprus was more varied since, as N. Kourou recently argued, such objects presumably belonged "to prominent people of the same status and authority performing the same function", such as "a supervisory managerial function in the metals industry".[899] Indeed, the only sceptres from EIA Greece are the Cypriot macehead from a tomb of the early 9th c. B.C. in the Skoubris cemetery at Lefkandi,[900] where the bronze industry was active already by 900 B.C., and the presumed sceptre of the "prince" at Eretria, which may have had a similar meaning, since metalworking was also one of the primary concerns of the Eretrians and of people of Oropos, on the opposite coast. Likewise, the *pa-si-re-u khal-ke-wes* (βασιλεύς-χαλκεύς) of the Linear B tablets may also have possessed an insignium denoting his status as a high official responsible for the allocation of bronze.[901] As for the Homeric word τέμενος when applied to kings it does not have a religious connotation; it is a piece of land which belongs to the ruler, and is transmitted from generation to generation. In Linear B, *te-me-no* has roughly the same meaning and is associated with the *wanax* and the *lawagetas* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*), the two highest officials of a Mycenaean state.[902] In the epics, gods also possess temene, e.g. in this context "a sacred precinct".[903] When kingship was abolished only the latter meaning of the word survived. It should be emphasised that whereas we hear of innumerable animal sacrifices and libations in the honour of the divinities, not once do we hear of a comparable celebration in honour of a living ruler, though Homer would have had several opportunities to do so.

In conclusion we may agree with C.G. Thomas that it is the whole nexus of a king's powers and prerogatives that marks him as a communal priest.[904] His material wealth enables him to supply the sacrificial victims and invite the participants in the sacrifice to dine at his residence.[905] The king may perform a sacrifice as any individual, implicating only the members of his household[906] but also sacrifices for the sake of the entire community.[907] In the latter case it is not necessary that the entire community attends the sacrifice and the ritual meal which follows, but only a selection among the nobility and the elders.[908] The killing of the victim(s) may either be a communal affair or that of the ruler.[909] Priests rarely intervene in such celebrations and there are no specifically designed edifices in which ritual feasts take place: it is the house of the leader which fulfils this function. Votive offerings are never deposited inside the chieftain's *megaron*, though the utensils stored inside a wealthy *oikos* and the artefacts which were in display in some of the richest Homeric *megara* brings to ones mind the dedications which were contained in temples.[910] Indeed, throughout the poems we hear of

[897] R. Mondi, *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 207.

[898] C.G. Thomas, *HispAnt* 6 (1976) 202 and n. 55. See also F.M. Combellack, "Speakers and Scepters in Homer", *CJ* 43 (1947/48) 209-217; J.L. Melena, "En torno al ΣΚΗΠΤΡΟΝ homerico", *Cuadernos de filologia clásica* 3 (1972) 321-356.

[899] N. Kourou, "Sceptres and Maces in Cyprus", in *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1994, 203-215, esp. 214.

[900] *Ibid.*, 215 and M.R. Popham & L.H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, 252, pls. 93 & 239j-k (Tomb 5).

[901] Kourou, "Sceptres and Maces in Cyprus" (*op.cit.*) 214.

[902] J. Manessy-Guitton, "Temenos", *IndogermF* 71 (1966) 14-38; H. Van Effenterre, "Temenos", *REG* 80 (1967) 17-26; G.S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge & New York 1962, 29 who criticises T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, 105f., 123. On the Homeric meaning of temenos see M.I. Finley, "Homer and Mycenae: Property and Tenure", in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, ed. B.D. Shaw & R.P. Saller, Harmondsworth 1983, 224-230; P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 158-160.

[903] Il. II, 696; VIII, 48; XXIII, 148; Od. VIII, 363.

[904] C.G. Thomas, *HispAnt* 6 (1976) 201.

[905] *Ibid.*, 201f.

[906] As Aegisthus does to thank the gods after winning Clytaemnestra's love: Od. III, 273.

[907] See for instance Il. I, 440; II, 305 & 411; III, 275.

[908] For example Il. II, 402-432; IX, 68ff.; Od. VII, 49, 136; VIII, 41; XIII, 8f. The setting of the great feast of the Pylians in honour of Poseidon (Od. III, 7) in which the entire community seems to participate is in the open-air.

[909] P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 163.

[910] *Cf.* Il. XVIII, 373-376; Od. IV, 72f.; XXII, 109ff., 143ff., 180, 184-186. For instance Odysseus' dining hall

dedications of this kind in connection with sanctuaries, altars and temples.[911] Altars are sometimes located in the courtyard in front of the *megaron*. Temples, as we have seen, appear to have been rare in the Homeric Age and their function is not well defined; the divinity does not dwell in it but visits it on certain occasions.[912] Provided that the passage of the Trojan women who go to implore Athena in her temple is not an interpolation, one may accept that a temple also housed a cult image of the divinity and that occasionally animals were sacrificed inside.[913]

It is thus my impression that in the Homeric society, leaders were in charge of certain religious matters of the community, with the exception of those which were in the jurisdiction of priests. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the post-Homeric written sources.

PART 2

POST-HOMERIC EVIDENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS OF EARLY "KINGS" AND ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL *BASILEIS*

We have seen in the previous section that the role of the Homeric king was to a certain extent a religious one. This is also confirmed by the post-Homeric written sources which deal either with the function of "early kings" or with that of contemporary *basileis*.[914]

Among the most valuable testimonies concerning the religious duties attached to early Greek kings is Aristotle's statement that "κύριοι ἦσαν τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί" (*Pol.* III, 14 1285b 10), a picture which conforms to the one present throughout the epics. The priestly role of early Greek "kings" is further documented by the fact that in several Archaic and Classical poleis, the *basileus* was in charge of certain religious matters. We also possess similar information concerning pre-Archaic kingship, for instance at Messenia, or the Ionian dodecapolis. In most sites the *basileis* of post-Geometric date were elective annual officials (see however Sparta, Cyrene, etc.), though it should be emphasised that we know very little about the manner of appointment of these officials.

In Athens, it is commonly assumed that the powers which were previously assembled in the hands of one single hereditary "king" or "archon" were split into three elective magistrates, initially on a decennial (from 753/2 B.C.) but later on (from 683/2 B.C. onwards), on an annual basis: the *eponymos*, the *polemarchos* and the *basileus*.[915] The Athenian *basileus* was both a judge and a priest;[916] it is the latter function of the *basileus* which concerns us here. According to Aristotle, he was in charge of the management of the Eleusinian Mysteries, the Anthesteria (in the honour of Dionysos, in which the wife of the *basileus* played an active part) and of all the traditional cults.[917]

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which has several shields and helmets hanging from the walls: see H. Van Wees, in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 149-151.

[911] Il. II, 549; VI, 301-303; VII, 82f.; VIII, 203f.; IX, 404f.; X, 570f.; Od. III, 273f.; VIII, 509; XII, 345-347. H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 450 considers the passage in Il. IX, 404f. an interpolation but this is not necessary for the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi had already acquired by the late 8th c. B.C. rich dedications. On votive offerings and cult statues in Homer see J.P. Crielaard, in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 262-265.

[912] Il. V, 443-448, where Artemis and Leto take care of the wounds of Aenias inside the adyton of the temple of Apollo.

[913] F. Oelmann, "Homerische Tempel und nordeurasische Opfermahlhäuser", *BJb* 157 (1957) 27. Since holocausts were unknown to Homer, one wonders what the Trojan women would have done after the sacrifice if Athena had accepted their supplication. If the animals had been slaughtered inside the temple, could one assume that a feast attended only by women would have taken place within the temple? Unfortunately, the plot of the epic did not give the opportunity to the poet (or perhaps the interpolator?) to reveal this enigma. For the possible practice of animal sacrifices in the temple of Athena in Athens, see Il. II, 549ff.

[914] P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 231ff. and esp. 488 and Table in pp. 498-501, where the evidence is assembled and thoroughly discussed.

[915] See for instance P. Oliva, "ΠΑΤΡΙΚΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ", in *Geras. Studies presented to G. Thomson*, ed. R.F. Willets, Prague 1963, 178-180; C. Starr, "The Decline of Early Greek Kings", *Historia* 10 (1961) 135; C.G. Thomas, "From Wanax to Basileus: Kingship in the Greek Dark Age", *HispAnt* 6 (1976) 197. *Contra* see R. Drews, *Basileus*, New Haven & London 1983, 108.

[916] Carlier, *La royauté* ... (*op.cit.*) 329-337; R.S.J. Garland, *BSA* 79 (1984) 111f.

[917] *Ath. pol.*, 57; see also W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, 239f.; K. Clinton, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 112.

We should also mention here the *phylobasileis*, the elective officials from each of the four traditional Ionian tribes, who were also primarily religious officials who dealt with cults and performed sacrifices.[918]

The Spartan kings were hereditary and held office for life. It is significant that several religious duties were attached to them: they held the priesthood of Zeus Lacedaimon and Zeus Ouranios, they performed certain sacrifices and libations, they even received a double share of food during sacred banquets.[919]

Pausanias (IV, 3) provides information about the early Messenian kings and ascribes to their successive reigns religious innovations.[920] The Messenian kings were hereditary rulers and it seems that tradition placed their reigns in the 9th and 8th c. B.C.[921]

A 5th c. B.C. treaty attests that at that time in Argos there was an annual (?) official called *basileus*, who was also in charge of religious matters.[922] Another inscription from the same site, dated in the end of the 5th c. or in the very beginning of the 4th c. B.C., mentions a "προβασιλεύς", who is identified by Ch. Kritzas as an elective official who may have been a counterpart of the *basileus* and the *eponymos* of Athens, and consequently would have been in charge of certain religious matters.[923]

According to the Sicyonian tradition, the celebration of sacrifices by the king was essential: Isodemos who murdered his brother could not accede to the throne for through this act, he was no longer able to perform such sacrifices. The story refers presumably to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th c. B.C.[924]

In Megara inscriptions attest to the existence of an eponymous *basileus* in the beginning of the Hellenistic period, who is in charge of sacrifices offered to the gods.[925]

In Thebes we hear of no officials called *basileis*. Yet, it would be worth noting here that according to the local tradition recorded by Pausanias (IX, 16, 5-7), the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros was located in the house of Cadmus and his descendants. The last Theban king, Xanthos, may have reigned in the first half of the 11th c. B.C.;[926] one should recall however that according to Thucydides (III, 62, 3), in 480 B.C., Thebes was still ruled by "a dynasteia of a few men".[927]

The Archegesion on Delos was a hero shrine of the Archaic period dedicated to the cult of Anios, who is qualified in the written sources (graffiti and inscriptions) as ἀρχηγέτης, βασιλεύς, and θεός. It is not clear, however, whether the two Archaic graffiti mentioning the *basileus* ("το βασιλεος ειμι" and "δημόσιο[ν] τοῦ (?) βασιλῆος") refer to a priest of Anios called *basileus*, or to the founder-hero himself.[928]

The eponymos archon in Cos was called *monarchos* and had the in supervision of numerous cults;[929] he was in charge of religious processions, libations to the gods and took part in sacred feasts. We also hear of a *gereaphoros basileon* who conducts an animal sacrifice.[930] The function of this official is not quite understood, though it is usually accepted that the two words designate a person who represents the king and receives the best portions of the animal, including the skin.

[918] Carlier, *La royauté* ... (*op.cit.*) 355-359.
[919] *Ibid.*, 240-324; C.G. Thomas, "The Roots of Homeric Kingship", *Historia* 15 (1966) 397.
[920] Carlier, *La royauté* ... (*op.cit.*) 375-381.
[921] *Ibid.*, 378, n. 25.
[922] *Ibid.*, 381.
[923] *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, 497-510, esp. 502-505.
[924] Carlier, *La royauté* ... (*op.cit.*) 400.
[925] *Ibid.*, 401-403.
[926] *Ibid.*, 411.
[927] R. Drews, *Basileus*, New Haven & London 1983, 96.
[928] For a full discussion with references see J.R. Lenz, *Kings and the Ideology of Kingship in Early Greece (1200-700 B.C.)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1993, 162-168 and Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 218-220.
[929] Carlier, *La royauté* ... (*op.cit.*) 422-424; the documents concerning the *monarchos* date from the end of the 4th c. B.C. to Roman times.
[930] *Ibid.*, 424-426; the information is provided by an inscribed calendar of the 4th c. B.C.

In Chios inscriptions of the 6th-4th c. B.C. attest the presence of an official called *basileus* and of a council of *basileis*. The former appears to have retained certain religious functions while the latter were responsible in certain matters of sacrilege.[931]

It is difficult to trace the history of kingship of the Ionian League.[932] It is generally agreed that the league kingship has its roots back in the early years of Ionian colonisation.[933] The king's primary functions appear to have been to lead in time of warfare and to offer sacrifices during the Panionia, held in the honour of Poseidon. Moreover, in Ephesos and Miletos we are informed of the presence of an official called *basileus* and of a council of *basileis*, who deal primarily with religious matters.[934] Likewise, at Assos, Abdera, Cyzicus and Olbia (the two latter were Milesian colonies) we also hear of the existence of officials called *basileis*, who were in charge of religious affairs.[935]

There is lastly the case of Cyrene, for which we are well informed:[936] from 631 B.C. (date of foundation of the colony) until *c.* the middle of the 5th c. B.C., Cyrene possessed hereditary *basileis*. Originally the Cyrenaean *basileis* appear to have been absolute monarchs but around 550 B.C., under the reign of Demonax, they ceded all their powers to the people, with the exception of their "priesthoods" and "temene". It should be stressed that in the mother-city (Thera) kingship appears also to have been hereditary and the king may have been in charge of certain religious affairs of the community (Grinnos consults the oracle at Delphi for the sake of the entire community).[937]

Thus, one observes that important religious duties were attached to the kings of the Archaic and Classical poleis, regardless if these *basileis* (in Sparta they bore the title *archagetai* and in Athens, according to one line of tradition, archons) were hereditary monarchs or elective officials. It must not be coincidental that in the Homeric epics, kingship is closely connected with similar duties. One should not doubt that the origins of the religious functions of the later *basileis* ascend deeply into the DA and perhaps even into the LBA.[938]

[931] *Ibid.*, 446.
[932] *Cf. ibid.*, 450-455, with references.
[933] *Ibid.*, 452ff.; C.G. Thomas, *HispAnt* 6 (1976) 198-200.
[934] Carlier, *La royauté* ... (*op.cit.*) 440-442 and 436f., respectively.
[935] *Ibid.*, 464, 477f., 478f., 482, respectively.
[936] *Ibid.*, 474-476 with earlier references.
[937] *Ibid.*, 419-422.
[938] V. Ehrenberg (*The Greek State*, London 1974[3], 15), M.P. Nilsson (*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1968[2], 485ff.) and several other scholars support this hypothesis but assume that the functions of the Archaic officials called *basileis* were inherited from the Mycenaean Age. These scholars however do not explain the evolution from one era to another, for the DA *basileis* were left out of the discussion.

CHAPTER V

FROM RULERS' DWELLINGS TO TEMPLES

PART 1

THE RELIGIOUS COMPETENCE OF EARLY IRON AGE RULERS AND THE FUNCTION OF THEIR DWELLINGS

Following the previous analysis we may summarise the situation as follows. During the Mycenaean period the *wanax* was at the top of a complex hierarchy of officials. The archaeological evidence suggests that his residence served for certain religious ceremonies, during which the *wanax* doubtless played an active part. The religious duties attached to the *wanax* are further emphasised by the Linear B tablets. Yet, roofed cult buildings existed in the Mycenaean citadels and towns, suggesting that the ruler's competence in religious matters was of a limited extent.

The turning point seems to be the LH IIIC period: after the upheavals of the LH IIIB2 period, the centralised authority was severely curtailed. In this study I cannot discuss the reasons for these widespread destructions and disturbances, but only the consequences. I simply note that the fall of the Mycenaean civilisation should probably be explained by a sequence of events, resulting from natural and human action (earthquakes, drought, famine, etc. on one side, infiltration of newcomers, attacks by outsiders, civil wars and revolts, etc. on the other).[939] The disruptions went on during the LH IIIC period, by which time the previous vast kingdoms would have been partitioned into smaller states. The palaces which outlasted the destructions of the years around 1200 doubtless ceased to function as administrative centres. One of the main arguments favouring this assumption is that these centres no longer possessed archives. The rulers of these sites, who were perhaps still called *anaktes*, may have controlled a still larger territory than the one controlled by the chiefs of the new-born petty states. The dissolution of the palatial administration appears to have been the cause for the rise of these local chieftains who in the LH IIIB period may have been local governors dependent on the central authority. The fact that the new states were small would favour the assumption that from LH IIIC onwards all the powers were assembled in the hands of a single person, or perhaps in some places in those of a small group of leaders; these rulers would have been entitled to manage the communal affairs either on a hereditary basis (hereditary monarchs, chiefdoms), or owing to their personal power, wealth and virtue ("Big Men"). Whitley has argued that "unstable" settlements, i.e. sites which were inhabited for a relatively short period of time and were finally abandoned, fit into the "Big Man" model.[940] On the other hand, the model which according to Calligas appears to have characterised Greece during the DA (until *c.* 800 B.C.), i.e. that of a "uniform peaceful period characterised by a socio-economic system of dispersed and loosely woven habitation", in which "the existing establishments consist solely of independent and unfortified patriarchal households, the

[939] For general studies dealing with the problem from the archaeological point of view see Desborough, *LMTS* (1964) esp. 225-230 and *id.*, *CAH* II, 2 (1975)[3] 658-669; P. Ålin, *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland, SIMA* 1 (1962) esp. 148-150; K. Kilian, "Zum Ende der mykenischen Epoche in der Argolis", *JbZMusMainz* 27 (1980) 166-195; Syriopoulos, *MX* (1984) esp. 1054f.; Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) esp. pp. 331-366; R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophes ca. 1200 B.C.*, Princeton 1993 (pp. 62-65 on the Dorians). For a recent summary of the evidence see H. van Effenterre, "Effondremnts et continuités", *DossAParis* 195 (1994) 120-125.

[940] "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 341-365, esp. 347ff. See, however, the scepticism of D.C. Haggis, "Intensive Survey, Traditional Settlement Patterns, and Dark Age Crete: The Case of Early Iron Age Kavousi", *JMA* 6 (1993) 131-174, esp. 164f.

oikoi, and no organised or communal settlement (village or polis)"[941] cannot be applied to the entire Greek World, but only to a few cases. The strongest case in support of Calligas' theory is Lefkandi, where, as the Greek scholar speculated, large free-standing *"oikoi"*, presumably of apsidal plan, would have been scattered on the hills surrounding Toumba (Fig. 79).[942] Based on Lefkandi, Calligas applied this idea to other sites, including Chalcis (Fig. 99).[943] The hypothesis, however, cannot be tested yet due to the scarcity of the data and in fact, the evidence from several sites contradicts this pattern (*cf.* for instance the layout of DA settlements such as Nichoria, Fig. 256). Moreover, it is far from certain that the DA was a "peaceful period": one should not overlook the fact that several DA communities reused the already existing fortification systems of the LBA, such as Athens, Mycenae, Tiryns, Kantia, Ay. Andreas, Koukounaries. Additionally, several northern Greek[944] and Cretan[945] sites were provided with fortification walls or, more often, elementary defensive periboloi, while other communities chose to settle at or near hilltops which were natural strongholds.[946] In fact, the case of Toumba at Lefkandi stands out as an exception to the norm. The explanation could be that perhaps the prosperous Euboeans felt no need to choose naturally fortified sites or to attempt to construct defences, confident about their military superiority regarding other Greek communities, and relying on their dominant position at sea and their good external relations with the Cypriots and the Phoenicians.

Having said this, I should return to the main theme of this study, the religious function of rulers' dwellings in the period between the 12th and the 8th c. B.C. The fragmentary condition of the ruins of the LH IIIC settlements rarely allows one to identify rulers' dwellings, and in those places where such houses or "palaces" have been detected, it is no longer possible to determine whether they afford evidence for connections with communal cult practice.[947] Many Mycenaean citadels of the mainland survived the catastrophes of the end of the LH IIIB period and continued to be inhabited from the LH IIIC period through the DA. Since it has been established that the Upper Citadel of Tiryns was reoccupied in the LH IIIC period, there is no reason to deny that Building T carried on the functions of its predecessor of the LH IIIB period, including those of religious nature, since the altar outside appears to have been still in use. At the same time, the cult in the sanctuary in the densely inhabited Lower Citadel was intensified. Since the flowering of several sanctuaries, as for instance at Tiryns, Asine, Amyklai and Phylakopi, dates after the destructions of the palaces or citadels, Renfrew

[941] *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, ed. J. Motyka Sanders, London 1992, 44f.

[942] "Ανασκαφές στο Λευκαντί Ευβοίας, 1981-1984", *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 266-268.

[943] Except for the above mentioned articles see also his studies, "Hero Cult in Early Iron Age Greece", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 230; *id.*, "Η Ελλάδα κατά την πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου", *AAX* 2 (1987) 17-21; *id.*, "Η πρώιμη αρχαία Χαλκίδα", *AAX* 3 (1988/89) 94-96; *id.*, "Η δομή των πρώιμων ελληνικών κοινωνιών", in *Structures Rurales et Sociétés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Corfu, 14-16 mai 1992*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 43-47.

[944] As for instance Kastanas, Assiros, Vitsa Zagoriou.

[945] B.J. Hayden, "Fortifications of Postpalatial and Early Iron Age Crete", *AA* (1988) 1-21; K. Nowicki, "Fortifications in Dark Age Crete", in *Fortificationes Antiquae*, ed. S. van de Maele & J.M. Fossey, Amsterdam 1992, 53-76.

[946] For instance many Cycladic and Cretan settlements [K. Nowicki, "Topography of Refuge Settlement in Crete", *JbZMusMainz* 34 (1987) 213-234], but also sites such as Aigeira or Nichoria.

[947] See for instance the LH IIIC "mansion" at Koukounaries, where the upper storey with the ruler's apartments has not been preserved (D. Schilardi, in *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, ed. J.A. MacGillivray & R.L.N. Barber, Edinburgh 1984, 184-206, esp. 188, 190, 201), or the settlement (or the seat of the local ruler?) at Aigeira [S. Deger Jalkotzy & E. Alram-Stern, *Klio* 67 (1985) 388-426]. There is also a number of important Mycenaean centres, which in LH IIIB possessed rulers' dwellings or palaces, some of which continued to be occupied in LH IIIC, but it is often difficult to determine the status of these centres during the 12th c. [e.g. Volos, Mouriatada (?), Phylakopi, Delos (?), and of course Mycenae and Tiryns, etc.]. Concerning the first four sites mentioned see R. Hope Simpson & O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* I, *SIMA* 52 (1979) 237, 168, 314, 310. In general see Vanschoonwinkel, *Égée* (1991) s.v. index. Concerning the Argolid, see K. Kilian, *JbZMusMainz* 27 (1980) 166-195. At Phylakopi and Mycenae the old rulers' dwellings were presumably no longer in use in the LH IIIC period. At Volos, the "palace" (a term perhaps inappropriate) was apparently destroyed early during LH IIIC, as seems to have been the case in nearby Dimini which is today identified with Iolkos: V. Adryme-Sismane, in *Νεότερα δεδομένα των ερευνών για την αρχαία Ιωλκό*, Volos 1994, 17-43. At Mouriatada and Delos, it is not clear if life extends into LH IIIC.

postulated that they replaced the lost stability of palatial society.[948] If we accept that the sanctuaries outside the Mycenaean palaces represent "an extension of cult from the palace centre outwards as an act of appropriation and incorporation of local and rurally based cults into the official palace-based religion"[949] and not centres of "popular" cult practices, as opposed to "official",[950] one could suggest that this flowering represents the ultimate effort of the shattered but still ruling nobility to maintain its position by satisfying the common people. However, in the 11th c., when the remnants of the palatial system had faded away, cult practices returned to the earlier Helladic scheme, which consisted of cults "celebrated at every household hearth by every head of household".[951] The centrifugal sacred role of the Mycenaean palatial megaron was transferred to the more humble dwellings of the ruling DA nobility, while sanctuaries outside settlements were no longer controlled by the central authority which was too weak to intervene. These changes may have marked the origin of the "panhellenic" sanctuaries, which could not have been any longer appropriated by the petty "states", but became instead the meeting places of the aristocracy, and a neutral ground where noblemen would compete.[952]

The place where one may follow closely the socio-political mutations of the close of the LBA and their impact in the religious attitudes of the population is Crete. There we witness the foundation of new settlements in LM IIIC times, some of which subsisted well into the EIA. Thanks to the good preservation of these sites, in addition to the fact that large portions of the settlements in question have been excavated, it has become possible to identify with relative confidence the residence of local rulers. The evidence extant suggests that certain religious ceremonies were performed inside (as well as outside) the ruler's dwelling at Vronda, which was situated close to the public shrine of the small community (Building G). There is sufficient evidence for the existence of a shrine (domestic or public?) in the ruler's dwelling at Vrokastro. At Karphi we observe a multitude of domestic shrines which indicate that each household, including those of the leading aristocracy, practised a domestic cult in its home. Even there, however, the public shrines (Rooms 1 and 16-17) were closely associated with one of the two rulers' dwellings which have been identified. The presumed ruler's house at Smari was perhaps erected during the SMin period, but it should be stressed that neither the precise dating of the edifice, nor the nature of the feasts connected with the period of its use have been elucidated as yet. Building B at Prinias may have been erected towards the end of the same period (late SMin, i.e. early 10th c.?), next to an hypaethral cult area. In the rest of the Greek World, on the other hand, with the exception of the case of Tiryns discussed above, there is no concrete evidence suggesting that a ruler's dwelling served also for religious ceremonies.

In the beginning of the Iron Age the evidence becomes more suggestive. The rulers' dwellings at Karphi and Vronda were perhaps abandoned early in the 10th c., but those at Vrokastro, Smari, Thessalonike and perhaps Tiryns[953] were still in use. In the PG period we witness the erection of various chieftains' dwellings all over Greece, several of which have afforded evidence for connections with cult practices. Sacrifices, presumably followed by ritual meals inside the ruler's house, are attested at Nichoria (Unit IV-1a) and Thermon (Megaron B, which, however, may have been built earlier). A domestic shrine existed perhaps in Room 11 of the chief's residence at Kastro near Kavousi, which could have been erected in the PG period while an unusually large hearth existed in one of the central houses of Kastanas (layer 10). On the other hand, at Asine and Koukounaries there is no tangible evidence that cult ceremonies were carried out inside or in the immediate surroundings of the rulers' dwellings: the cult centred around the pithos at Asine may have not coincided with the period that the house was occupied, and at Koukounaries there is no clue that would enable us to link Building A with the sanctuary of Athena and the cult in the cave nearby.

[948] "Questions of Minoan and Mycenaean Cult", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 28-31. *Cf.* J. Wright, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 74, and n. 140 (with further references).

[949] Wright, *op.cit.*, 76.

[950] *Cf.* for instance R. Hägg, "Official and Popular Cults in Mycenaean Greece", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 35-40.

[951] Wright, *op.cit.*, 75.

[952] *Cf.* C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 56, 191f. (concerning Olympia).

[953] It seems that at Tiryns, after the end of the LH IIIC period, the settlement developed outside the citadel, while the ruler may have continued to occupy the acropolis (compare with the similar but much later case of Emporio): Hägg, *Gräber der Argolis* (1974) 75-84 concerning SMyc and PG Tiryns.

Lastly, one suspects that cult activities would have been held inside the ruler's house at Lefkandi, but secure evidence corroborating this assumption has not turned up.

Between c. 900 and c. 760/750 B.C., evidence for cult practice associated with rulers' dwellings have produced the sites of Nichoria (Units IV-1b), Phaistos (Unit AA etc.), and perhaps Antissa (Building III) and Eretria (Building A, which was presumably built towards the end of the MG II period and was located next to the circular altar/bothros, F), while several chieftains' dwellings erected in the preceding periods were still in use. It is also possible that the reuse of Building B/B1-3 at Eleusis falls within these chronological limits, but the nature of this reuse remains obscure, since secure evidence for a "public" cult of Demeter is only attested towards the end of this period. A MG II architectural phase has been identified beneath the LG chief's house at Zagora, though it appears that the complex consisted at that time of fewer rooms and the sanctuary of Athena may not have been founded yet. The case of Aigeira is ambiguous, since the bronze tripod could be regarded either as a votive offering or as a status symbol.

During the second half of the 8th c. and the early 7th c. B.C., one would have expected the practice of celebrating religious ceremonies inside the rulers' dwellings to have died out. This is not the case, for not only several rulers' dwellings which had been built earlier were still serving the same functions, but one may also mention at least three sites in which the ruler's dwelling, which was erected during this period, presumably housed communal cult practice: Zagora (3rd phase of Unit H19, etc.), Emporio and Lathouriza. At Antissa (Building IV) the evidence is more ambiguous.

As argued earlier, from c. the LH IIIC period until at least the middle of the 8th c., and in places even later, the rulers presumably had competence in religious matters. In the small DA communities, the need to erect cult buildings in the heart of the settlement was presumably not felt, for it appears that rituals requiring the existence of some kind of shelter were carried out inside the leader's home, which as a rule stood at the same place for several generations, sometimes for several centuries (*cf.* key to Table X). It is no mere coincidence that several among these rulers' dwellings gave onto the settlement's free space, which would have functioned as an assembly place and often as an hypaethral sanctuary.[954] One would perhaps be entitled to suggest that during a religious ceremony in proximity of the ruler's house, which would have usually involved animal sacrifice, the participants in this ceremony or more often a restricted number of them (depending on how many took part in the ceremony or on the size of the community) would enter the ruler's house and take part in a communal feast. The ruler in that case would have conducted the sacrifice and would have presided during the banquet. One of the origins of this practice may be that in the period of insecurity which followed the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation, the material wealth of the members of the élite would have enabled them to provide the sacrificial victims and to offer their spacious residences to accommodate a certain number of the participants in a feast. One also assumes that in those times a feast of any kind would have given the opportunity to the participants to honour the gods, and vice versa, as indeed pictured in the Homeric epics.

It should be made clear that a ruler's dwelling was certainly not regarded as a cult building: there was no cult image in it and votives were not deposited there but only in the communal hypaethral sanctuary.[955] In certain Cretan chieftains' dwellings, however, it has been possible to identify "domestic shrines" where votives would have been placed. This is perhaps the case of the SE corner of Room U17 at Vrokastro, of Room 11 at the Kastro and of one room at Phaistos. One single fragment of a figurine was discovered in the porch of Building 138-140 at Karphi, but we have seen that at this site several houses may have possessed a domestic shrine of their own (Room 16/17 of the Great House at the same site and the cult activities associated with House A-B at Vronda appear to have had a communal character).

[954] At Thermon, Lathouriza, Tiryns, Eretria, Zagora, Emporio, Vronda, Prinias, and perhaps Vitsa, the hypaethral cult area may have also functioned as a primitive agora. At Praisos and Phaistos, the function of the courtyards is uncertain (there is no evidence for cult activities there). Practically all the remaining rulers' dwellings (excluding the Cretan sites of Karphi, Kastro [illegible]ast and Vrokastro) would have been preceded by an open space, but excavations have not achieved yet in determining the function of this space.

[955] *Cf.* for instance Zagora, Emporio, Koukounaries, or Eretria. Whenever votives occur inside a ruler's dwelling, they presumably denote a domestic shrine (as in Crete) or perhaps objects which awaited to be dedicated in a sanctuary (see following discussion).

The presence of domestic shrines in Crete from LM IIIC through Geometric times is not unexpected, for there we witness on several occasions the survival of earlier traditions.[956] However, a fact which deserves special attention is that the practice of domestic cults by the common people is not confined to EIA Crete but occurs also on mainland and Cycladic sites: this is how one could explain a clay phallus discovered among pottery of MG II date in a hearth on the acropolis of Koukounaries, the "bothroi" containing residues from sacrifices and cult meals next to LG/EA houses at Eretria (Figs. 117, 119), and perhaps two clay horse figurines in a LG oval house at Miletos (Figs. 419, 421). Likewise, objects which in another context would have been considered as votives were discovered in several houses of the élite, as in the apsidal unit at Thessalonike, Units IV-1 and IV-5 at Nichoria (*cf.* Fig. 272) and in Room IV of Unit I-IV at Lathouriza. In the latter site I have suggested that this particular room may have served to contain the surplus of votives which were dedicated in the neighbouring sanctuary. The religious significance of the bronze animal figurine discovered in the apsidal compartment of Unit IV-5 at Nichoria (Fig. 272) is dubious and in fact it may have simply been a seal.[957]

In all these cases, with the exception of the Cretan examples, the "votives" are few and isolated and indicate that cult objects were not essential items for the religious activities which would have been held inside the rulers' dwellings, i.e. the ritual meals. Indeed, it is beyond doubt that feasts implicating a large number of participants were carried out inside the chieftains' dwellings.[958] This assumption is based on the discovery of important concentrations of animal bones and of quantities of drinking and/or eating vessels in several rulers' dwellings, combined with the existence of spacious sitting benches and hearths in a large number of these houses.[959] Nevertheless, I have to concede that the character of these meals is hard to determine.[960] Doubtless, these meals were basically intended to entertain the leader's followers and other *basileis*.[961] Certain clues suggest however that ritual meals were also taking place. First, one should take into consideration the proximity of the hypaethral sanctuaries to these houses; at Eretria, Lathouriza, Tiryns, Zagora, Emporio and Prinias, the altar was located just outside or close to the house (Table IX). At Vronda there was a stone kernos in the courtyard of the chief's mansion and nearby a roofed shrine (Table IXi), while animal skulls and horns were stored inside one of the dependencies of the ruler's dwelling, together with large quantities of fine drinking vessels. At Nichoria, the focus of the cult was located inside the main room of Unit IV-1, suggesting that sacrifices were perhaps taking place indoors. At Phaistos a round building model (Fig. 513), which should not be regarded as a votive but as an object bearing a specific religious meaning, was discovered in the presumed dining room of the rulers' dwelling. At Thermon, ash and animal bones were stored inside pithoi, both inside and outside Megara A and B;

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[956] Gesell, *Minoan House Cult* (1973) esp. 181-191 and *Cult* (1985) esp. 57-60 (concerning the EIA). One example is perhaps significant: in the NE corner of a room of an EO house at Karnari, a site which was inhabited already from LM IIIB times, there was a bench for the positioning of votive offerings: A. Karetsou, *ΠΑΕ* (1974) 241f.

[957] H.W. Catling, *Nichoria* III (1983) 281f.

[958] *Cf.* also J. Whitley, "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 349-350 who accepts that several leaders' dwellings between the 12th and 10th c. B.C. served both as houses and feasting halls.

[959] The importance of dining to the Greeks is further emphasised by the discovery in several wealthy tombs (mainly of warriors) of the PG and especially the Geometric period, of iron spits and firedogs: see in general G. Bruns, *Küchenwesen und Mahlzeiten*, *AHom* II, Q, 1970, 31-34; Drerup, *Baukunst* (1969) 127; Kavousi: J. Boardman, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 23 (1971) 5-8. Knossos: J.K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, Cambridge 1957, 22, 202, no. 203; H.W. Catling, *AR* (1978/79) 47, 49. Argos: P. Courbin, *BCH* 81 (1957) 370-385; *id.*, *Tombes géométriques d' Argos* I, Paris 1974, 136; *id.*, "Obéloi d' Argolide et d' ailleurs", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 149-156; W. Deonna, *BCH* 83 (1959) 247-252; E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 45. Cyprus: V. Karageorghis, *BCH* 87 (1963) 277-281, 292-294; 91 (1967) 343f.; 94 (1970) 35-44; 95 (1971) 401-403; *id.*, *Salamis in Cyprus*, London 1969, 91f.; *id.*, *RDAC* (1972) 167, 169-172; *id.*, *CRAI* (1980) 134f.; J.N. Coldstream, in *Archaeology in Cyprus, 1960-1985*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia 1985, 49f., 51, 54.

[960] See in general O. Murray, "The Symposium as Social Organisation", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 195-199. See also F. Moreau, "Les festins royaux et leur portée politique d' après l' Iliade et l' Odyssée", *REG* 7 (1894) 133-145, who however rejected the political character of the Homeric feast. According to H. Van Wees ("Princes at Dinner", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 147-182), the heroes feast because it is fun, but also because "the company in which they have their fun is a crucial determinant of social status" (*ibid.*, 177).

[961] *Cf.* J. Whitley, "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece", *BSA* 86 (1991) 350f.

one such pithos was found inside the main chamber of Megaron B, and it is today established that it served throughout the period of use of the edifice.[962] Lastly, at Antissa phialai mesomphaloi were associated with the period of use of Building III (Fig. 363, no. a).[963] On the other hand, the fragmentary clay "offering table", which was found in the dining room (Room H22) at Zagora does not seem to have been a cult utensil.[964] The hypothesis that ritual dining was regularly performed inside the rulers' dwellings of the EIA is further strengthened by the Homeric epics, which as we have seen, portray leaders performing sacrifices, libations and prayers to the gods for the sake of the community and offering the meal to those who attend the sacrifice, usually inside their residence.

The fact that ritual meals are attested inside the rulers' dwellings of the EIA does not necessarily imply that the leftovers of meals or the drinking and eating utensils recovered in these buildings constitute evidence *exclusively* in favour of the practice of such meals. The animal bones doubtless represent the litter both from ordinary and sacred banquets and it is only occasionally possible to make a distinction between a burnt sacrifice and a meal (for instance in Unit IV-1b at Nichoria).[965] Likewise, the fixed hearth in the ruler's dwelling would have presumably been regarded as sacred, since in the beginning of the ritual meal the portion of the victim's meat which was offered to the gods was burned in the fire. Yet the sanctity of the hearth did not exclude it from serving other purposes as well, such as heating, lighting and of course for cooking an ordinary meal, despite the fact that portable hearths or braziers existed as well. In the same way, the benches served a multitude of functions and not exclusively as seats during a ritual meal; moreover, one should not forget that movable furniture such as *thronoi* and *klismoi* would have been used during feasts, as in the Homeric epics.[966]

Another problem consists in defining the nature of the cults performed inside the chieftains' dwellings. It seems that these were not exclusively addressed to Olympian divinities but perhaps to chthonian deities, heroes, and deceased ancestors as well. In fact, if we count the instances of "tomb cult", almost 50% of the EIA cult places so far identified were addressed to heroes and ancestors (especially in the 8th c., but not exclusively). At Thermon for instance the cults connected with the earlier period of use of Megaron B may have been partly addressed to the last occupants of Megaron A and other dead warriors buried in the vicinity. The circular paving inside the rulers' dwelling at Nichoria (IV-1) recalls similar structures which are usually thought to be associated with the veneration of ancestors. Whether the raised structures at the S corners of the East Room of the so-called "Heroön" at Lefkandi served an analogous function cannot be determined. The walled pit in front of Building A at Eretria could indicate a cult of chthonic nature; that in front of Building T at Tiryns, however, appears to have been a solid raised structure. The honouring of heroes and/or ancestors may be the reason for which in certain sites where the sanctuary was initially located next to the ruler's dwelling, a cult of Herakles developed next to that of the Olympian divinity (e.g. Eretria and Zagora, to restrict the references to sites which have revealed rulers' dwellings).[967] In most places it is likely that the community most of the time venerated a specific divinity in the hypaethral sanctuary of the settlement: for instance, judging by the character of the pre-temple dedications at Zagora and Emporio, the foundation of the cult of Athena in these two sites roughly coincides with the erection of the rulers' dwellings (though at Zagora the inauguration of the cult may have

[962] J. Papapostolou, *ΠΑΕ* (1992) 99-102.

[963] R.A. Tomlinson has suggested that the function of the numerous phialai mesomphaloi discovered in the so-called temenos of Hera Limenia would have been used for ritual dining ["Water Supplies and Ritual at the Heraion Perachora", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 167-171].

[964] A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο Ἀνδρου. Οδηγὸς*, Athens 1981, 36 where it is suggested that this object may have been a stand on which would have been set smaller vessels.

[965] This problem was recently raised by B. Bergquist ["The Archaeology of Sacrifice: Minoan-Mycenaean versus Greek", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 21-34].

[966] H. Van Wees, "Princes at Dinner", in *Homeric Questions*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, Amsterdam 1995, 151, and figs. 1-2, pp. 152f.

[967] Eretria: L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, 85, 87, no. 10; Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 104; *id.*, *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 357; K. Kourouniotes, *AE* (1911) 24, 35; A. Altherr-Charon & F. Lessere, "Héracles à Erétrie", *Etudes de lettres* 2 (1981) 30. Zagora: A. Cambitoglou, *ΠΑΕ* (1971) 267. The fact that the circular altars at Tiryns and Eretria were later surrounded by a square element, could perhaps be taken as an indication of a shift in the significance of the altar (from chthonian to Olympian).

ncided only with the last and enlarged phase of the ruler's dwelling). Hypaethral sanctuaries rhaps devoted from the beginning to the cult of the same deity which was worshipped later on sted also in front of the presumed rulers' dwellings at Prinias, Tiryns, Eretria and Lathouriza, ugh one should not be dogmatic concerning the identity of the divinity, for in these places early rship is characterised mostly by altar structures, sacrifices and broken pottery.[968]

It is likewise difficult to determine which members of the community were entitled to attend communal meals inside the ruler's dwelling. If we agree that that the Homeric feasts reflect the A, we could suggest that the participants were as a rule members of the élite, either from within the mmunity, or from other communities, depending on the character of the meal.[969] The mistress of *oikos* was entitled to attend such dinners and to make conversation with the guests, though sumably she was not entitled to eat or drink; the wives of guests and unmarried women were parently excluded.[970] In small villages, as for instance at Lathouriza, all the adult male members of community could have participated in these feasts. In larger settlements however, like Eretria or gora, only the higher dignitaries, the elders and the "élite" would have been entitled to take part in ritual meal inside the ruler's house, as would have been the case during normal political or remonial banquets. On the other hand, within the household, there would have existed no gregation between the members of the family in everyday meals.[971]

Having established the priestly role of EIA rulers in Greece, and the functions of their ellings related with domestic and communal cult practice, we may now proceed to discuss how the nsition from ruler's dwelling to "urban" temple occurred and what functions did the cult buildings the PG and Geometric periods fulfil.

PART 2

THE RULERS' DWELLINGS OF THE "DARK AGES" FORERUNNERS OF THE GREEK TEMPLE?

e emergence of temples and cult buildings

The basic characteristics of the society portrayed in the Homeric epics reflect the EIA. wever, the poems are also blended with features of LBA strata. Yet, the stratification of Homeric iety has little in common with the one which the Linear B tablets have revealed to us. On the other nd, the poems contain in an embryonic state, certain characteristics of the Archaic and Classical y-states.[972] The reasons for which the political organisation of the Homeric society is not well fined, are this admixture of elements from the stages during which poetry was transmitted orally d also the fact that the monumental composition and first partial (?) transcription of the epics took ce during a time of radical transformations of the institutions all over the Greek World.[973] These anges, in my opinion, were as radical as those which arose immediately after the collapse of the ycenaean civilisation. Indeed, we have seen that the LH IIIB2 destruction of the major palaces sulted in the partitioning of the vast kingdoms into smaller and impoverished ones, some of which uld have still been ruled by hereditary monarchs, others by Big Men, i.e. leaders who were able to

[967] At Eleusis, evidence for "public" cult practice prior to c. 750 is non existent. Whichever interpretation one uld be willing to adopt, the only guide is the literary tradition.

[968] Now see on this topic Van Wees, "Princes at Dinner" (*op.cit.*) esp. 164-177. The author distinguishes three ds of feasts in the epics: (1) Feasts at occasions such as a wedding or a funeral. (2) "Royal banquets" ("wine elders" - *gerousion oinon*). (3) Private dinner parties.

[969] On the problem of exclusion of women from Homeric feasts see *ibid.*, 154-163, with earlier bibliography.

[970] *Ibid.*, 163.

[971] See for instance C.G. Thomas, "Homer and the Polis", *PP* 21 (1966) 5-14; C. Mossé, "Ithaque ou la issance de la cité", *AnnAStorAnt* 2 (1980) 7-19 (concerning Scheria and Ithaca); D. Asheri, *Distribuzione di re nell' antica Grecia*, Torino 1966, 5.

[972] It is generally assumed that the monumental composition of the epics took place between 750 and 700 B.C., st of the Iliad preceding a generation or two that of the Odyssey: see for instance Ch. G. Starr, *The Origins of reek Civilization, 1100-650 B.C.*, New York 1961, 156-165. B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek lphabet*, Cambridge 1991, *passim*, has argued that the poems were written down in the first half of the 8th c., t his arguments are not very persuasive.

ascend to power thanks to their personal excellence.[974] Judging by the archaeological data, this state of affairs appears to have lasted throughout the DA and in some places even later. By that time it seems that in most places the local leaders had ceased to exercise absolute control and became "first among equals".[975] This process was well on its way by the time the epics assumed their final form. Indeed, as settlements grew larger (especially from the 8th c. B.C. onwards)[976] the members of the higher classes would have began to question the one-man leadership and eventually would have achieved a limiting of the powers of the *basileus* to their profit.[977] In those areas where scattered villages were merging into poleis, the old state of affairs was bound to disappear;[978] with the act of synoecism the previous petty chieftains, whose ruling position was already curtailed by the rising aristocracy, were now led to share the powers, prerogatives and duties, which they previously retained on their own.[979] This theory, however, can be applied to a few sites, as for instance Athens. In other places, one has to assume that one village (and consequently the upper social class as well) gradually expanded and the aristocracy now claimed a share in the government of the polis. The fact that the leaders were gradually brought down to the level of the rest of the nobility is also reflected in the architecture of the 8th and 7th centuries; thus, the rulers' dwellings at Eretria, Zagora, Koukounaries or Emporio do not differ in many respects from the houses of the nobility,[980] and in some places, as for instance at Vathy Limenari, it is practically impossible to detect social stratification through the study of the architectural remains. On the other hand, in the earlier DA, the distinction between ruler's dwelling and ordinary houses was more flagrant (e.g. Lefkandi, Nichoria, Asine, Koukounaries, etc.). In conclusion, the natural consequence of this process was the gradual replacement of one-man leadership by a government of several elective officials, one of which retained in several places the title *basileus*. These *basileis* were in charge of certain religious affairs and were judges of certain disputes.[981]

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[974] See for instance F. Gschnitzer, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ". Ein terminologischer Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Königtums bei den griechen", in *Festschrift L.C. Franz, Innsbruker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 11 (1965) 107-109; J. Andreev, "Könige und Königsherrschaft in den Epen Homers", *Klio* 61 (1979) 380; G.M. Calhoun, "Classes and Masses in Homer", *ClPh* 29 (1934) 301-316.

[975] The notion of *primus inter pares* is present throughout the Iliad and the Odyssey and has been further emphasised by numerous scholars. See for instance C. Mossé, *AnnAStorAnt* 2 (1980) 18; J. Andreev, *Klio* 61 (1979) 380-382; Ch.G. Starr, "The Decline of Early Greek Kings", *Historia* 10 (1961) 130-132; W.G. Forrest, *The Emergence of Greek Democracy, 800-400 B.C.*, New York 1966, 45f.; P. Lévêque, "Genèse de la cité, contradictions sociales et mutations religieuses", in *AttiCAntCl* 11 (1980/81) 347f. The position of early Greek rulers is admirably described by B. Qviller ["The Dynamics of Homeric Society", *SOsl* 56 (1981) 109-155]. See also W. Donlan, "The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece", *ClPh* 80 (1985) 293-308. For an extreme point of view see R. Drews, *Basileus*, New Haven & London 1983, *passim*, who assumes that in Homer and Hesiod, the word βασιλεὺς denotes a highborn leader who is regularly flanked by other highborn leaders (p. 129) and maintains that "the Greek polis in the Geometric period has no king and is led by a small circle of hereditary leaders, the basileis" (p. 115).

[976] The population growth is proved on one hand by the expansion of settlements in the LG period, and on the other by the increase of burials from *c.* 800 B.C. onwards: see Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 19-25 and "Two Demographic Notes", in *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 167-171. See however Morris, *Burial* (1987) *passim*, for whom this pattern is consistent with his model of exclusion from a proper burial.

[977] The theory that aristocracy gradually encroached upon monarchy is the most widely accepted one (*contra* see Drews, *op.cit.*). Qviller [*SOsl* 56 (1981) 137] rightly stresses that the abolishment of kingship was not due to a faction of nobles who overthrew one-man rule, but to a sharing of the powers between kings and nobles. See also A. Andrews, "Phratries in Homer", *Hermes* 89 (1961) 139; Ch.G. Starr, *Historia* 10 (1961) 137; J. Sarkady, "Outlines of the Development of Greek Society in the Period between the 12th and 8th Centuries B.C.", *ActaAntHung* 23 (1975) 124; P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg 1984, 509-511.

[978] Concerning a related topic see I. Morris, "Village Society and the Rise of the Greek State", in *Structures Rurales et Societés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Corfu, 14-16 mai 1992*, ed. P. Doukellis & L. Mendoni, Paris 1994, 49-53.

[979] Andreev [*Klio* 61 (1979) 380], who assumes that the petty leaders of villages which coalesced in the 8th c. now shared in the management of the communal affairs.

[980] Compare for instance the houses of the NE part of Eretria with the so-called "Daphnephoreion", Room H19 and its annexes with the other houses of the central cluster of rooms at Zagora, Buildings B and C with Building E at Koukounaries, and the Megaron Hall with the Lower Megaron at Emporio.

[981] See in general Carlier, *op.cit.*, 325-501.

Morris has argued that in the DA "within settlements, cult was domestic, and that the earliest EIA sanctuaries were "divorced from settlements".[982] He further claims that in the 8th c. "the first bounded areas reserved exclusively for religious activities appear, with sanctuary areas marked off from the surrounding space and enclosed by walls".[983] Sourvinou-Inwood objected that the fact that domestic cult existed in the DA, does not "invalidate the view that communal cult was practised in a separate space", even within settlements, and she discusses the cases of the "temple" at Karphi, and the communal place of worship, centred around the pithos at Asine.[984] Furthermore, she points that early sanctuaries, such as the Amyklaion or that of Artemis Mounichia were located in or near a settlement.[985] The same scholar argued that the distinction between "rustic sanctuaries" (divorced from settlements) and sanctuaries within settlements "reflects modern perceptions of space",[986] and reached the conclusion that "early Greek sanctuaries developed out of the sanctuaries of the Dark Ages through a continuous process of development and change without rupture", a statement that appears indeed logical to me.[987] My own research has shown that within settlements, cult buildings exclusively reserved for cult appear rather late (first half or middle of the 8th c. at the earliest) but that communal hypaethral sanctuaries, presumably centred around an altar or other cult foci, were common from the beginning of the DA. This could indicate that religious space both inside and outside settlements was clearly defined from very early times within settlements -even if there were no physical boundaries delimiting the sacred space- but that temples were not regarded as essential elements, especially inside settlements. Consequently, I could summarise the situation as follows: in the Mycenaean era one encounters "urban" cult buildings and an organised priesthood, but certain religious activities were doubtless performed inside the residence of the *wanax* and may have been presided by him; moreover, the "urban", and perhaps the "rural" cults as well, were under the control of the ruler.[988] In the LH IIIC period this situation persists in the few centres which survived fairly well the upheavals of the LH IIIB2 period,[989] while in other places, as perhaps at Asine[990] and in the new Cretan settlements of the LM IIIC period, domestic cult practice seems to have gained in importance. Indeed, in most sites the institutions were not favourable for the continuing development of "urban" temples: as settlements diminished in size and communities shrank, the complex hierarchy of officials inevitably disappeared and the petty leaders would have concentrated most of the duties previously attached to these officials in their own hands. If this model is correct, one could assume that the *basileis* of the DA acted also as a chief-priests and on certain occasions would have offered their residence for the celebration of communal ritual meals.

In the DA, initially temples existed mainly (if not exclusively) outside settlements for in such sanctuaries there was need to house the votive offerings (presumably the more precious ones) in order to protect them from being stolen, worn, or destroyed by natural causes. These chapels may have contained a cult image of the divinity also, though one has to concede that there is no tangible proof confirming this. In some "rustic" sanctuaries the temple would have also served to accommodate the participants in a banquet after the sacrifice, as at Kommos where, however, there is ample evidence that feasts were also celebrated in the open air. Indeed, in general, such feasts were carried out in the open air.

Sanctuaries which were located far from settlements necessarily form a separate category. Many of these would have doubtless been connected in one way or another with secular authority,

[982] *Burial* (1987) 189.
[983] *Ibid.*, 190.
[984] "Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space. Fragments of a Discourse", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 6ff.
[985] *Ibid.*, 7.
[986] *Ibid.*, 8.
[987] *Ibid.*, 11.
[988] *Cf.* J. Wright, in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 60.
[989] See for instance the case of Tiryns: K. Kilian, "Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausübung in Tiryns", in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 49-58.
[990] O. Frödin & A.W. Person, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938, 63f., 66, 74-76, 308-310; R. Hägg, *OpAth* 8 (1968) 44; *id.*, in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (1981) 91-94 and *supra* p. 267. However, J. Wright considers that this shrine "embraces the religious traditions of the wider territory" (in *Placing the Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 64).

since they were as a rule, though not always,[991] dependent from a specific civic centre. Their isolated location from settled communities created other conditions which later on, when the polis arose, served as a model for the organisation of "urban" sanctuaries. "Suburban" and "extraurban" sanctuaries received groups of worshippers, large or small, and doubtless individual pilgrims. Somebody had to be responsible for the maintenance of the sanctuary and for offering his services to the worshippers. Presumably then, we should imagine that there existed in such places a personnel of priests (one or more, depending of the importance of the sanctuary) which would have resided inside or near the sacred precinct;[992] in sanctuaries of lesser importance or located at a few minutes walk from the nearest settlement, if there was need for a priest, he would have dwelt inside the settlement and may have behaved like his co-villagers during most of the time.

With the gradual abolishment of one-man leadership and the rise of the population in the "urban" centres the need to erect edifices especially designed for cult practice in the heart of the settlement was felt. The archaeological evidence indicates that the erection of the first "urban" temples, roughly coincided with the abolition of the old regime and the inauguration of a new one in which several individuals participated in the management of the communal affairs.[993] The erection of monumental "urban" temples from the late 8th c. onwards can hardly be explained otherwise than a communal decision, implicating communal resources;[994] the same stands for the monumental "suburban" and "extraurban" temples which started being built roughly at the same time. The same argument applies to the construction of fortification walls, which also require not only a communal effort, but also communal resources. As noted previously, before the 8th c. B.C., communities searched protection not by erecting massive fortification walls but by carefully selecting the sites at which they would settle or by simply reusing or repairing and extending (as for instance at Ay. Andreas on Siphnos[995] and Xobourgo on Tenos[996]) pre-existing fortifications (see p. 376). The earliest newly built fortifications of the historical period are located in northern Greece, the islands of the Aegean, the East coast of Asia Minor (especially Ionia) and Crete. The fortification (?) wall at Vitsa Zagoriou could perhaps date in the 9th c. Such fortifications of the EIA are not unknown from northern Epirus.[997] The character of the peribolos walls of EIA settlements in Macedonia (Figs. 7-8, 13) is uncertain, but it would seem that these circuit walls served also for defensive purposes.[998] At Old Smyrna the MG walls were perhaps built in order to deal with the threat from indigenous hostile populations (Fig. 397a).[999] This threat presumably arose well after the foundation of the settlement,[1000] but the massiveness of the walls could perhaps suggest the existence of an institutionalised type of government already by the middle of the 9th c. The fortifications at Vathy Limenari (Fig. 343),[1001] due to their short length, would have not required excessive manpower for

[991] For instance, the sanctuary at Kato Syme received visitors "from the upper social strata of many cities and communities": A. Lebessi, P. Muhly & J.-P. Olivier, *Kadmos* 34 (1995) 77.

[992] Od., IX, 200.

[993] Is it a mere coincidence that around 700 B.C. and later, rulers' dwellings were built in small villages or in settlements which failed to develop into poleis (Lathouriza, Zagora, Emporio, Vitsa, Assiros), while simultaneously we witness the erection of numerous "urban" temples elsewhere in Greece?

[994] J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAW* G 272 (1984) 10 ("The corporate effort which had been devoted to the construction of palaces for the kings was now directed to the service of the patron deity, the supreme protector of the polis") who refers however to the LBA palaces.

[995] V. Philippaki, *ΑΔ* 25 (1970) Χρον., 431-434; *id.*, *AAA* 6 (1973) 93-103.

[996] N. Kourou, public lecture, Athens, April 2, 1996.

[997] J. Vocotopoulou, *Βίτσα* Α, Athens 1986, 5.

[998] Kastanas (phase 10 onwards): B. Hänsel, *Kastanas*, Band 7, Teil 1, Berlin 1989, 223-232. It is not clear whether the stone circuit wall at Assiros (phases 3 and 2) was of a defensive character. The settlements at Koukos and Toumba (Thessalonike) appear also to have been provided with elementary fortifications [see J. Carington-Smith & J. Vocotopoulou, *ΑΕΜΘ* 2 (1988) 357f.; 4 (1990) 443 and S. Andreou & K. Kotsakis, in *ΑΕΜΘ* 1 (1987) 225f.; 6 (1992) 26, respectively]. Another fortified site of the EIA was recently identified at the Toumba at Kavallari: M. Pappa, *ΑΕΜΘ* 3 (1989) 331-338.

[999] R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 53/54 (1958/59) 35ff., esp. 120-123. The earlier circuit wall of mud bricks was built before the PG period, but it had collapsed before the beginning of the PG period.

[1000] Though see *ibid.*, p. 122, concerning the possibility for the existence of defensive wall already in the PG period.

[1001] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *ΑΔ* 24 (1969) Χρον., 390-393; 25 (1970) Χρον., 426-428; 26 (1971) Χρον., 465-467.

their construction, and their reason of existence could have been the threat from pirates, unless one accepts that the site was itself a pirates' nest.[1002] Cretan settlements were also often provided with a fortification wall (LM IIIC-Geometric periods, Figs. 440, 450, 470, 481).[1003] At Kastanas (phase 9, Fig. 21),[1004] Ay. Athanasios near Galaxidi,[1005] ?Thebes,[1006] Eretria (Fig. 101, nos. 18, 19 & 21 and Figs. ?113, 116, 119),[1007] ?Eleusis (Figs. 164, ?184),[1008] Corinth,[1009] Asine (Fig. 220),[1010] Zagora (Figs. 298, 300-302),[1011] Hypsile (Figs. 295-296),[1012] Xobourgo (Fig. 310),[1013] Kastro (Figs. 289-290)[1014] and Ay. Andreas (Fig. 293) on Siphnos,[1015] Oikonomos isl. (Fig. 326),[1016] Minoa (Figs. 347-348),[1017] ?Mytilene (Fig. 354),[1018] Vroulia (Figs. 389-390),[1019] Emporio (Figs. 368-370),[1020] Miletos,[1021] Melie[1022] and Iasos[1023] the fortifications date in the LG period or in the 7th c. B.C. (the majority early in the 7th). The assertion that Athens was already fortified in the Geometric period is unfounded,[1024] though the Athenians certainly reused the Mycenaean fortifications of the Acropolis. The defensive character of the thick wall which encloses House Θ at Oropos has not been ascertained yet (Fig. 77).[1025] The fact that most of the fortified sites lie near the sea suggests that the basic threat came from piracy, a practice well-known to Homer, rather than from clashes between communities wishing to settle their disputes by force.[1026] In other areas, especially in Asia Minor, the erection of fortification walls cannot safely serve as an argument that a settlement is evolving to a polis, on account of the threat from hostile indigenous populations.

[1002] K. Fagerström, "Donousa-ett piratfäste från järnåldern?", *Medusa* 5 (1985) 9-15. However, even if we accept the latter hypothesis, this would not mean that the only occupation of the inhabitants was piracy, but simply that sea raids were part of the subsistence strategy of the small community.

[1003] For instance Phaistos, Mythi, Kophinas, Vrokastro, Oreino Kastri, Oreino Petrokopia and perhaps Gortyna, Anavlochos, Dreros, Christos Volakas and Kritsa Kastello: see in general B.J. Hayden, *AA* (1988) 1-21 and K. Nowicki, "Fortifications in Dark Age Krete", in *Fortificationes Antiquae*, ed. S. Van de Maele & J.M. Fossey, Amsterdam 1992, 53-77.

[1004] The fortifications would have been indispensable now, perhaps due to the military character of the site.

[1005] E. Baziotopoulou & P. Valavanis, "Deux acropoles antiques sur les montagnes de Galaxidi", *BCH* 117 (1993) 189-209.

[1006] S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes*, Princeton 1985, 89.

[1007] Mazarakis Ainian, *GE* (1987) 14-16, with references.

[1008] The so-called outer peribolos of the sanctuary [Wall E6, J. Travlos, *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 333] presumably represents a defensive wall. Likewise, the architectural remains on the S slope of the acropolis (G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, pl. 5, here Figs. 164, 184), judging by their massiveness, could belong to the continuation of the same fortification wall (tower?).

[1009] A. Stillwell, *Corinth* XV, 1: *The Potters' Quarter*, Cambridge Mass. 1948, 11; C.K. Williams, *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 12-15.

[1010] B. Wells, in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 259-266.

[1011] A. Cambitoglou, *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου. Οδηγός*, Athens 1981, 22f.

[1012] C. Televantou, *Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993) 188f.

[1013] Themelis, *Grabbauten* (1976) 5-7, plan 1 between pp. 6 and 7.

[1014] J.K. Brock, *BSA* 44 (1949) 9.

[1015] Tower α was built in the LG period: V. Philippaki, *AAA* 6 (1973) 97, 101.

[1016] D. Schilardi, *AAA* 6 (1973) 260-265; *id.*, *JFA* 2 (1975) 93f.; *id.*, *ΠΑΕ* (1975) 205-209; *id.*, *Greek Renaissance* (1983) 181f.

[1017] L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1983) 328-334; (1984) 369-373; (1990) 265-267; *Έργον* (1992) 84; *id.*, "Τειχισμένοι οικισμοί των Γεωμετρικών χρόνων (9ος-8ος π.Χ. αι.)", *ΠΑΑ* 63 (1988) 80-92, concerning the fortifications of the acropolis. The first phase of the fortifications of the Lower Town appears also to date in the Geometric period: L. Marangou, *ΠΑΕ* (1989) 284f.; (1991) 293f.

[1018] D. Chatzi-Valianou, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973) Χρον., 517.

[1019] T. Melander, "Vroulia: Town Plan and Gate", in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, ed. S. Dietz, Copenhagen 1988, 83-86, with references to K.F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, Berlin 1914.

[1020] J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios, 1952-1955. Greek Emporio*, *BSA* Suppl. 6 (1967) 4f.

[1021] In the area of Kalabaktepe: A. von Gerkan, *Milet* I, 8, Berlin 1925, 26ff., pl. III.

[1022] W. Müller-Wiener *et al.*, *Panionion und Melie*, *JdI* Ergänzungsheft 23 (1967) 100-116.

[1023] D. Levi, *ASAtene* 39/40 (1961/62) 527-534.

[1024] H. Lauter-Bufe & H. Lauter, *AA* (1975) 2.

[1025] The wall is 1,00m thick to the E of Building Θ, but it may have simply served to contain the water from the stream which passed immediately to the E.

[1026] See A. Snodgrass, "The Historical Significance of Fortification in Archaic Greece", in *La fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec*, ed. P. Leriche & H. Tréziny, Paris 1986, 126-131.

S. Langdon has argued that "through distant memory or conscious imitation, the system of élite gift exchange recorded in the Homeric poems was reenacted in the religious sphere through the offering of symbol-laden tripods and the translation of divine images into bronze".[1027] This theory is consistent with C. Morgan's hypothesis that during the 8th c. B.C. "activities at sanctuaries outside state borders rested primarily upon investment from individuals or prominent families, rather than states".[1028] In a similar line of thought one could argue that the early "urban" temples borrowed features from the DA and contemporary houses, notably those which characterised the previous chieftains' dwellings and the houses of the contemporary aristocracy.[1029] The decisive step was made by the polis which gave to these temples monumental proportions, as would suit a divinity. But what exactly do the early temples owe to domestic architecture?

The shape of Early Iron Age temples and cult buildings

On observing the temple plans of the EA period, one will recognise all the main ground plans of the PG and Geometric periods (Tables I-VI).[1030] Consequently, one cannot maintain that there exists a direct link between the Archaic and Classical Greek temple, and the free-standing Mycenaean "megaron" with anta porch and main room. Nor can one seriously claim that isolated and equivocal "survivals", such as Building T at Tiryns, were responsible for the transmission of this particular plan.[1031] In fact, if there exists some sort of link between the two eras, it is probably of an indirect kind. Indeed, the two main categories of buildings of the PG and Geometric periods (the anta and oikos buildings) continue the long tradition of such building plans of the Bronze Age. The first monumental temples of the Greek polis would have been influenced by the plan of the most sumptuous edifices of the DA.

Very few rectangular edifices of PG date can be surely identified as cult buildings. Most are modest one-room edifices which bear no resemblance to the Mycenaean "megara". Therefore, at first sight, it appears that there is no connection between the Mycenaean "megaron" and the later Greek temple, since the earliest cult buildings of the EIA identified up to the present day, are not of this type. A closer look however at the evidence at hand, suggests that the "megaron" plan was transmitted from the late Mycenaean period down to the 8th c. B.C. in sites where some sort of continuity from one era to another appears likely, as for instance in Crete (Smari, Karphi and Prinias), at Tiryns, at Thermon, at Iolkos, and *perhaps* at Grotta. If we expand the term "megaron" to apsidal buildings as well, we may include the "Heroön" of Lefkandi and Unit IV-1 at Nichoria. In these two sites, however, neither uninterrupted continuity of life has been proven (though in both cases EIA settlements succeeded LBA prosperous centres after a short break), nor is there evidence for the presence of the "megaron" plan in the Late Bronze Age. In conclusion, it would seem that there is a connection of some sort between the Mycenaean "megara" and their EIA counterparts. However, there is not a single clear case of transmission of the "megaron" plan from a LBA to an EIA cult building, despite the fact that several of the earliest temples of the Iron Age were built in places where cult activities originated in the Bronze Age. In addition to this, the "megaron" plan was rarely used in religious architecture during the Mycenaean period (*cf.* Tables I-VIII, section C). It therefore appears likely that the "megaron" plan was passed on from the LBA to the EIA in domestic architecture first and only later on was applied in religious architecture.

The fact that towards the end of the Geometric period several temples were erected over ruins of the Bronze Age (and of the Mycenaean era in particular, since it was during this period that monumental structures had been erected, and in several places were still pointed out throughout

[1027] "Gift Exchange in the Geometric Sanctuaries", in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, ed. T. Linders & G. Nordquist, Uppsala 1987 (*Boreas* 15) 112.
[1028] C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 19.
[1029] O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Glasgow 1980, 65: "the housing of the nobility, which is the prototype of the archaic and classical Greek temple"; J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAW* G 272 (1984) 10f.; Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 61. See also V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*, London 1969², 15, with reference however to the houses of the Mycenaean rulers.
[1030] See Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976).
[1031] See Ch. Picard, *Les religions préhelléniques*, Paris 1948, 283f. for a critical discussion of this question, still useful. That the Greek temple owes its general features to the houses of the élite of the LBA is an old theory: see for example E. Gardner, "The Greek House", *JHS* 21 (1901) 303f.

ntiquity) does not signify that the plan of these temples was influenced by the prehistoric ruins: the evival of the interest of the Greeks of the 8th c. for their "heroic" (i.e. Mycenaean) past would not ave necessarily conditioned the form of their new-born "urban" temples. One has to examine the uestions related to the genesis of the temple of the Greek polis, and consequently of its plan, from a ifferent angle.

At first one should consider the legacy of the ground plan of domestic buildings upon that of arly temples. The temples of the Archaic and Classical periods were usually rectangular, though we ave noted that cult buildings of apsidal plan were not unusual in post-Geometric times. The round lan gained in importance in religious architecture in post-Geometric times,[1032] while the oval shape tained its popularity in a few remote or backward areas, but served mainly domestic functions. On e other hand, the plans favoured in religious architecture in the LG period were the apsidal, oval d rectangular ones, plans which were equally favoured in domestic architecture in the same period ables I-VIII).

The usual plan of EIA rulers' dwellings was apsidal or rectangular (Table X). The apsidal an which characterises rural communities was of course bound to disappear from EA times wards, not only because it makes uneconomic use of space, but also because the new techniques troduced in architecture were not compatible with buildings of this plan. We should recall however at there exist no radical differences between free-standing apsidal and rectangular buildings (Tables VIII). The reason that the plan of some early "urban" temples was apsidal (e.g. Asine B, Eretria D) that the decisive steps which made this shape unpopular had not been accomplished yet.[1033]

Not all shapes of post-Geometric temples and cult buildings can be traced back to the plans hich were fashionable for PG and Geometric rulers' dwellings. First of all there are categories of sidal and rectangular buildings which do not appear to have served as rulers' dwellings: these are anta buildings with open front (Table I) and, perhaps with a few exceptions, the oblong oikoi with trance in the longer side (Table VII). The former plan is encountered in religious architecture as ly as the late 11th or early 10th c. at Kommos (Temple A) and has antecedents even in the IA.[1034] Some EA temples may have possessed this plan, though the bad state of preservation of ny EA monumental temples does not allow one to be categorical.[1035] The use of the oblong plan in igious architecture is practically restricted to Crete (Table VIIA), where we encounter temples of kind even in post-Geometric times (for instance Table VIIA:4).[1036] It was also popular in estic architecture all over Greece (Table VIIB), but no use of it was made in religious hitecture in the PG and Geometric periods, and very little in the subsequent periods.

In addition to the types of buildings mentioned above, the Greek Tholos, which is often ountered in sanctuaries in post-Geometric times, cannot be regarded as a derivation from the rs' dwellings of the PG and Geometric periods. Likewise, it is difficult to accept that the Tholos

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See in general F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986. It should be stressed however that even in the sical and Hellenistic periods, the circular plan in religious architecture was favoured less than the ngular plan: see G. Roux, "Trésors, temples, tholos", in *Temples et Sanctuaires* (1984) 166-171.

Likewise, as J. Coulton notes (*Greek Architects at Work*, London, Toronto, Sydney & New York 1977, 42), first steps towards a monumental architecture seem ... to have been taken largely by using techniques dy available in Greece".

See Room 93 at Pylos, Chapel 110 at Tiryns and perhaps a cult building at Philia, Table IC:12-14.

For instance, in the EA temple of Apollo at Eretria, the extremity of the E anta makes a return towards the P. Auberson [*Temple d' Apollon Daphnephoros, Eretria* I, Bern 1968, 12 and plan II] argued that this dation cannot be a front wall for it is wider than the other walls (it measures c. 1,00m) and is not as deep as ther foundations (lower level of wall at +1,60). Yet, if one observes the rear wall of the same temple, one es that (1) the rear wall is also wider than the side walls (c. 0,95m) and (2) it is also founded at +1,60. In A temple of Poseidon at Isthmia it seems that the cross wall between porch and main room, and the rear of the cella were also wider than the side walls (O. Broneer, *Temple of Poseidon, Isthmia* I, Princeton 15). One then should seriously consider the possibility that the EA temple at Eretria was an oikos, similar mple A at Kalapodi. I should lastly recall that the form of the facade of the EA temples of Apollo at th and of Hera at Argos is unknown, while that of the temples of Poseidon at Isthmia and of Hera at s (H1/H2) is uncertain [Broneer, *op.cit.*, 10, pl. 3; Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) figs. 20, 28-29].

See for instance the Pythion at Gortyna [M. Riccardi, ASAtene 64/65 (1986/87) and Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* 5) fig. 64], the EO temple at Afrati (Fig. 474) and the first Herakleion at Thasos [J. Des Courtils & A. nte, *BCH* 110 (1986) fig. 16, p. 803].

developed out of the modest circular buildings of the PG and Geometric periods, which as we have seen (Chapter I, Part 5, pp. 114ff.), usually served as granaries. There may be, however, some symbolic connection between round cult buildings and granaries in the cases where a fertility or chthonian cult was practised. In my opinion there may be an interaction between the decrease of the popularity of oval cult buildings in the Archaic period and the simultaneous introduction of the round plan in religious architecture.[1037] Oval cult buildings appear to have accommodated small groups of worshippers who participated in ritual meals (rulers' dwellings of oval shape are practically non-existent due to the rather modest appearance of such buildings: see Table X). The circular plan could have served similar functions in the EIA, provided that the architects of that era had been able to roof such structures whenever they wished to expand the diameter, and consequently the interior space, in view of accommodating a substantial number of people. This was achieved in the EA period, at which time the oval plan started losing its importance in religious architecture in favour of the circular one. It should be stressed that it is nowadays beyond doubt that several Tholoi of the Archaic and Classical periods also served for ritual dining.[1038]

Thus, it is clear that some categories of post-Geometric cult buildings, i.e. the Π-shaped, the Cretan oblong oikoi and the round buildings, do not derive from the rulers' dwellings of the EIA, but each plan followed an evolution of its own. Likewise, the agglutinative rulers' dwellings could not have been the models of the free-standing temples.[1039]

In the LG period, when the process of building temples and other cult buildings was accelerated, not a single new plan was introduced: all the cult buildings of the LG period have counterparts in the contemporary and earlier domestic buildings (Tables I-VIII); even the monumental temples of the end of the 8th c. and early 7th c. B.C. have similar (though usually smaller) counterparts in domestic architecture. The main difference between the monumental temples of the LG/EA periods and the larger rulers' dwellings of the preceding periods lies in the interior arrangement, but this is inevitable, for the interior arrangement of a building reflects its function.[1040] Thus, while rulers' dwellings were partitioned into several compartments, each serving a different function (e.g. Lefkandi, Nichoria IV-1, Thessalonike, etc.), monumental temples were characterised by the absence of internal divisions (e.g. Eretria, Kalapodi, Samos).[1041]

It should be stressed that the fact that all the cult buildings and rulers' dwellings assembled in Tables I-VIII have counterparts in domestic architecture, does not mean that they necessarily derive from profane architecture. This concerns not only the buildings of Table IA but other buildings as well, such as the smallest oikoi of Table IVA (*cf.* for instance nos 31-34). The reason is that such small free-standing structures would have been unfit for habitation, exactly like the Π-shaped chapels of same dimensions. The fact however is, that the architects of religious buildings in the EIA used as their models the contemporary trends which were applied in domestic architecture.[1042] Inevitably then, the larger cult buildings of that era resembled the houses of the wealthier families, and consequently those of the members of the élite.[1043]

During the second half of the 8th c. and the beginning of the 7th c we still witness in several areas the existence of rulers' dwellings, but none of these places has revealed a contemporary "urban"

[1037] Concerning the earliest religious circular buildings F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos*, Mainz 1986, 6ff. I should recall, however, that a dating of the Tholos at Lathouriza around 700 is unlikely (pp. 118, 238).

[1038] F.A. Cooper & S.P. Morris, "Dining in Round Buildings", in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 66-85. It is often thought that circular buildings are often connected with chthonian cults, and cults of heroes. As examples one may quote F. Robert, *Thymélè*, Paris 1939, 423ff.; P.G. Themelis, "Ερετρια. Κυκλικό κτισμα και Ηρακλής", *AEM* 26 (1984/85) 353-361, esp. 356. *Contra* see G. Roux, "Trésors, temples, tholos", in *Temples et Sanctuaires* (1984) 170f. It is interesting that oval buildings of the Geometric period were sometimes associated with chthonian cults (Areopagus, Miletos B?).

[1039] One however should sometimes make an abstraction of neighbouring rooms and consider separately the nucleus of an edifice: see for instance Tables IIA-VIA.

[1040] P.E. Corbett, "Greek Temples and Greek Worshippers: The Literary and Archaeological Evidence", *BICS* 17 (1970) 152: "Greek architects were ready to adapt a building to its function".

[1041] *Cf.* also the temple at Ano Mazaraki, where, however, there was a small back chamber (Fig. 252).

[1042] *Cf.* O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Glasgow 1980, 65; J.N. Coldstream, *The Formation of the Greek Polis: Aristotle and Archaeology*, *RWAWG* 272 (1984) 10f.; Snodgrass, *AG* (1980) 61.

[1043] Compare for instance the dwellings and cult buildings of Tables II-VIII.

temple, despite the fact that from *c.* 750 B.C. we witness the erection of the first truly "urban" temples at various parts of the Greek World. In the course of the 7th c., several more settlements acquired an "urban" temple. During the same period old rulers' dwellings were converted into temples or heroa, other rulers' dwellings were preserved but served some new public function, while settlements which failed to acquire an "urban" temple were either abandoned or failed to reach *polis* status. The beginning of this sequence of parallel events may be roughly situated towards the middle of the 8th c. and appears to have been completed by the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th c. These events would suggest that the abolition of one-man leadership was a slow process which finally affected most of the Greek World, while the genesis of the "urban" temple was one of the aftereffects of these changes.[1044]

The impact of the changes in the political sphere upon the religious habits of the Greeks would not have been negligible. One consequence, as we have said, was the erection of "urban" temples but one should also include here the appearance of other categories of public buildings, such as the *prytaneion*[1045] or the *andreion*,[1046] such as Unit I-IV at Lathouriza which may have ended as an *ekklesiasterion* or *prytaneion* (Fig. 149),[1047] the "House of the Seals" at Koukounaries, which appears to have functioned as a *prytaneion* or Dining House (Fig. 323)[1048] and Building C on the acropolis which may have been in its final phase a "Hall of Gatherings" (Fig. 322) and the so-called *prytaneion* at Dreros (Fig. 453), behind the temple of Apollo Delphinios, which consists of three elongated rooms sharing a common porch or courtyard.[1049] All these buildings, however, appear to have served such a function during the EA period and not earlier. Indeed, since military, political and religious meetings or ceremonies could no longer take place in a leader's house, it was necessary to construct buildings which would fulfil these functions. It is well known that the sacred hearth of the polis was located inside the *prytaneion*;[1050] in the DA and even earlier, during the LBA, the sacred hearth was located in the house of the leaders. The agora became now the space where political and religious activities of the citizens were centred.[1051] It should be also remembered that some early temples may have functioned also as *prytaneia*, especially in Crete (?Dreros, ?Prinias B, ?Kommos),[1052] while several sanctuaries of Apollo developed in places of communal gathering, as at Eretria, Thermon, Delphi or Delos.[1053]

In the LG period the plans and dimensions of temples become now more diversified. Prior to the mid 8th c., temples were simple structures, usually of very modest proportions, but from the late 8th c. onwards, their dimensions grew and in some places attained by the end of the century or the 7th c. monumental proportions.

Cult buildings were further characterised by specific structural or symbolic elements, such as the *peristasis* and the base for the cult image. The earliest peripteroi were the first Artemision at Ephesos, the *hekatompedon* at Ano Mazaraki, and perhaps slightly later at Thermon (apsidal peristyle?), Temple A at Kalapodi (?), the first Heraion at Prosymna near Argos, the first Heraion at Delos and the *hekatompedon* of Samos in its second building phase. The peristyle was originally a

[1044] Caution is recommended for the erection of an "urban" temple does not necessarily mean that the formation of the polis has been accomplished, but that the process has begun: Snodgrass, *Archaeology* (1977) 24; J.N. Coldstream, *RWAWG* 272 (1984) 10f.

[1045] See for instance the side-by-side arrangement of the temple and *prytaneion* at Koukounaries and Dreros and I have suggested that this may have been the case at Prinias. Concerning the theory that some "hearth-temples", especially in Crete, may have functioned as *prytaneia* see E. Samuelson, *AJA* 92 (1988) 279f.

[1046] Such may have been the function of a building in the W hill at Dreros [Kalpaxis, *Baukunst* (1976) 72f.]. Building C at Koukounaries could perhaps also be regarded as an *andron*; the other hypothesis would be that C was a ruler's dwelling, which ruler's power, to use Ch. Starr's words, may have "tended to rise" ["The Decline of Early Greek Kings", *Historia* 10 (1961) 133].

[1047] Lauter, *Lathuresa* (1985) 23-26.

[1048] D. Schilardi, *ΠΑΕ* (1984) 117-126; (1986) 179-182; (1987) 219, 227-231.

[1049] P. Demargne & H. Van Effenterre, *BCH* 61 (1937) 15-18; Hayden, *Cretan Architecture* (1981) 88f.; S. Miller, *The Prytaneion*, Berkeley 1978, 93-98.

[1050] Miller, *op.cit.*, 13f.

[1051] For a discussion of this topic and further references see Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space. Fragments of a Discourse", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 12f.

[1052] E. Samuelson, *AJA* 92 (1988) 279f.

[1053] Fagerström, *GIAA* (1988) 151-154. See also Samuelson, *op.cit.*

structural element which served to protect the mud brick walls from deterioration and to contain the lateral pressure of steep thatched roofs (Lefkandi, Eretria, Oropos). A more widespread technique aiming at the solving of similar technical matters was that of vertical posts set against the inner or outer face of the building's exterior wall (Nichoria IV-1, Halieis, Kalapodi, Eretria, Oropos, etc.).

The function of Early Iron Age temples and cult buildings

There is evidence that prior to the mid-8th c. ritual dining was performed inside some of the earliest cult buildings, the clearer case being Temples A and B1 at Kommos, which also contained votive offerings. At Kato Syme, large scale ritual meals are also attested,[1054] but we do not know yet whether the cult buildings of the LM IIIC-Geometric periods served for ritual dining as well.[1055] The temple at Olous with its exterior altar/hearth would have perhaps served similar functions as the temples at Kommos. From the continent, the earliest evidence for ritual dining inside cult buildings is meagre, but it is likely that Building B in the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos served both for the positioning of votives and for ritual dining (*cf.* the width of the bench there). The oval building at the Areopagus and perhaps each building or room at Grotta would have served a single family which would have performed periodical cults in the honour of the dead, including ritual dining.[1056] Building A and perhaps certain rooms of Building B at Tsikalario may have served a comparable function but would have been used by numerous families.[1057] On the other hand, Temple I at Iria, and the modest chapels at Perachora (temple of Hera Akraia), Ay. Irini on Kea (Building BB) Delos (Temple Γ), Kavousi (Pachlitsani Agriada), or Vrokastro (Karakovilia) were presumably not used for ritual dining (which would have been carried in some of these places out in the open air) but served to house a portion of the votive offerings dedicated in these sanctuaries (the most prized ones and/or the current dedications?),[1058] as well as the cult utensils required during the rituals.[1059]

A question which arises is did the cult buildings dated before the middle of the 8th c. contain a cult image of the divinity? The fact that no free-standing base to receive such images has been identified would perhaps favour a negative answer, though one should consider the possibility that the image of the divinity was placed on the same bench as the votives (compare with the LG temple at Dreros). On the other hand, it may be that a cult image of the divinity was not always judged necessary, since often votive figurines would have been regarded as representations of the divinity.[1060]

During the second half of the 8th c., as in the previous centuries, the functions of cult buildings were varied. The existence of cult images is now beyond doubt thanks to the discoveries of Dreros and Ay. Irini, and also by the fact that from LG times onwards there is evidence for free-standing or semi-free-standing bases for cult images.[1061] One category of cult building we may call the "temple-*hestiatorion*", which we may define as a cult building which not only contains the

[1054] B. Bergquist, "The Archaeology of Sacrifice: Minoan-Mycenaean Versus Greek", in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 20-34.

[1055] A. Lebessi, *AE* (1981) 9 & 14 states that in the 7th-6th c. and in LM IIIC-PG times there existed roofed buildings which served religious purposes, but assumes that cult was performed basically in the open air. No roofed structures are reported from the Geometric phase of the sanctuary, until c. 700 B.C. (*ibid.*, 12).

[1056] Assumption based in the presence of benches and a hearth in the Areopagus building. In the case of Grotta one cannot tell yet whether dining was part of the rituals offered to the dead. See, however, Antonaccio, *Ancestors* (1995) 201f.

[1057] These buildings do not seem to be connected with a specific tumulus. It is practically certain that food offerings were presented to the dead. The hearths inside the building could indicate that food was also cooked, but one cannot tell if it was consumed as well.

[1058] Votive objects were discovered in the small rural chapel near Kavousi. Votives were also associated with the small chapels at Perachora and Vrokastro (Karakovilia). The contents of Building BB at Ay. Irini (Kea) and of Temple Γ on Delos are unknown, but due to their modest dimensions, it is likely that either building housed dedications.

[1059] The clay tripod offering table at Vrokastro may have been such a utensil. Whether the spits discovered at Perachora were also utilitarian cannot be determined.

[1060] *Cf.* W.-D. Heilmeyer, *OlF* VII, Berlin 1972 concerning the male terracotta figurines at Olympia.

[1061] Free-standing bases for cult images have been discovered at Samos (H1), Old Smyrna, Ephesos and perhaps at Kalapodi (Temple A).

mage of the divinity and a number of votive offerings, but also serves for ritual dining.[1062] In places however, the process of dividing the functions of cult buildings was already on its [1063] The EA (?) temple of Apollo at Halieis may serve as an illustration of an early stage of this ss (Fig. 245): there we have three units separated by each other by partition walls and each ed separately. Room 2 presumably contained the cult image of the divinity and a number of es; Room 3 may have been an *hestiatorion* of a privileged few (or at least a repository of the ns from sacrifices and ritual dining, which would have been performed elsewhere); Room 4 d as a treasury, in which the surplus of votives and perhaps certain cult utensils were kept. At horα on the other hand, the distinction between temple and *hestiatorion* was more pronounced: mple which concealed the votives (and perhaps by now the cult image of the divinity) was ed by the harbour, while further away, a *hestiatorion* was built (Fig. 185). It should be stressed hese early *hestiatoria* could only accommodate but a restricted number of people. Ritual dining e majority of the worshippers would have remained an hypaethral or semi-hypaethral activity ne provisional hut or tent recognised at Isthmia).[1064] One could however suggest that one of the ns for which *monumental* temples came into existence may have been that in many of these, dining was performed *inside* the temple, and the aim was to accommodate a large number of ipants (e.g. the benches in Samos H1 and the hearths in Kalapodi A and B and Temple II at [1065]

Despite the fact that *hestiatoria* had become a common feature of Greek sanctuaries by the Archaic and Classical periods,[1066] the "temple-*hestiatorion*" did not altogether vanish, especially as off the main stream of civilisation. A single example is enough to corroborate this statement: rchaic temple at Hypsile on Andros incorporated in its porch an hearth-altar and in its cella a for the cult image, votive offerings, sitting benches and two tables (Fig. 297).[1067]

We have seen that the origins of the "temple-*hestiatorion*" go back at least to the 10th c. mos A). The reason for which this category of temple appears to have overshadowed the other gories of temples in the LG period is simply that the evidence for temple architecture increases, one by one the Greek communities erected "urban" temples. The small chapels however, which d to contain the votive offerings continued to exist: on one hand one could mention the rban" or "extraurban" chapels built in earlier years and which were presumably still in use,[1068] n the other new buildings of this category, such as the first Heraion on Delos, but it seems that were still preferably being built outside settlements.

During the LG period buildings for the worship of heroes or ancestors become more rous,[1069] and this is not surprising since it is well known that the rise of hero and ancestral cult is

s for instance the temples at Kalapodi (A and B), Lathouriza (VIII), Asine (A and B on Barbouna), Tegea d II), Sparta, Iria (Temple II), the Pre-oikos of the Naxians on Delos, the temple of Athena at ounaries, Samos H1, Dreros.

should be stressed however that this division was not always clearly made: see G. Roux, "Trésors, es, tholos", in *Temples et Sanctuaires* (1984) 171.

stiatoria could provide accommodation to a limited number of people. According to R.A. Tomlinson, f *Sanctuaries*, London 1976, 42, "presumably the choice was made on the basis of dignity". See also E. "Banquets et salles de banquet dans les cultes de la Grèce et de l' Empire romain", in *Mélanges P. Collart*, ane 1976, 358.

odgrass rightly emphasises however that such buildings could more easily accommodate small unities than a whole city-state or ethnos [*AG* (1980) 61].

e for instance the polygonal oikos in the sanctuary of Herakles at Thasos (B. Bergquist, *Herakles on* s, Uppsala 1973, esp. 41-45, 57-62) and its relationship with the temple [J. Des Courtils & A. Pariente, 109 (1985) 882-884; 110 (1986) 802-806; *id.*, "Excavations in the Herakles Sanctuary at Thasos", in *Early Cult Practice* (1988) 121. In general on *hestiatoria*: M.S. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Sanctuaries, 600-300 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss., Berkeley 1978; Will, *op.cit.*, 353-362; B. Bergquist, *OpRom* 9 21-34; Ch. Börker, "Festbankett und griechische Architektur", *Xenia* 4 (1982); F.A. Cooper & S. Morris, mpotica, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 66-85.

h. Televantou, *Ανδριακά Χρονικά* 21 (1993) 189-192.

rachora, Ay. Irini (BB), Delos (Γ), Pachlitsani Agriada at Kavousi.

cademy, Anavyssos, Eleusis (Sacred House), Mycenae, Xobourgo. To this list one should add the ings of similar functions which were erected in the previous periods and were still in use in the LG period pagus (?), Hymettos A (?), Grotta, Tsikalario]. The case of Thorikos III/XXVI and XXX is highly tain.

a phenomenon distinctive of the LG period. It is worth remarking that the largest concentration of buildings connected with hero or ancestral cult is in Attica. The Homeric epics attest how important was the cult of heroes in Athens, since the cult of Erechtheus, mythical king of Athens, is specifically mentioned. The act of honouring ancestors should be interpreted as a wish of certain communities or families to preserve and emphasise for various reasons their ties with the past. It should be stressed that if kingship was banished, this does not necessarily mean that the memory of the old leaders was banished too. This is proved by the fact that in later times each polis traced its origins back to some legendary king, leader or hero.[1070] It has been suggested that the rise of hero cults in the LG period was partly due to the wide circulation of the Homeric epics.[1071] This is perhaps true concerning the cults connected with graves of the Bronze Age, but does not provide a satisfactory explanation of the honours presented to prominent individuals who lived in the LG period (e.g. Eretria, Eleusis, etc.).[1072] Since hero cults of the latter category were not unknown prior to the 8th c.,[1073] at which period the monumental composition of the epics had not been completed, it would be reasonable to assume that the rise of hero cults in the LG period partly reflects the wish of the new ruling class to emphasise its ties with the old rulers, justifying by this act its own privileged position.[1074] On the other hand, A. Snodgrass and J. Whitley argue that the rise of hero cults in the LG period in connection with LBA graves or ruins should be regarded as an indication of sedentarization, as opposed to tribalism of the previous era.[1075] This assumption could fit certain cases only, i.e. those in which the cults are located in areas suitable for cultivation. The hero or ancestral cults concerning this study cannot be explained in this way, for these were performed inside buildings erected for this purpose and located inside a settlement or on top or in proximity of Geometric graves and not tombs of the "Heroic Age".

Thus, in the LG period we witness on the one hand certain innovations, such as the "urban" temple, the expansion of sanctuaries and the monumentalization of temples in particular, or the temple with a peristyle and a free-standing base for the cult image (i.e., temple = house of the divinity), and on the other hand several survivals of the previous periods: the "temple-*hestiatorion*" with its votives, interior hearth and sitting benches, the "temple-treasury" (basically for votives but perhaps also for the cult image of the divinity), and the proliferation of buildings connected with the worship of heroes and the veneration of ancestors.

[1070] According to B. Qviller ["The Dynamics of Homeric Society", *SOsl* 56 (1981) 114f.] "the absence of anti-royal sentiments in later Greek tradition suggests that Dark Age kingship withered away because of its internal contradictions".

[1071] Especially in the areas in which there was a break between the Mycenaean and DA periods: J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 96 (1976) 17; *id.*, *GG* (1977) 346-348. See also L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford 1921, 342 & chapter XI.

[1072] I am not talking here of the rites performed in connection with the funeral itself [e.g. Eretria or Salamis in Cyprus: Coldstream, *GG* (1977) 349-352], but of the periodical rites performed for several decades after the death of a hero.

[1073] For instance at Thermon. One has to concede, however, that at Lefkandi there is not sufficient evidence to prove that honours were presented to the deceased couple long after its death (independently whether one considers the building a heroön or a ruler's house). For other possible PG hero cults see Th. Hadzisteliou- Price, in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to B.M.W. Knox*, ed. G.W. Bowersock *et al.*, Berlin & New York 1979, 221-228, though several cases included in the author's list should be dismissed.

[1074] See F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 127-151 for the development of the thesis. See also C. Bérard, *MusHelv* 29 (1972) 219-227; *id.*, in *Mort, morts* (1982) 89-105; *id.*, in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine*, Paris & Rome 1983, 43-62. In Crete, where no tomb or hero cults have been detected as yet, it has been argued that the fact that several EIA sanctuaries were established at Minoan settlement sites suggests "an attempt to define and legitimate civic boundaries": L. Nixon, "Minoan Settlement and Greek Sanctuaries", in *Πεπραγμένα ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A2, Chania 1990, 59-67.

[1075] A. Snodgrass, in *Mort, morts* (1982) 107-119; *id.*, *Archaeology* (1977) 31; J. Whitley, *JHS* 108 (1988) 1-9.

CONCLUSIONS

The title of this study insinuates that we witness a shift from rulers' dwellings to temples in EIA Greece. This however, does not mean that I have in mind a uniform pattern applicable for the entire Greek World of the period between the 12th/11th and 8th centuries B.C. As I hope to have made clear, the society and the institutions doubtless differed from region to region and from age to age. Moreover, it is apparent that I do not equate a ruler's dwelling with a temple or proto-temple. A clear demonstration of this is that temples existed simultaneously with the earlier attested rulers' dwellings of the DA. Additionally, I have not argued against the existence of an organisation of the sacred space in EIA Greece, but simply that there was no sharp dividing line between sacred and domestic space *within* settlements, at least before the first half of the 8th c. B.C. Besides, I certainly do not deny that temples and sanctuaries existed throughout the DA, both inside and outside settlements, and certainly I cannot follow Whitley who stated recently that "during the Dark Age, on the mainland at least, with one or two minor exceptions, there is no permanent structure we can associate with cult practice before about 750 BC" (*cf.* Map 4).[1] I have stressed, however, that "urban" temples were apparently not constructed before the 8th c. B.C. This, of course, is an argument *ex silentio*, which may be regarded by some as unreliable. Nevertheless, the archaeological data assembled in this study is not negligible and therefore the absence of "urban" temples before *c.* 800 B.C. requires an explanation.

The worship of the gods could be carried out on various levels of the society's structure: it could be a matter of the initiative of a single individual, of a household, of one or more kinship groups, of the polis or even of a confederation of poleis. Before the creation of the polis, however, cult practice would have been either a matter of private initiative of an individual or a household, or that of a kinship group. In the EIA the settlements were usually small and would have been composed either by a single expanded family or nuclei of several such families. In the former case communal cult practice would have been the responsibility of the head of the expanded family; in the latter case it would have been that of the ruler (or rulers, if one assumes that in some places each leader of a kinship group would have equally shared with the other leaders in the management of the communal affairs). Thus, in the level of the expanded *oikos* or village, chiefs would have been responsible for the management of communal cult practice; this, consequently, was one of their means of maintaining their leading position, which aspirants for power were ready to challenge.[2] The same model could have characterised the "suburban" sanctuaries which would have also been under the control of the same groups. However, certain "extraurban" or "interstate" sanctuaries which cannot be attached to one or another settlement may have been places where various chiefs or kinship groups would have periodically met to honour together the gods.[3] According to C. Morgan, at Olympia the petty chiefs of the surroundings would have assembled to practice cult and perhaps to compete together and later on, from *c.* 800 B.C., they would have been joined by the élites of other emergent states.[4] The sanctuary of Delphi developed later than Olympia, presumably due to the interest of the élites of the eastern continental Greek World.[5] Such events or festivals would have

1 "Woods, Trees and Leaves in the Early Iron Age of Greece", *JMA* 6 (1993) 225.

2 C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, Cambridge 1990, 75, speaking of Nichoria suggests that the "control of cult was a significant factor in the establishment and maintenance of power in the community". The author, however, restricts this remark to Messenia.

3 *Cf. id.*, "The Origins of Pan-Hellenism", in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 26 in her discussion of Olympia.

4 Morgan, *Athletes...* (*op.cit.*) 56, 191f. K. Fagerström, however, believes that "international" sanctuaries like Olympia served "for the display of communal or group prestige", for instance he sees in the early dedications at this sanctuary a competition between states such as Sparta and Argos: *CSA* I (1993) 49-57, quotation p. 51.

5 Morgan, *op.cit.*, 106ff., 193.

enabled local chiefs to affirm or to maintain their leading position.[6] Even at Kato Syme, the worshippers in the EIA appear to have been of "élite status".[7] By the end of the 8th c., and the formation of the polis, the managing of the religious affairs would have become the affair of the state, while some sanctuaries which had attracted worshippers from well defined geographical areas would have gradually acquired a panhellenic character or fame.[8] However, as R. Osborne has shown, the development from "individual" to "communal" is not a pattern applicable in all rising states; for instance in Attica "the pattern of increased cult activity in the seventh century marks an interest in the gods outside the communal framework", which could be interpreted either as a reaction against the rise of the polis, i.e. "a mark of social crisis, of the breakdown of the infant polis organisation" or "as a sign of confidence and strength" of the Athenian state which felt that there was no need to consolidate its position through a rigorous control of the cults and sanctuaries of its territory.[9]

It is the role played in religion by the EIA ruler which dictated the religious function of his dwelling. Some rulers' dwellings, especially in Crete, were provided with a domestic shrine where votive offerings were dedicated to the divinities. These shrines would have served two distinct purposes: on one hand they would have served the members of the leader's *oikos* and on the other the entire community (i.e. whenever the leader acted on its behalf). In general, however, rulers' dwellings did not possess a domestic shrine. The practice of domestic cult did not always necessitate the existence of a specific cult room (or a corner of a room) inside the house. Such activities could be carried out in rooms which most of the time served ordinary domestic functions.

The archaeological evidence attests how important feasting was in the upper social class of the EIA. A reflection of this situation is present in the Homeric epics. In those times the separation between sacred and secular practices was often non-existent. Religion was part of everyday life and was remarkably intertwined in the domestic activities of EIA communities. A sacrifice conducted by the leader would have as a rule been the prelude of a political or other communal meeting, during which the participants (presumably the high dignitaries of the community), after having offered the parts which were due to the gods, would have dined inside the leader's house. Such feasts would have been carried out both on a regular or irregular basis, and would have been presided by the leader who often provided the sacrificial victims. On special occasions, such as in religious festivals, or when the community wished to supplicate or gratify the gods, the rituals could take place either in the settlement's "suburban" or "extraurban" sanctuary, which sometimes included a cult building, or in the hypaethral sanctuary inside the settlement proper. In the last case, the meal inside the ruler's house may have been of an exclusively sacred nature. On this occasion, all the adult male members of the community would have perhaps been entitled to attend the ritual meal. Since, however, the space inside the ruler's house was limited, the less privileged members of the community would have dined in the open air, in the proximity of the altar (apart for those sites in which the size of the community was small). I should also recall that ritual dining inside the ruler's dwelling would have sometimes been performed in the honour of distinguished ancestors of the community and of the leader's family in particular. Cult buildings located at a short distance of the settlement would have sometimes fulfilled this function.

This state of affairs persisted in remote and backward places into the 7th c. B.C., while in sites where the isonomia of the polis had made its appearance, one observes the erection of the first "urban" temples and a multiplication of hero cults in connection with distinguished figures recently deceased. The earliest "urban" temples do not seem as yet to antedate the middle of the 8th c.

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[6] *Ibid.*, 93.

[7] A. Lebessi, P. Muhly & J.-P. Olivier, *Kadmos* 34 (1995) 76f.

[8] Delphi, however, does not fit in this model since the sanctuary was originally situated inside a small settlement. Moreover, the exact relationship between settlement and sanctuary is not well understood. Presumably, the attraction of visitors from all over the Greek World in this sanctuary was due to the growth of the importance of its oracle, which gradually acquired panhellenic fame during the 7th c. B.C. See Morgan, *op.cit.*, 127-129 and *id.*, in *Greek Sanctuaries* (1993) 28-31.

[9] R. Osborne, "A Crisis in Archaeological History? The Seventh Century B.C. in Attica", *BSA* 84 (1989) 319, 320, respectively.

The fact that the plan and exterior look of the LG "urban" temples usually do not differ from temporary domestic buildings suggests that we are in the presence of a transitional period ve witness on one hand the preservation of an earlier tradition, according to which there is no r the divinity to possess a house more sumptuous than that of a wealthy human, and on the decisive step forward, which is the clear dissociation of secular and sacred activities. The n of the temple dedicated to a poliad divinity represents only one of the changes which d roughly during the same period, such as the amelioration of the living conditions, the ation movement or the recovery of literacy. From that stage onwards, the developments in s architecture succeeded one another very quickly: building techniques were ameliorated, the es of architects were improved, communal resources could now be directed to the lishment of pretentious building programs (public buildings, temples, fortifications), and ently, the dimensions of temples could now increase and attain monumental proportions. Yet, nge in cult practices and rituals is usually a slow process which is completed later than any ange of a secular nature. This, perhaps, is the reason why the form and the features of the LG, n the EA temple, still bear a striking resemblance to the domestic architecture of the PG and ric periods, and especially to the ruler's dwelling. The same stands for the function of early emples, in which not only the cult image of the divinity and votives were placed, but cult ere often also held in the interior, as previously inside rulers' dwellings and "suburban" or rban" cult buildings. Gradually, however, the practice of ritual dining was transferred to especially designed for this purpose, the *hestiatoria*.

Hero and ancestral cults seem to have been of primary importance in the EIA and their nce was further augmented in the LG period and included several cults of anonymous or ous (historical or mythical) distinguished figures which later tradition and genealogies placed BA and the beginning of the DA. There was not one single reason which generated the rise of its, but several: the spread of the Homeric epics certainly played a significant role, as well as tations of social or political nature which instigated actions of "legitimation and nition"[10] in a society which was becoming egalitarian.

In this study I have focused my attention to the religious prerogatives of EIA rulers and not whole nexus of the rulers' powers, referring mainly to the extant archaeological data, i.e. their s, as opposed to the Homeric evidence, which scholars have often used as proof in favour of mption. I have argued that the religious function of the PG and Geometric rulers' dwellings rigins in the LH/LM IIIC period (12th c.) and partly in the earlier Mycenaean Age.[11] One ssume that throughout the prehistoric period in Greece, whenever at the head of the ity there was a single ruler, this individual would have assumed responsibilities connected igion and cult practice, as perhaps the ruler of early Neolithic Nea Nikomedia,[12] of EH II or of MH Malthi.[14] However, not having examined this hypothesis in depth, I leave the open, hoping to investigate it in the future. Modern scholars have directed their research other classes of archaeological evidence, such as cemeteries and votives from sanctuaries as (my primary interest was in sanctuaries which have yielded architectural remains), and/or the from sanctuaries and tombs,[15] with the aim of defining the institutions and obtaining an

C. Antonaccio, "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece", in he *Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 99, while discussing the case of Sparta.

or instance J. Wright, in *ibid.*, 37-78. On the chronology of the material from Malthi see R.J. Howell, 44 (1975) 111.

einberg, *CAH* I, 1 (1970)[3] 578; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, New Haven & London 5-157, 193.

askey, "Thoughts on Early Bronze Age Hearths", in *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze id*, ed. R. Hägg & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990, 13-21.

almin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*, Lund 1938, 78-83, plan III (Room A1); J. Wright, in *e Gods*, ed. S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, Oxford 1994, 44-46, according to whom the central ial Room", with the apsidal hearth, "was a major focus of rituals of the inhabitants".

r instance the studies by Morris, Whitley, Morgan, de Polignac, Antonaccio and many others. The however, with other categories of data, is that it is very difficult to link the occupants of wealthy h architectural remains or with specific religious behaviour within the world of the living. There are s of course, such as the burials at Thermon, at the Toumba building at Lefkandi, at the West Gate at

insight of the social, economic and political structure of the DA, and also in the hope of detecting the features which announce the rise of the polis and those which necessarily do not. My own work is therefore complementary to theirs, and perhaps more limited in its social scope.

As stated in the introduction, one of the principal aims of this study has been to provide an up to date survey of the cult buildings and rulers' dwellings of the PG and Geometric periods, including a framework for the identification of such buildings. The main obstacle in achieving this has been the fact that a large proportion of the sites in question still await publication. For this reason some of the architectural interpretations put forward in this study will doubtless require reconsideration in the future. On the other hand, excavations which have been fully published should always be examined with a critical eye, which is what I hope to have achieved.

The plans of free-standing buildings fashionable in the PG and Geometric periods are basically four and were used for cult buildings, rulers' dwellings and all other buildings of domestic function: the apsidal, the oval, the circular and the rectangular. Of these plans, the apsidal and rectangular were apparently the primary source of the later Greek temple plans and not the Mycenaean palatial "megaron", the influence of which upon the Greek temple was of an indirect kind. The Tholos partly replaced the oval buildings of the EIA, the popularity of which appears to have increased in the LG period; the round buildings of the same era played a minor role in religious architecture, perhaps due to the technical limitations of the builders. As for the resurgence of the curvilinear plans in the early DA, after a long period of recession (but not of eclipse), the reasons are more than one, the more important ones perhaps being the return to a more simple way of living, and the rather "unstable" character of several pastoral or seafaring communities which dictated the ephemeral form of their houses.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this study has contributed towards a better knowledge of the architecture and the society of Early Iron Age Greece and that it has shed some light concerning specific forms of religious behaviour which was one of the components of the crystallisation of the Greek polis.

Eretria, and near the Sacred House at Eleusis, and other less clear cases which have

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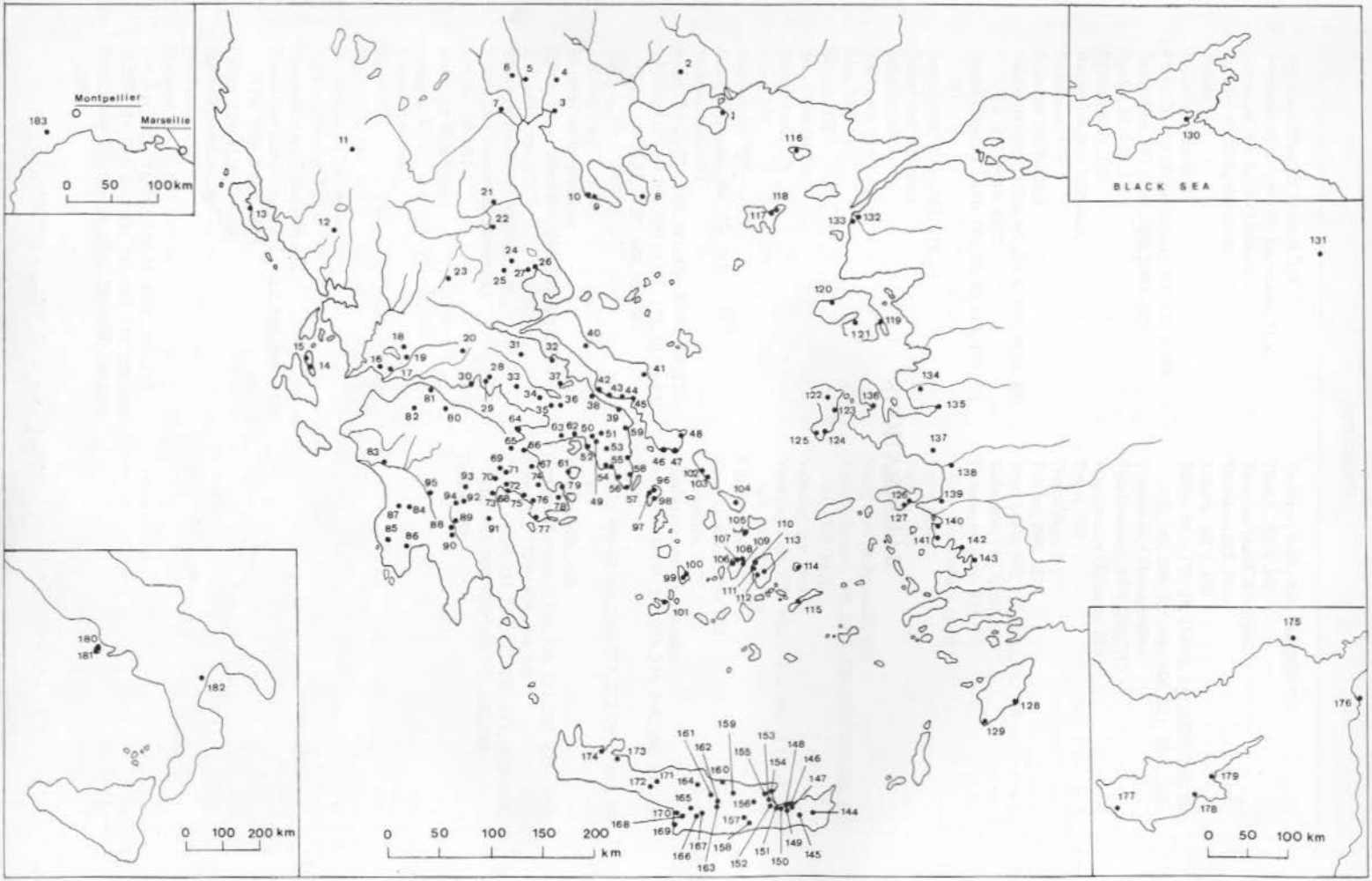
ILLUSTRATIONS



MAP 1. SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (EXCLUDING CULT PLACES IN THE OPEN AIR OF MAP 3)

1. Thasos
2. Dikili Tash
3. Thessalonike Toumba
4. Assiros
5. Kastanas
6. Axiochori
7. Nea Nikomedia
8. Koukos
9. Mende
10. Poseidi

11. Vitsa Zagoriou
12. Dodona
13. Scheria?
14. Aetos (Ithaca)
15. Polis cave (Ithaca)
16. Pleuron
17. Kalydon
18. Thermon
19. Panagoula
20. Kallipolis

21. Gonnoi
22. Larisa
23. Philia
24. Pherai
25. Neochoraki
26. Volos
27. Dimini

28. Delphi
29. Ay. Varvara
30. Ay. Athanasios (Galaxidi)
31. Kalapodi
32. Halai
33. Koroneia
34. Haliartos
35. Kabeirion
36. Thebes
37. Paralimni
38. Aulis
39. Oropos

40. Kirinthos
41. Kyme?
42. Chalcis
43. Lefkandi
44. Eretria
45. Amarynthos
46. Plakouri
47. Geraistos
48. Archampolis

49. Athens
50. Academy
51. Tourkovounia
52. Peiraeus (Artemis Mounichia)
53. Mt. Hymettos
54. Lathouriza
55. Varkiza
56. Anavyssos
57. Sounion
58. Thorikos
59. Prasies (Porto Raphti)
60. Plasi (Marathon)
61. Aigina (Kolonna)
62. Eleusis
63. Megara
64. Perachora
65. Corinth
66. Isthmia
67. Solygeia
68. Nafplion
69. Mycenae
70. Argos
71. Argive Heraion
72. Tiryns
73. Lerna
74. Kynortion hill (Epidauros)
75. Asine
76. Kantia
77. Halieis (Porto Cheli)
78. Troizen
79. Methana
80. Aigeira
81. Aigion
82. Ano Mazaraki (Rakita)
83. Olympia
84. Malthi
85. Pylos (Ano Englianos)
86. Nichoria
87. Mouriatada
88. Sparta
89. Aphyssou
90. Amyklai
91. Analipsis
92. Tegea
93. Gortsouli (Ptolis)
94. Pallantion
95. Gortys

96. Ay. Irini (Kea)
97. Koresia (Kea)
98. Karthaia (Kea)
99. Ay. Andreas (Siphnos)
100. Kastro (Siphnos)
101. Phylakopi (Melos)
102. Hypsile (Andros)
103. Zagora (Andros)
104. Xobourgo (Tenos)
105. Delos
106. Paros town and Delion
107. Koukounaries (Paros)
108. Oikonomos Island (Paros)
109. Kargadoura (Paros)
110. Naxos town
111. Iria (Naxos)
112. Gyroulas (Naxos)
113. Tsikalario (Naxos)
114. Vathy Limenari (Donousa)
115. Minoa (Amorgos)

116. Sanct. of Great Gods (Samothrace)
117. Hephaistia (Lemnos)
118. Kabeirion (Lemnos)
119. Mytilene (Lesbos)
120. Antissa (Lesbos)
121. Pyrrha (Lesbos)
122. Mt. Aipos (Chios)
123. Chios
124. Emporio (Chios)
125. Phanai (Chios)
126. Pythagoreion (Samos)
127. Heraion (Samos)
128. Lindos (Rhodes)
129. Vroulia (Rhodes)
130. Nymphaeum

131. Gordion
132. Troy
133. Besik -Tepe
134. Larisa on Hermos
135. Old Smyrna
136. Erythrai
137. Colophon
138. Ephesos
139. Melie
140. Miletos
141. Didyma
142. Teichioussa
143. Iasos

144. Praisos
145. Oreino Kastri
146. Vronda
147. Kastro
148. Pachlitsani Agriada
149. Pefki (Chalasmeno, Katalimata)
150. Gournia
151. Vrokastro
152. Thylakas
153. Lato
154. Olous
155. Dreros
156. Karphi
157. Afrati
158. Kato Syme
159. Smari
160. Amnisos
161. Knossos
162. Archanes
163. Karnari
164. Tylisos
165. Prinias (Rhizenia)
166. Gortyna
167. Vourvoulitis
168. Phaistos
169. Kommos
170. Ay. Triada
171. Eleutherna
172. Sybrita
173. Aptera
174. Chania

175. Tarsus
176. Al Mina
177. Paphos
178. Kition
179. Salamis

180. Pithekoussai
181. Punta Chiarito
182. Matapontum

183. Bessan

Post-Geometric apsidal or oval buildings: (*cf.* pp. 112 n. 688 & 113 n. 696)

Sites nos. 1, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 28 35, 49, 59, 65, 83, 89 (?), 91, 105, 106, 116, 122, 124, 130, 132, 134, 135, 137, 139, 142, 181, 182, 183 and building models from Sites nos. 87, 127

KEY TO MAP 1: SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (GEOGRAPHICAL)

50. Academy
14. Aetos (Ithaca)
157. Afrati
80. Aigeira
61. Aigina (Kolonna)
81. Aigion
122. Aipos Mt. (Chios)
176. Al Mina
45. Amarynthos
160. Amnisos
90. Amyklai
91. Analipsis
56. Anavyssos
82. Ano Mazaraki (Rakita)
120. Antissa (Lesbos)
89. Aphyssou
173. Aptera
48. Archampolis
162. Archanes
49. Areopagus (Athens)
71. Argive Heraion
70. Argos
75. Asine
4. Assiros
49. Athens
38. Aulis
6. Axiochori
99. Ay. Andreas (Siphnos)
30. Ay. Athanasios (Galaxidi)
96. Ay. Irini (Kea)
170. Ay. Triada
29. Ay. Varvara

133. Besik -Tepe
183. Bessan

149. Chalasmeno
42. Chalcis
174. Chania
123. Chios
137. Colophon
65. Corinth

106. Delion (Paros)
105. Delos
28. Delphi
141. Didyma
2. Dikili Tash
27. Dimini
12. Dodona
155. Dreros

62. Eleusis
171. Eleutherna
124. Emporio (Chios)
138. Ephesos
44. Eretria
136. Erythrai

47. Geraistos
21. Gonnoi
131. Gordion
93. Gortsouli (Ptolis)
166. Gortyna
95. Gortys
150. Gournia
110. Grotta (Naxos)
112. Gyroulas (Naxos)

32. Halai
34. Haliartos
77. Halieis (Porto Cheli)
117. Hephaistia (Lemnos)
127. Heraion (Samos)
53. Hymettos Mt.
102. Hypsile (Andros)

143. Iasos
111. Iria (Naxos)
66. Isthmia

118. Kabeirion (Lemnos)
35. Kabeirion (Thebes)
31. Kalapodi
20. Kallipolis
17. Kalydon
76. Kantia
109. Kargadoura (Paros)
163. Karnari
156. Karphi
98. Karthaia (Kea)
5. Kastanas
174. Kastelli Chanion
147. Kastro (Kavousi)
100. Kastro (Siphnos)
149. Katalimata
158. Kato Syme
40. Kirinthos
178. Kition
161. Knossos
169. Kommos
97. Koresia (Kea)
33. Koroneia
8. Koukos
107. Koukounaries (Paros)
41. Kyme?
74. Kynortion hill (Epidauros)

22. Larisa
134. Larisa on Hermos
54. Lathouriza
153. Lato
43. Lefkandi
73. Lerna
128. Lindos (Rhodes)

84. Malthi
60. Marathon
63. Megara
139. Melie
9. Mende
182. Matapontum
79. Methana
140. Miletos
115. Minoa (Amorgos)
87. Mouriatada
69. Mycenae
119. Mytilene (Lesbos)

68. Nafplion
110. Naxos town
7. Nea Nikomedia
25. Neochoraki
86. Nichoria
130. Nymphaeum

108. Oikonomos Island (Paros)
154. Olous
83. Olympia
49. Olympieion (Athens)
145. Oreino Kastri
39. Oropos
148. Pachlitsani Agriada
94. Pallantion
19. Panagoula
177. Paphos
37. Paralimni
106. Paros town
149. Pefki (Chalasmeno, Katalimata)
52. Peiraeus (Artemis Mounichia)
64. Perachora
168. Phaistos
125. Phanai (Chios)
23. Philia
24. Pherai
101. Phylakopi (Melos)
180. Pithekoussai
46. Plakouri
60. Plasi (Marathon)
16. Pleuron
15. Polis cave (Ithaca)
10. Poseidi
144. Praisos
59. Prasies (Porto Raphti)
165. Prinias (Rhizenia)
181. Punta Chiarito
85. Pylos (Ano Englianos)
121. Pyrrha (Lesbos)
126. Pythagoreion (Samos)

179. Salamis (Cyprus)
116. Samothrace (sanct. of Great Gods)
13. Scheria?
159. Smari
135. Smyrna (Old)
67. Solygeia
57. Sounion
88. Sparta
172. Sybrita

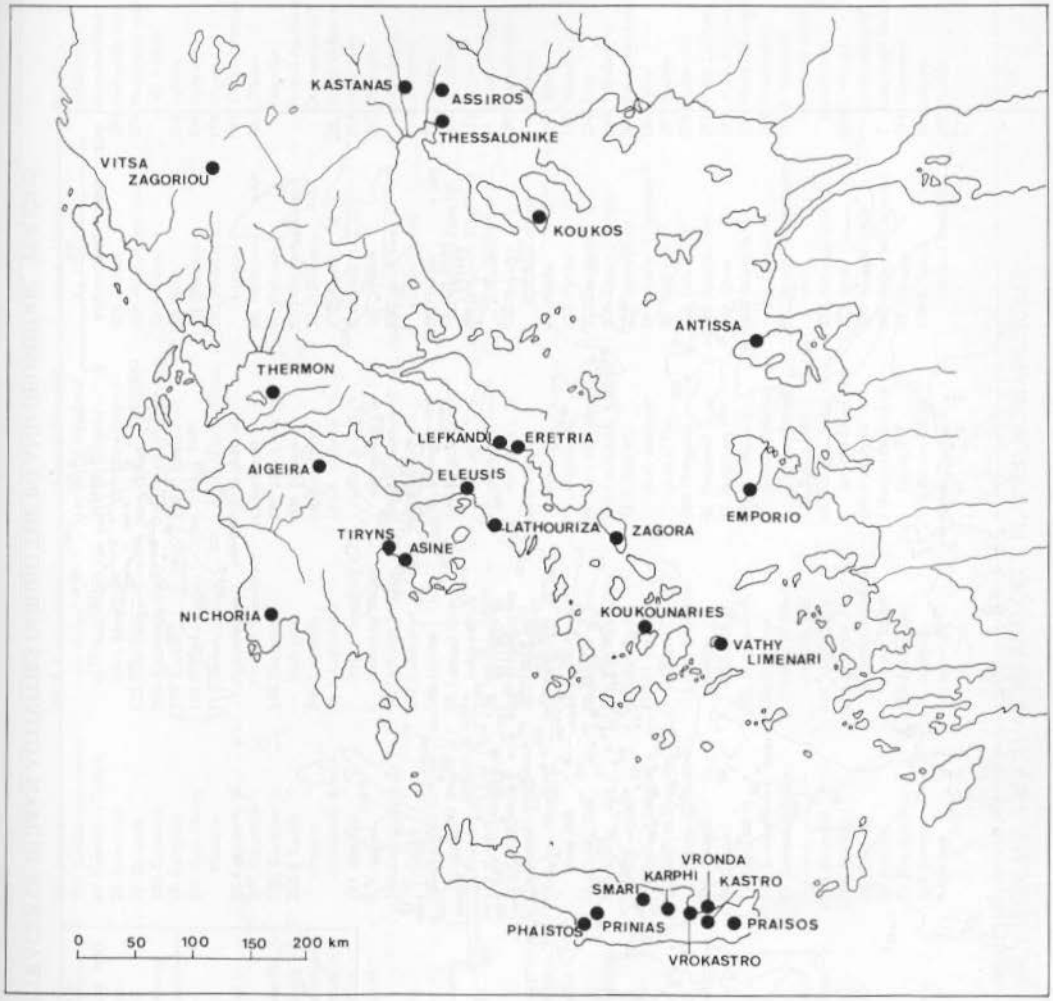
175. Tarsus
92. Tegea
142. Teichioussa
1. Thasos
36. Thebes
18. Thermon
3. Thessalonike Toumba
58. Thorikos
152. Thylakas
72. Tiryns
51. Tourkovounia
78. Troizen
132. Troy
113. Tsikalario (Naxos)
164. Tylisos

55. Varkiza
114. Vathy Limenari (Donousa)
11. Vitsa Zagoriou
26. Volos
167. Vourvoulitis
151. Vrokastro
146. Vronda
129. Vroulia (Rhodes)

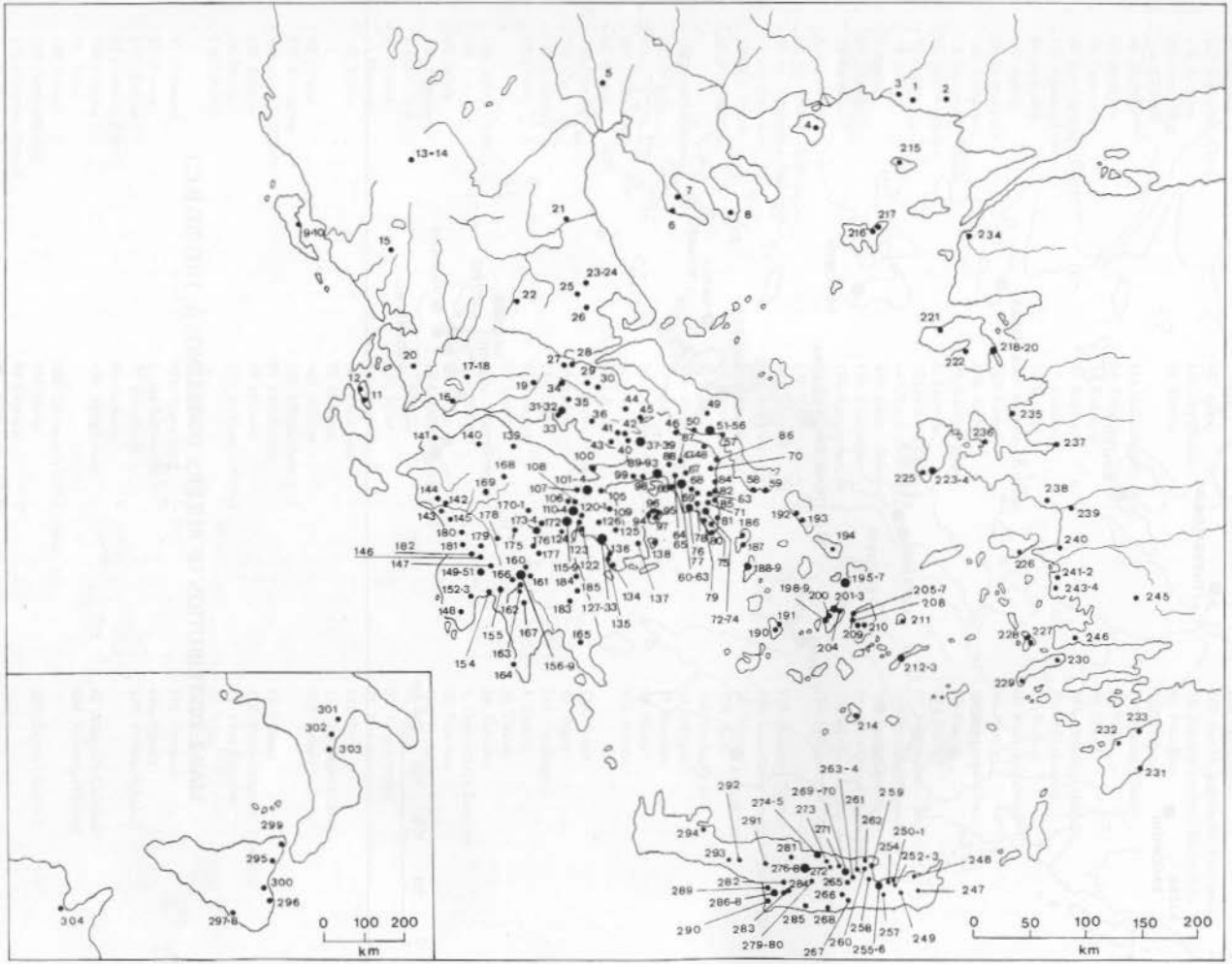
43. Xeropolis/Lefkandi
104. Xobourgo (Tenos)

103. Zagora (Andros)

KEY TO MAP 1: SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (ALPHABETICAL)



MAP 2. DISTRIBUTION OF RULERS' DWELLINGS (*c.* 1100-700 B.C.)



MAP 3. SANCTUARIES WITH TRACES OF HUMAN ACTIVITIES DURING THE PG AND GEOMETRIC PERIODS

64-5. Academy
-LPG/EG I deposit
-Sacred House
11. Aetos
266. Afrati (Arkades)
113. Agamemnoneion (Chaos, Mycenae)
70. Agrieliki
139. Aigeira
154. Akovitika
180. Alipheira
57. Amarynthos
274-5. Amnisos
-Zeus Thenatas
-cave of Eileithyia
162. Amyklai (Ay. Kyriaki)
261. Anavlochos
27. Anavra
79. Anavyssos
140. Ano Mazaraki (Rakita)
167. Anthochorion
221. Antissa
95. Aphaia (Aigina)
169. Aphrodision Mt.
160. Aphyssou
8. Aphytis
294. Aptera
126. Arachnaion Mt.
120-1. Argive Heraion
-Old Terrace
-Secondary shrine
115-9. Argos
-Larisa
-Aspis
-Gounaris Str.
-Michalopoulos plot
-Pilios plot
155. Artemisia
230. Asclepieion (Kos)
127-33. Asine
-Barbouna
-Gogonas plot
-N of Gogonas plot
-Kapsorachis plot
-Karmaniola plot
-Lower Town
114. Aspra Chomata
229. Aspri Petra cave
60-3. Athens
-Acropolis
-Areopagus
-Eleusinion
-Olympicion
46. Aulis
2. Avas
190. Ay. Andreas
147. Ay. Floros
186. Ay. Irini
289. Ay. Triada
31. Ay. Varvara
143. Babes Makrysion
181. Bassai
245. Beçin
298. Bitalemi
82. Brauron
304. Carthage
101-4. Corinth
-sanct. of Aphrodite
-sanct. of Demeter
-Sacred Spring
-Temple Hill
9. Corcyra
200. Delion
195-7. Delos
-temples of Apollo
-temple of Artemis
-Heraion
29-30. Delphi
-sanct. of Apollo
-Marmaria
243-4. Didyma
-sanct. of Apollo
-sanct. of Artemis
15. Dodona
96. Dragonera (Aigina)
4. Drakotrypa cave
260. Dreros
34. Elateia
89-93. Eleusis
-Telesterion
-Artemision
-Sacred House
-Heroön?
-Kallichoron?
223-4. Emporio
-sanct. of Athena
-sanct. by the harbour
239. Ephesos
125. Epidauros (Kynortion)
51-6. Eretria
-sanct. of Apollo
-female divinity
-Aphrodite/Astarte
-sanct. by harbour?
-household cult 1
-household cult 2
236. Erythrai
303. Francavilla Marittima
136. Franchthi cave
297. Gela
59. Geraistos
21. Gonnoi
173-4. Gortsouli (Ptolis)
-sanct. of Artemis
-votive deposit
283. Gortyna
178. Gortys (Arcadia)
209. Gyroulas
41. Haliartos
134. Halieis (Porto Cheli)
246. Halikarnassos
216. Hephaistia
302. Heraclea
164. Hippola (Ano Poula)
68. Hymettos Mt.
165. Hyperteleaton (Lakka tou Chasanaga)
192. Hypsile
233. Ialysos
291. Idaean cave
208. Iria
105. Isthmia
217. Kabeirion (Lemnos)
40. Kabeirion (Thebes)
28. Kainourgio
35. Kalapodi
138. Kalaureia
19. Kallipolis
271. Kalo Chorio Pediados
16. Kalydon
227. Kalymnos
232. Kameiros
263-4. Karphi
-Temple
-household shrines
187. Karthaia
5. Kastanas
249. Kastellopoulo (Pefki)
252-3. Kastro Kavousi
-household shrines
-Plai tou Kastrou
191. Kastro (Siphnos)
267. Kato Syme
124. Kephalari cave
74. Keratovouni peak (Pani Mt.)
78. Kiapha Thiti
238. Klaros
276-8. Knossos
-Spring Chamber
-sanct. of Demeter
-Heroön of Glaukos
135. Koilada
94. Kolonna (Aigina town)
145. Kombothekra
83. Kommeno Lithari cave
290. Kommos
285. Kophinas
36. Koroneia
20. Koronta
33. Korykeion cave
183. Kosmas
7. Koukos
201-3. Koukounaries
-cave shrine
-household shrine
-sanct. of Athena
123. Kourtaki
262. Kremasma (Seisi)
179. Kretea
188-9. Kythnos town
-Thesmophorion
-Aphrodite and Gods of Samothrace
144. Lachanida Makrysion
146. Lakathela
76-7. Lathouriza
-"urban" sanctuary
-"suburban" shrine
50. Lefkandi Toumba
231. Lindos
168. Lousoi
84. Loutsa (Halai Araphenidai)
99. Marmara (Sta ...)
3. Maroneia cave
182. Mavria
177. Mavriki
43. Mavrovouni
98. Megara
300. Megara Hyblaia
71. Merenda Mt.
149-51. Messene (Ithome)
-Zeus Ithomatas
-Gortsa
-Asclepieion
301. Metapontum
241-2. Miletos
-sanct. of Athena
-domestic cult
148. Militsa
212-3. Minoa
-Dionysos Minoitis
-Lower Town
110-2. Mycenae
-acropolis
-hero cult
-shrine at "House of the Oil Merchant"
218-20. Mytilene
-Cybele / Apollo?
-sanct. of Aphrodite
-Apollo Maloeis
205-7. Naxos town
-Palatia
-Grotta-*Firenodikeion*, Mitropolis Sq.
-Kaminaki
295. Naxos (Sicily)
106. Nemea
25. Neochoraki
152-3. Nichoria
-altar in Unit IV-1
-figurine in Unit IV-5
204. Oikonomos isl.
259. Olous
142. Olympia
170-1. Orchomenos (Arcadia)
-sanct. of Poseidon
-sanctuary
47-8. Oropos
-Wall 34
-Building H
97. Oros Mt. (Aigina)
254. Pachlitsani Agriada
72-3. Pani Mt.
-peak sanctuary
-cave of Pan
240. Panionion
45. Paralimni
87. Parnes Mt.
198-9. Paros town
-Apollo Pythios?
-Thesmophorion?
293. Patsos cave
66. Peiraeus. Sanct. of Artemis Mounichia
100. Perachora
1. Petrota Sapon (Ay. Georgios)
175. Petrovouni Mt.
286-8. Phaistos
-sanct. of Leto?
-Ay. Georgios?
-household shrines
225. Phanai
269. Phaneromeni cave
23-4. Pherai
22. Philia
235. Phocaea
107. Phoukas Mt. (Apesas)
88. Phyle cave
58. Plakouri
12. Polis cave (Ithaca)
32. Polydroson
172. Portes
6. Poseidi
247. Praisos
85. Prasies (Porto Raphti)
282. Prinias
75. Prophetes Elias Mt.
69. Prophetes Elias cave (Mt. Hymettos)
265. Psychro (Diktaean cave)
44. Ptoion
222. Pyrrha
86. Rhamnous
226. Samos (Heraion)
215. Samothrace
10. Scheria ("Posideion")
42. Seidi cave
166. Sela
185. Sintzas cave
248. Sitcia
163. Sklavochori (Ay. Paraskevi)
49. Skoteini Tharrounion cave
273. Skoteino cave
272. Smari
237. Smyrna (Old)
109. Solygeia (Galataki)
80. Sounion
156-9. Sparta
-Athena Chalkioikos
-Heroön
-Achilleion
-Artemis Orthia
270. Spiliaridia cave
279. Stravomyti cave (Mt. Jouktas)
292. Sybrita
296. Syracuse
176. Tegea
141. Teichos Dymaion
37-9. Thebes
-Ismenion
-Douros Agatsas plot
-Dragatsoula hill
26. Thebes Phthiotis
214. Thera town
161. Therapne (Menelaion)
17-8. Thermon
81. Thorikos
258. Thylakas
122. Tiryns
67. Tourkovounia
281. Trapeza cave (Tylisos)
108. Tretos
137. Troizen
234. Troy
210. Tsikalario
268. Tsoutsouros cave
184. Tyros
257. Vasiliki
228. Vathy cave
211. Vathy Limenari
13-4. Vitsa Zagoriou
280. Vitsiles (Koryphi)
284. Vourvoulitis
255-6. Vrokastro
-Household shrines
-Karakovilia
250-1. Vronda
-public shrine G
-household shrines
194. Xobourgo
193. Zagora
299. Zankle

KEY TO MAP 3: EARLY IRON AGE SANCTUARIES AND CULT PLACES (ALPHABETICAL)

KEY TO MAP 3: EIA SANCTUARIES AND CULT PLACES (GEOGRAPHICAL)

	A	B	C
1	PETROTA SAPON (AY. GEORGIOS)	Unknown divinity	LBA-EIA
2	AVAS (MONASTIRI HILL)	Unknown divinity	9th-8th c. B.C.
3	MARONEIA CAVE	Unknown divinity	(LBA?)-EIA
4	DRAKOTRYPA CAVE	?	LBA-EIA
5	KASTANAS	Domestic cult ("Black Magic"?)	8th c.
6	POSEIDI	POSEIDON	SMyc/EPG onwards
7	APHYTIS	DIONYSOS - NYMPHS	MG II-LG
8	KOUKOS	Sacred bothros or refuse pit?	End LBA-"Mature" EIA
9	CORCYRA	HERA	LG
10	SCHERIA	POSEIDON	Homer
11	AETOS	APOLLO and female divinity	LH IIIA-C? PG-LG/PC
12	POLIS CAVE	ODYSSEUS, HERA, ATHENA, NYMPHS	LH I-IIIC? PG-LG
13	VITSA ZAGORIOU 1 (Wall 43)	Horse figurine in front of House Z	LG
14	VITSA ZAGORIOU 2 (Tombs 167-70)	Cult of Hero Ktistes?	EG onwards
15	DODONA	ZEUS	LH III? LG
16	KALYDON	ARTEMIS LAPHRIA - APOLLO LAPHRIOS	LG
17	THERMON 1 (Megara A-B)	Hero cult? APOLLO?	End of LBA-9th c.
18	THERMON 2 (post-Megaron B)	APOLLO	8th c.
19	KALLIPOLIS	ARTEMIS?	LG
20	KORONTA	Female divinity	G
21	GONNOI	ATHENA	LG? (but presumably 7th c.)
22	PHILIA	ATHENA ITONIA	LH IIIB, SMyc, PG, G
23	PHERAI 1	(ZEUS THAULIOS)	(LH III?) (PG tombs)
24	PHERAI 2	ARTEMIS ENODIA	G
25	NEOCHORAKI	ATHENA ITONIA?	LG
26	THEBES PHTHIOTIS	ATHENA	G
27	ANAVRA	Sanctuary or tombs?	G
28	KAINOURGIO	Sanctuary or tombs?	PG-G
29	ELATEIA	ATHENA KRANAIA	LG
30	KALAPODI	ARTEMIS ELAPHEBOLOS - APOLLO	LH IIIC-MPG, MG I-LG
31	DELPHI 1 (sanct. of Apollo)	APOLLO	LBA? (PG-MG I) MG II-LG
32	DELPHI 2 (Marmaria)	ATHENA	LBA? G
33	AY. VARVARA	Unknown divinity	LG
34	POLYDROSON	DEMETER	LG
35	KORYKEION CAVE	PAN - NYMPHS	LBA, LG
36	KORONEIA	(ATHENA ITONIA?)	(LG Tombs)
37	THEBES 1 (Ismenion)	APOLLO ISMENIOS	LG
38	THEBES 2 (Douros Agatsas plot)	DEMETER/KORE or AMPHIARAOS	LBA? G
39	THEBES 3 (Dragatsoula hill)	Unknown divinity	LBA? G
40	KABEIRION	KABEIROI	PG? MG-LG
41	HALIARTOS	ATHENA	G
42	SEÏDI CAVE	?	G
43	MAVROVOUNI	ARTEMIS AGROTERA	LG
44	PTOION	APOLLO - PTOÏOS	LG
45	PARALIMNI	Chthonian divinity?	LG
46	AULIS	ARTEMIS	LG
47	OROPOS 1 (Wall 34)	?	LG
48	OROPOS 2 (Building ΣΤ)	?	LG
49	THARROUNIA CAVE	?	LBA, 9th-8th c.
50	LEFKANDI TOUMBA	Heroön or ruler's dwelling?	MPG
51	ERETRIA 1 (area 14)	APOLLO DAPHNEPHOROS	MG II-LG
52	ERETRIA 2 (area 14)	DEMETER? ARTEMIS?	MG II-LG
53	ERETRIA 3 (area 15)	APHRODITE / ASTARTE	MG II-LG
54	ERETRIA 4 (area 10)	Household cult	LG/EA
55	ERETRIA 5 (area 12)	Household cult	LG/EA
56	ERETRIA 6 (harbour area)	?	G
57	AMARYNTHOS	ARTEMIS AMARYSIA	LG
58	PLAKOURI	Unknown divinity	PG-G
59	GERAISTOS	POSEIDON	Homer
60	ATHENS Acropolis	ATHENA - ERECHTHEUS	LBA? EG-LG
61	ATHENS Areopagus	Chthonian cult	MG-LG
62	ATHENS Eleusinion	(DEMETER)	(LG)
63	ATHENS Olympieion	APOLLO PYTHIOS	LG
64	ACADEMY (ATHENS) 1	Votive or domestic deposit?	LPG/EG I

	A	B	C
65	ACADEMY (ATHENS) (Sacred House)	Chthonian or ancestral cult	LG
66	PEIRAEUS	ARTEMIS MOUNICHIA	LBA? PG-LG
67	TOURKOVOUNIA MT.	Chthonian cult? ZEUS?	LG
68	HYMETTOS MT.	ZEUS OMBRIOS	LH I-IIIC-SMyc? LPG-LG
69	PR. ELIAS CAVE (Mt. Hymettos)	Cult or mining?	LH III or SMyc? G?
70	AGRIELIKI MT.	Unknown divinity	G
71	MERENDA MT.	Unknown divinity	G
72	PANI MT.	Unknown divinity	LG/SG
73	PANI CAVE	PAN?	G?
74	KERATOVOUNI (Mt. Pani)	Unknown divinity	LG/SG
75	PR. ELIAS MT.	Unknown divinity	SG?
76	LATHOURIZA 1 (Tholos VIII)	Chthonian divinity (DEMETER?)	LG/SG
77	LATHOURIZA 2 (suburban chapel)	Unknown divinity	LG/SG
78	KIAPHA THITI	Unknown divinity	LG
79	ANAVYSSOS	Chthonian cult	LG
80	SOUNION	PHRONTIS? ATHENA?	LG/EA
81	THORIKOS	Ancestral-chthonian cult or houses?	LG
82	BRAURON	ARTEMIS - IPHIGENEIA	LPG/EG-LG
83	KOMMENO LITHARI CAVE	Shrine or domestic use?	LH, MG/LG
84	LOUTSA	ARTEMIS TAUROPOLOS?	G
85	PRASIES	APOLLO DELIOS	LBA? G
86	RHAMNOUS	NEMESIS	LG/SG?
87	PARNES MT.	ZEUS OMBRIOS and APEMIOS	LPG/EG-LG
88	PHYLE (MT. PARNES)	PAN - NYMPHS	LH III? SMyc? G?
89	ELEUSIS 1 (Telesterion)	DEMETER - KORE	LH II-IIIB? PG-MG? LG
90	ELEUSIS 2 (Sacred House)	Hero cult	LG
91	ELEUSIS 3 (Propylaia)	ARTEMIS - POSEIDON	LG
92	ELEUSIS 4 (West cemetery)	Heroön of SEVEN AGAINST THEBES?	LG
93	ELEUSIS 5 (Telesterion area)	OLD KALLICHORON WELL?	LBA? LG?
94	AIGINA (Kolonna)	APOLLO THEARIOS	SMyc, PG, EG-LG
95	APHAIA	ATHENA APHAIA	LH IIIA-C? EG-LG
96	DRAGONERA	Unknown divinity	G
97	OROS MT.	ZEUS HELLANIOS	LH IIIA? G
98	MEGARA	ATHENA	LG/SG?
99	STA MARMARA	ZEUS APHESIOS	PG?
100	PERACHORA	HERA AKRAIA / LIMENIA	MG II-LG
101	CORINTH 1 (Temple Hill)	APOLLO	LG
102	CORINTH 2 (Sacred Spring)	?	MG II-LG
103	CORINTH 3 (Acrocorinth slopes)	(DEMETER)	(LH IIIC, SMyc, PG-LG)
104	CORINTH 4 (Acrocorinth)	(APHRODITE)	(LH IIIC, PG, G)
105	ISTHMIA	POSEIDON	LH IIIC? EPG-LG
106	NEMEA	ZEUS	LG
107	PHOUKAS MT.	ZEUS APESANTIOS	LG
108	TRETOS	Unknown divinity	LG
109	GALATAKI (SOLYGEIA)	HERA? DEMETER?	(LBA?) LG/SG
110	MYCENAE 1 (Acropolis)	ATHENA?	LBA (megaron) (DA?) LG
111	MYCENAE (House of Oil Merchant)	Chthonian cult?	(PG) LG
112	MYCENAE (Grave Circle B)	Hero cult	LG
113	CHAOS (AY. IOANNIS)	AGAMEMNON	LG
114	ASPRA CHOMATA	ENYALIOS (=ARES)	LG
115	ARGOS 1 (Larisa)	ATHENA	(PG, EG) MG II-LG
116	ARGOS 2 (Aspis)	APOLLO	LG
117	ARGOS 3 (Pilios plot)	Chthonian cult?	LG
118	ARGOS 4 (Gounaris Str.)	Unknown divinity	LG
119	ARGOS 5 (Michalopoulos plot)	Unknown divinity	LG
120	ARGIVE HERAION 1 (Old Terrace)	HERA	EG-LG
121	ARGIVE HERAION 2 (Secondary shrine)	HERA and hero cult?	G
122	TIRYNS (Oberburg)	HERA	LH III (megara) LG
123	KOURTAKI	DEMETER MYSIA	LG
124	KEPHALARI CAVE	DIONYSOS - PAN	LG
125	KYNORTION HILL (EPIDAUROS)	APOLLO MALEATAS	LBA, G
126	ARACHNAION MT.	ZEUS - HERA	LG
127	ASINE 1 (Karmaniola plot)	Cult around pithos	PG
128	ASINE 2 (Karmaniola plot)	Chthonian/ancestral cult?	LG

	A	B	C
129	ASINE 3 (Lower Town)	Chthonian/ancestral cult?	G?
130	ASINE 4 (Kapsorachis plot)	Chthonian/ancestral cult?	LG
131	ASINE 5 (Gogonas plot)	Chthonian/ancestral cult?	LG
132	ASINE 6 (N of Gogonas plot)	Chthonian/ancestral cult?	LG
133	ASINE 7 (Barbouna)	APOLLO PYTHAEUS	LG
134	HALIEIS	APOLLO	LG
135	KOILADA	Unknown divinity	MG - LG
136	FRANCHTHI CAVE	?	(LBA) G
137	TROIZEN	ASCLEPIOS - HIPPOLYTOS	G
138	KALAUREIA	POSEIDON	LH IIIB? MG-LG
139	AIGEIRA	ARTEMIS - IPHIGENEIA (?)	G
140	ANO MAZARAKI	ARTEMIS - APOLLO?	LBA? LG
141	TEICHOS DYMAION	APHRODITE? ARTEMIS? APOLLO?	LBA? PG? G
142	OLYMPIA	ZEUS - HERA - PELOPS	LH IIIC/SMyc? PG-LG
143	BABES MAKRYSION	Sanctuary or settlement?	G
144	LACHANIDA MAKRYSION	?	G
145	KOMBOTHEKRA	ARTEMIS LIMNATIS	EG-LG
146	LAKATHELA	Unknown divinity	EG-LG
147	AY. FLOROS	PAMISOS	SG?
148	MILITSA	? (bronze figurine)	G
149	ITHOME 1 (Mt. Ithome)	ZEUS ITHOMATAS	G
150	ITHOME 2 (Gortsa)	? (ithyphallic figurine)	EG?
151	ITHOME 3 (Asclepieion)	ASCLEPIOS	(SPG-LG)
152	NICHORIA IV-1	"Altar" in Unit IV-1	PG-MG I [DA II, II/III]
153	NICHORIA IV-5	One animal figurine in Unit IV-1	MG II [DA III]
154	AKOVITIKA	POSEIDON	DA III-LG
155	ARTEMISIA	ARTEMIS LIMNATIS	PG [DA II] - G
156	SPARTA 1 (Acropolis)	ATHENA POLIOUCHOS / CHAKIOIKOS	MG-LG
157	SPARTA 2	HEROON OF ASTRABAKOS?	PG? G
158	SPARTA 3	ARTEMIS ORTHIA	G
159	SPARTA 4	ACHILLEION	LBA?, LG
160	APHYSSOU	ZEUS MESSAPEUS	LG/SG
161	THERAPNE	MENELAOS - HELEN	LG
162	AMYKLAI	APOLLO - HYAKINTHOS	LH IIIC, PG? G
163	SKLAVOCHORI	ALEXANDRA - KASSANDRA	LG
164	HIPPOLA (ANO POULA)	ATHENA HIPPOLAITIS	LG/EO
165	HYPERTELEATON	APOLLO or ASCLEPIOS?	PG? G?
166	SELA (TAYGETOS MT.)	Unknown divinity	PG-G
167	ANTHOCHORION	Unknown divinity	G
168	LOUSOI	ARTEMIS	G
169	APHRODISION MT.	APHRODITE ERYKINE	PG? G?
170	ORCHOMENOS 1	POSEIDON or APHRODITE	G
171	ORCHOMENOS 2	Unknown divinity	G
172	PORTES	HERMES?	G
173	GORTSOULI 1	ARTEMIS?	LG/SG
174	GORTSOULI 2	Unknown divinity	LG
175	PETROVOUNI	POSEIDON HIPPIOS	G?
176	TEGEA	ATHENA ALEA	LH? SMyc? PG-LG
177	MAVRIKI	ARTEMIS KNAKEATIS	LG
178	GORTYS	ASCLEPIOS	LG/SG
179	KRETEA	APOLLO PARRHASIOS?	LG
180	ALIPHEIRA	ATHENA	LG
181	BASSAI	APOLLO EPIKOURIOS	LG
182	MAVRIA	DEMETER - KORE?	SG?
183	KOSMAS	APOLLO MALEATES	8th c.
184	TYROS	APOLLO TYRITAS	8th c.
185	SINTZAS CAVE	?	LH IIIC, SMyc, PG, G
186	AY. IRINI (KEA)	DIONYSOS	LBA (incl. LH IIIC) PG-LG
187	KARTHAIA (KEA)	APOLLO	LG?
188	KYTHNOS 1 (Middle Plateau)	APHRODITE? - SAMOTHRACIAN GODS	PG?
189	KYTHNOS 2 (Acropolis)	DEMETER THESMOPHOROS?	LG
190	AY. ANDREAS	?	G?
191	KASTRO (SIPHNOS)	ARTEMIS EKBATERIA?	G or LG
192	HYPSILE	Female divinity	MG II-LG

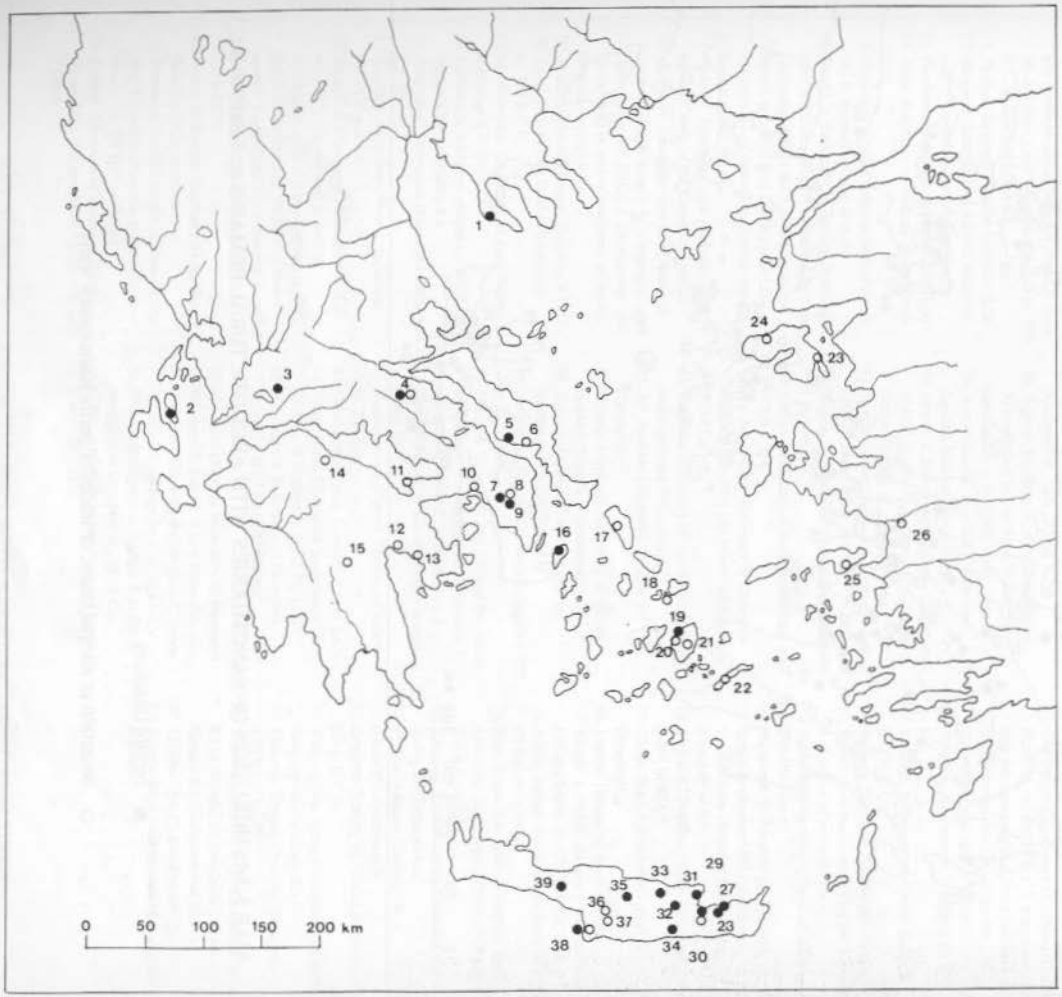
	A	B	C
193	ZAGORA	ATHENA - HERAKLES?	LG
194	XOBOURGO	DEMETER or chthonian cult?	LG/EA
195	DELOS 1	APOLLO	LBA? G-LG
196	DELOS 2	ARTEMIS	LBA? LG
197	DELOS 3 (Mt. Kynthos)	HERA	LG/EA
198	PAROS 1 (Paroikia)	APOLLO PYTHIOS	G
199	PAROS 2 (Paroikia)	DEMETER THESMOPHOROS?	G
200	DELION	ARTEMIS - APOLLO	PG? MG-LG
201	KOUKOUNARIES 1 (Acropolis)	Cave cult	PG-LG
202	KOUKOUNARIES 2 (Acropolis)	Household cult	MG II
203	KOUKOUNARIES 3 (Acropolis slopes)	ATHENA - APOLLO?	LH IIIC? PG-LG
204	OIKONOMOS ISL.	?	LG/SG?
205	NAXOS 1 (GROTTA-MITROPOLIS)	Ancestral - hero cults	LPG-LG
206	NAXOS 2 (PALATIA)	APOLLO	G
207	NAXOS 3 (KAMINAKI)	ARTEMIS?	G
208	IRIA	DIONYSOS	LBA? PG-LG
209	GYROULAS	APOLLO - DEMETER	G
210	TSIKALARIO	Ancestral - tomb cults	MG II-LG
211	VATHY LIMENARI	Pyres of uncertain nature	MG I/II
212	MINOA 1 (Lower Town)	Female divinity	PG? SPG-LG
213	MINOA 2 (Acropolis)	DIONYSOS MINOÏTIS	SPG-LG
214	THERA	APOLLO - ZEUS	LG-EA?
215	SAMOTHRACE	GREAT GODS	LG/SG
216	HEPHAISTIA	HEPHAISTOS	LG
217	KABEIRION (LEMNOS)	KABEIROI	LG
218	MYTILENE 1 (oval building)	CYBELE? APOLLO?	LG
219	MYTILENE 2 (apsidal ?house area)	APOLLO MALOEIS?	SPG-G
220	MYTILENE 3 (Orphanage)	APHRODITE?	PG-G
221	ANTISSA (Buildings III-IV)	?	MG-LG
222	PYRRHA	APOLLO? ARTEMIS?	PG-LG
223	EMPORIO 1 (Prophetes Elias)	ATHENA	8th c.
224	EMPORIO 2 (harbour)	ARTEMIS? HERA?	9th-8th c.
225	PHANAI	APOLLO	MG-LG
226	HERAION (SAMOS)	HERA	LBA? PG-LG
227	KALYMNOS	APOLLO PYTHIOS	LG?
228	VATHY CAVE	?	LBA, G
229	ASPRI PETRA CAVE	PAN - NYMPHS	PG? G
230	ASCLEPIEION (KOS)	Cult or tombs?	LBA, G
231	LINDOS	ATHENA	(PG-MG) LG
232	KAMEIROS	ATHENA	PG-LG
233	IALYSOS	ATHENA	LG
234	TROY	?	(PG) LG/SG
235	PHOCAEA	ATHENA	MG-LG
236	ERYTHRAI	ATHENA	PG? LG
237	OLD SMYRNA	ATHENA	LG
238	KLAROS	APOLLO	PG-G
239	EPHESOS	ARTEMIS	LBA, PG-LG
240	PANIONION	POSEIDON HELIKONIOS	Homer
241	MILETOS 1	ATHENA	MG? LG
242	MILETOS 2 (Building B)	Household cult?	LG
243	DIDYMA 1	APOLLO	LBA? LG/SG
244	DIDYMA 2	ARTEMIS	LG/SG
245	BEÇIN (MYLASA)	SINURI (Carian God)	LG
246	HALIKARNASSOS	Male divinity?	G
247	PRAISOS	Unknown divinity	PG, G
248	SITEIA	DEMETER?	G
249	KASTELLOPOULO	Unknown divinity	LM IIIC, PG?
250	VRONDA 1 (Buildings A-B, D)	Household cults	LM IIIC-?SMin
251	VRONDA 2 (Building G)	GODDESS WITH UPRAISED ARMS	LM IIIC-?SMin
252	KASTRO (KAVOUSI)	Household cults	PG-G
253	PLAÏ TOY KASTROY (KAVOUSI)	Unknown divinity	PG-G
254	PACHLITSANI AGRIADA	EILEITHYIA	PG-LG
255	VROKASTRO (Upper Settlement)	Household cults	PG-G
256	VROKASTRO KARAKOVILIA	Chthonian shrine	MG

	A	B	C
257	VASILIKI	?	PG? G?
258	THYLAKAS	Divinity of fertility? DIONYSOS?	LBA-LG
259	OLOUS	APHRODITE	PG? G
260	DREROS	APOLLO DELPHINIOS	LG
261	ANAVLOCHOS (VRACHASION)	Tombs or sanctuary?	G
262	KREMASMA	Unknown divinity	SMin, PG
263	KARPHI 1	GODDESS WITH UPRAISED ARMS	LM IIIC-SMin, ?EPG
264	KARPHI 2	Household shrines	LM IIIC-SMin, ?EPG
265	PSYCHRO (DICTAEAN CAVE)	ZEUS? or female divinity and male consort?	PG-G
266	AFRATI (ARKADES)	Female divinity [ATHENA?]	PG B, G
267	KATO SYME	HERMES - APHRODITE	MM II-LM IIIC, SMin-LG
268	TSOUTSOUROS CAVE	EILEITHYIA INATIA?	LM III, PG, G
269	PHANEROMENE CAVE	Male divinity?	LM, PG? G
270	SPILIARIDIA CAVE	Unknown divinity	LBA, SMin/EPG, G
271	KALO CHORIO PEDIADOS	Unknown divinity	MM I, PG, G
272	SMARI	?	SMin-LG
273	SKOTEINO CAVE	BRITOMARTIS?	LM III, PG, G
274	AMNISOS	ZEUS THENATAS	PG? MG II-LG
275	AMNISOS CAVE	EILEITHYIA	PG? G
276	KNOSSOS 1	DEMETER	PG? G
277	KNOSSOS 2	(HEROON OF GLAUCOS)	(G/EO)
278	KNOSSOS 3	SPRING CHAMBER	LM IIIC-SMin
279	STRAVOMYTI CAVE	DIKTYNNA? ARTEMIS? EILEITHYIA?	LM III, PG? G
280	KORYPHI ROCK SHELTER	?	LM, PG
281	TRAPEZA CAVE	Unknown divinity	LM-SMin
282	PRINIAS	ARTEMIS?	LM IIIC, PG, G
283	GORTYNA	ATHENA / ASTARTE	8th c.
284	VOURVOULITIS	Unknown divinity	SMin/PG-EO
285	KOPHINAS	Unknown divinity	LM IIIC, SMin, PG, G
286	PHAISTOS 1 (Greek Temple area)	LETO? RHEA?	LG/SG?
287	PHAISTOS 2 (Ay. Georgios)	?	LG/SG?
288	PHAISTOS 3 (Unit AA etc.)	Household shrines	EG-LG
289	AY. TRIADA	Unknown divinity	G
290	KOMMOS	Unknown divinity (APOLLO?)	SMin, PG-LG
291	IDAEAN CAVE	ZEUS	LBA, SMin, PG-LG
292	SYBRITA	Unknown divinity	LM IIIC, PG? G
293	PATSOS	HERMES KRANAIOS	LM IIIB-C, PG, G
294	APTERA	ARTEMIS	LG
295	NAXOS (SICILY)	APOLLO ARCHAGETES	LG?
296	SYRACUSE	ATHENA	LG-EPC
297	GELA	HERA and other divinities	LG/EPC
298	BITALEMI	DEMETER	LG vase, late 7th cult
299	ZANKLE	Unknown divinity	LG-EPC
300	MEGARA HYBLAIA	Unknown divinities	LG/EA
301	METAPONTUM	APOLLO LYKEIOS	LG/EA
302	HERACLEA	DEMETER	LG
303	FRANCAVILLA MARITTIMA	ATHENA	LG/EA
304	CARTHAGE	PHOENICIAN TOPHET SHRINE	LG (740-710 B.C.)

KEY TO MAP 3: EIA SANCTUARIES AND CULT PLACES (GEOGRAPHICAL)

A. SITE B. DIVINITY or NATURE OF CULT C. DATE

- **Question marks** (?) denote that the nature of the human activities is either unknown or equivocal. Consequently, the date indicates the period of these human activities.
- **Names of divinities or heroes**: it is not always certain that they received worship already by the EIA.
- **Names of divinities in parenthesis**: the sanctuary was founded in post-Geometric times and consequently the EIA material represents habitation or tombs.
- **Dates in parenthesis**: the material presumably denotes domestic activities.
- **Reference to the prehistoric period** is restricted to the LBA and only for sites which may have served as shrines during that period. Question marks after the date (i.e. LBA?) denote that the nature of the LBA activities is ambiguous.
- **Homer**: the existence of the sanctuary is exclusively postulated by the Homeric epics.



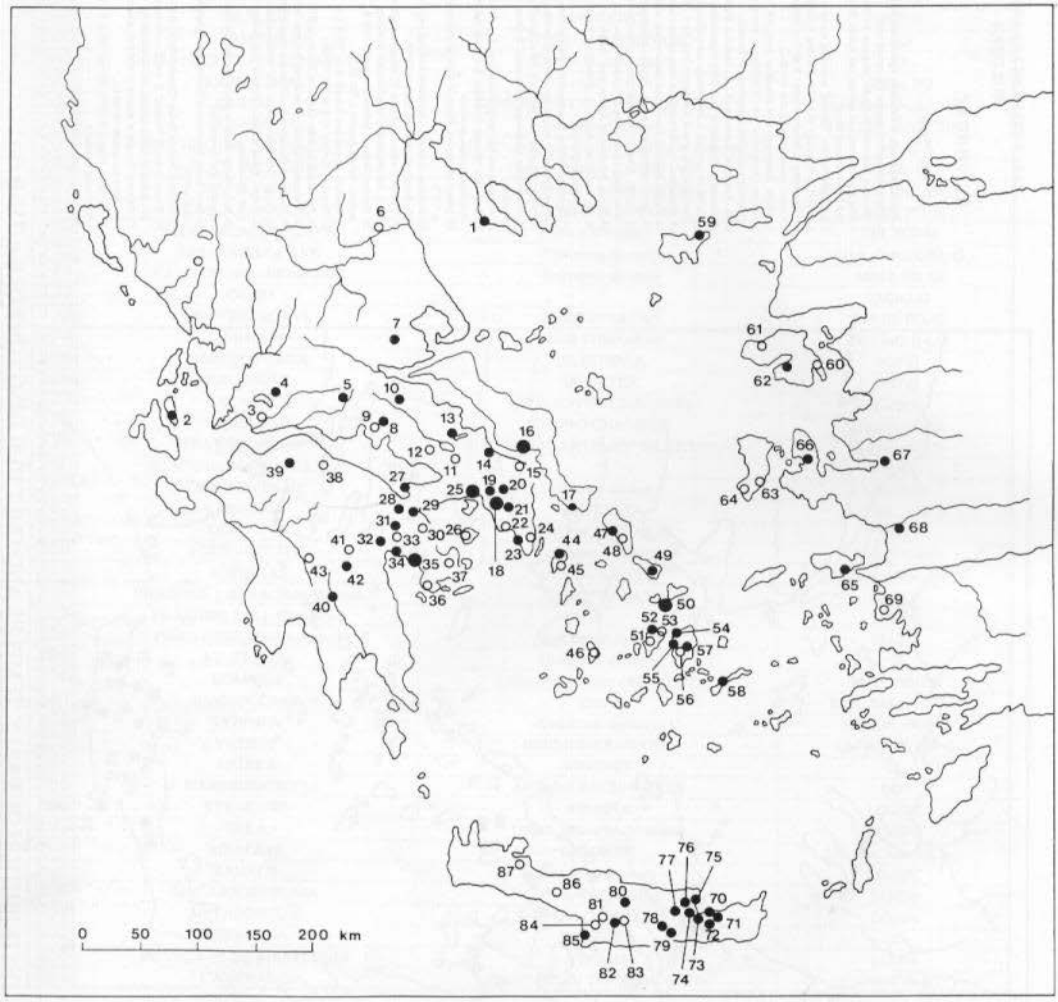
EARLY TEMPLES AND OTHER CULT BUILDINGS

● 1100-800 B.C.

○ 800-750 B.C.

1. Proseidi. Sanctuary of Poseidon. Apsidal cult building ΣΤ (EPG).
2. Aetos. Sanctuary of Apollo. PG curved wall.
3. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Megaron A ("heroön" phase, PG).
4. Kalapodi. Sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo. Predecessors of Temples A and B (late 9th and 8th c.).
5. Lefkandi Toumba. "Heroön" according to one opinion (1000-950 B.C.).
6. Eretria. a. Sanctuary of Apollo: Building A (temple or ruler's dwelling?). b. Sanctuary of female divinity: Wall G. c. Sanctuary of Aphrodite/Astarte: ruined building of *c.* 800 B.C.
7. Athens. Areopagus: oval chthonian shrine (MG).
8. Athens. Olympieion: cult (?) building in area of sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios (mid-8th c. according to Travlos).
9. Mt. Hymettos. Sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios. Buildings A-C (PG-LG?).
10. Eleusis. a. Telesterion: Unit B/B1-3 (according to Travlos reused from late 9th or early 8th c., but perhaps not exclusively for cult practices). b. Curved wall in area of Artemision (mid-8th c. according to Travlos).
11. Perachora. Apsidal temple of Hera Akraia (first half of 8th c.?).
12. Tiryns. Building T converted into a temple of Hera around 750 B.C.
13. Asine. Sanctuary of Apollo. Apsidal Building B (*c.* 750 B.C.).
14. Aigeira. Alleged Geometric temple of Artemis (Building A), though more likely a ruler's house (first half of 8th c.?).
15. Tegea. Sanctuary of Athena Alea. Temple I (*c.* 750 B.C.).
16. Ay. Irini (Kea). Sanctuary of Dionysos. Building BB (PG) and reused LBA temple (PG-LG).
17. Hypsili (Andros). Sanctuary of female divinity. Temple A could date in the first half or around the middle of the 8th c., but in may also be LG.
18. Delos. Temple Γ (perhaps early 8th c., though could be LG).
19. Naxos town. Chthonian "enclosures" at Grotta and Mitropolis Sq. (LPG onwards).
20. Iria (Naxos). Sanctuary of Dionysos. Temple I (*c.* 800 B.C.).
21. Tsikalario (Naxos). Buildings A-C inside the MG-LG necropolis, but their date remains uncertain.
22. Minoa (Amorgos). Traces of walls in sanctuary of Lower Town (SPG or LG?).
23. Mytilene (Lesbos). Curvilinear building near the sanctuary of Apollo (?), though of uncertain function (SPG).
24. Antissa (Lesbos). Building III, alleged temple of the late 9th or early 8th c., but presumably an aristocratic dwelling.
25. Heraion (Samos). Hekatompedos I (*c.* 800 B.C. according to some authors, but presumably *c.* 700 B.C.).
26. Ephesos. Artemision. Temple B (*c.* 750 B.C.).
27. Vrouda. "Temple" G (LM IIIC-?SMin).
28. Pachlitsani Agriada. Chapel of Eileithyia (PG-Geometric).
29. Vrokastro. Possible public shrine in Upper Settlement (PG-Geometric).
30. Vrokastro (Karakovilia). Chthonian chapel (first half of 8th c.).
31. Olous. "Old Aphrodision" (PG? or Geometric).
32. Kaephi. Public shrines ("Temple" and perhaps Room 16-17) (LM IIIC-SMin).
33. Kalo Chorio. Walls in area of Minoan sanctuary, but of unknown function (PG-Geometric).
34. Kato Syme. Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite. Building L (SMin-PG).
35. Knossos. Reused Spring Chamber during the SMin period.
36. Prinias. Alleged "Temple" B, which could have been a ruler's house (according to recent opinion, PG-Geometric?).
37. Gortyna. Temple of Athena (*c.* 800 B.C. according to some authors but probably last quarter of 8th c.).
38. Kommos. Temple A (SMin through 9th c. B.C.). Temple B1 (beginning of 8th c.).
39. Sybrita. Cult (?) building (PG?).

MAP 4. DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY TEMPLES AND CULT BUILDINGS (BEFORE *c.* 750 B.C.)



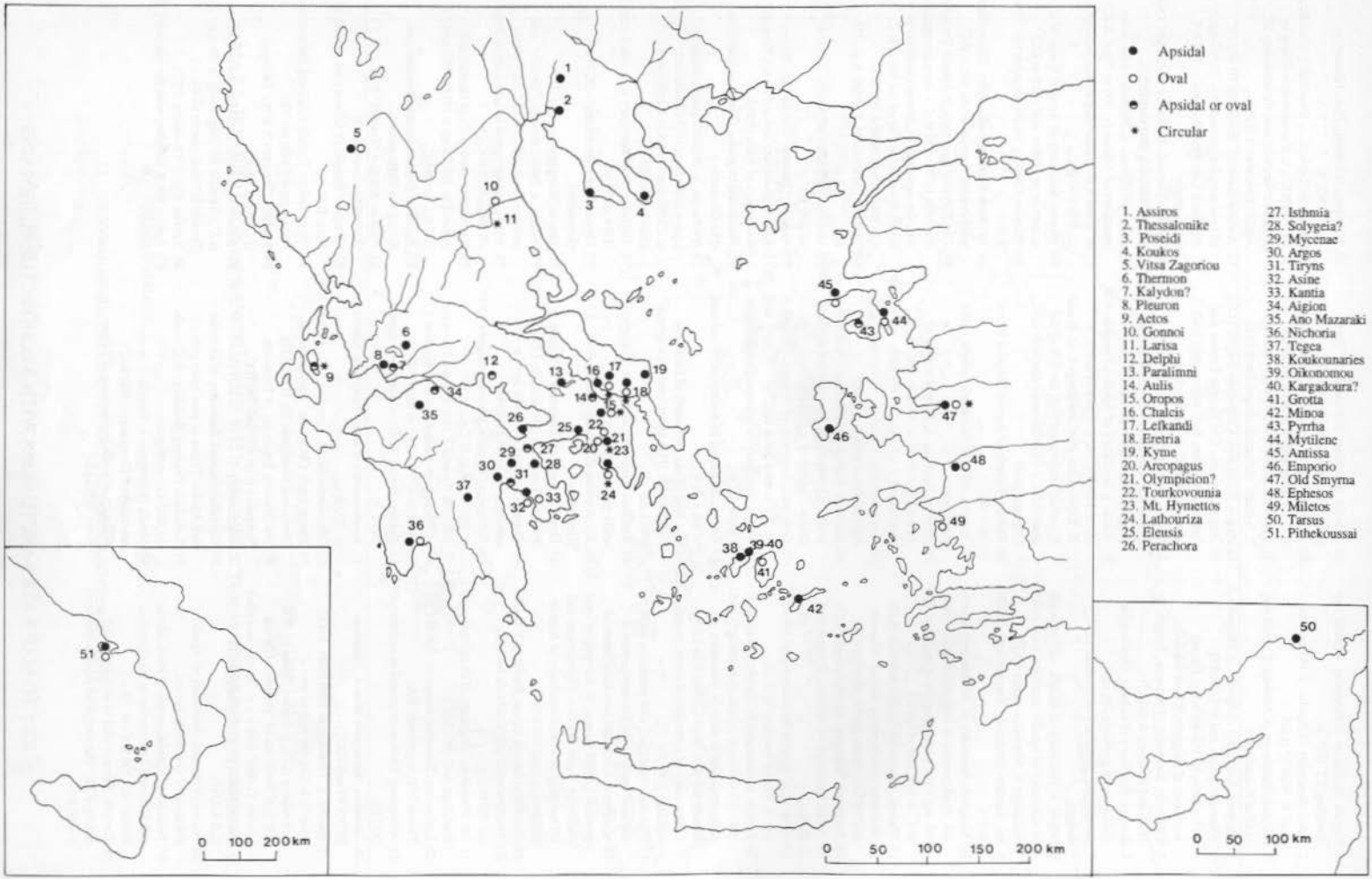
MAP 5. DISTRIBUTION OF SANCTUARIES WITH ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS (*c.* 1100-700 B.C.).

● certain instances

○ uncertain or alleged cases, or traces of peribolos/temenos walls

1. Poseidi. Sanctuary of Poseidon. Apsidal cult Building ΣΤ (EPG).
2. Aetos. Sanctuary of Apollo. a. PG curved wall. b. Wall 27 (LG).
3. Kalydon. Sanctuary of Artemis. Curved wall (LG or Byzantine?).
4. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. a. Megaron A ("heroön" phase, end of LBA/PG). b. Megaron B (PG-9th c.). c. Flimsy successor of Megaron B (late 9th-LG).
5. Kallipolis. Sanctuary of Artemis. Temple B (LG) and Building A (EIA?).
6. Gonnoi. Sanctuary of Athena. Oval temple (LG or more probably 7th c.).
7. Neochoraki. Sanctuary of Athena? LG temple
8. Delphi. a. Sanctuary of Apollo: curved walls in sanctuary of Apollo (function?) not cult buildings. b. Marmaria: walls (LG?).
9. Ay. Varvara. Sanctuary. Terrace wall (*c.* 700 B.C.).
10. Kalapodi. Sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo. a-b. Predecessors of Temples A and B (late 9th and 8th c.) and Temples A and B (*c.* 700 B.C. or first half of 7th c.).
11. Thebes. Temple of Apollo Ismenios (LG)
12. Haliartos. Sanctuary of Athena. Massive wall of Geometric period (function?).
13. Paralimni. Suburban apsidal temple (LG).
14. Aulis. Sanctuary of Artemis. Curved wall (LG).
15. Oropos. a. Apsidal *hekatompedon*? (Wall 34). b. Round Building H (LG).
16. Eretria. a. Sanctuary of Apollo: Building A (MG II/LG temple or ruler's dwelling?) and *Hekatompedon* D (LG). b. Sanctuary of female divinity: Wall G (MG II or LG). c. Sanctuary of Aphrodite/Astarte: ruined building (MG II).
17. Plakouri. Sanctuary with peribolos and traces of walls of the Geometric period.
18. a. Athens. Acropolis: two stone bases of possible LG/EA temple. b. Areopagus: oval chthonian shrine (MG). c. Olympieion: cult (?) building in area of sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios (mid-8th c.?).
19. Academy. Sacred House, Building V (LG).
20. Tourkovounia hill. Oval cult building (*c.* 700 B.C.).
21. Mt. Hymettos. Sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios. Buildings A-C (PG-LG?).
22. Lathouriza. Suburban chapel (*c.* 700 B.C.?). Tholos VIII is probably EA.
23. Anavyssos. Chthonian chapel in cemetery (LG II).
24. Thorikos. Necropolis West 4. Buildings III/XXVI and XXX (LG).
25. Eleusis. a. Telesterion: Unit B/B1-3 (LG reuse?). b. Curved wall in area of Artemision (LG). c. Sacred House (*c.* 700 B.C.). d. Peribolos of "Heroön of Seven against Thebes" (8th c.). e. Second so-called Sacred House by Kallichoron well? (LBA-LG?).
26. Aigina (Kolonna). Sanctuary of Apollo. Building of Geometric period.
27. Perachora. Apsidal temple of Hera Akraia (MG II?) and *hestiatorion* in the "Limenia terrace" (*c.* 700 B.C. or 7th c.).
28. Corinth. Terrace wall in area of Sacred Spring (LG). The temple of Apollo was built *c.* 680 B.C.
29. Isthmia. Sanctuary of Poseidon. "Tent" (LG). First temple built *c* 650 B.C.
30. Solygeia. Alleged temple of Hera (*c.* 700 B.C.). Presumably a profane structure.
31. Mycenae. a. Acropolis. Terrace wall (?). b. Apsidal chthonian chapel (both LG).
32. Argos. Pilios plot. Chthonian chapel? (LG).
33. Argive Heraion. Old Temple Terrace and Secondary Shrine, both presumably built around 700 B.C. or slightly later.
34. Tiryns. Building T. LH IIIC ruler's dwelling, presumably converted into a temple of Hera around 750 B.C.
35. Asine. a. Sanctuary of Apollo: Temples A-B (B: *c.* 750 B.C. A: *c.* 720/710 B.C.). b. Kapsorachis plot: Buildings S, Q, O and P, perhaps associated with the cult of the dead (LG). c. LG chthonian chapel N of Gogonas plot?
36. Halieis. Temple of Apollo. Around 700 or 7th c. B.C.?
37. Troizen. Alleged Geometric temple in the Asclepieion.
38. Aigeira. Building A, alleged temple of Artemis (first half of 8th c.?), but presumably a dwelling of the élite.
39. Ano Mazaraki. Sanctuary of Artemis. Apsidal *hekatompedon* (LG).
40. Sparta. a. Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. Wall C-D (8th c.). b. Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Temple of *c.* 700 B.C.
41. Gortsouli. Sanctuary of Artemis. Temple A (*c.* 700 or mid-7th c. B.C.?).
42. Tegea. Sanctuary of Athena Alea. Temples I-II (both LG).
43. Gortys. Sanctuary of Asclepios. Crude wall of 8th c. B.C.
44. Ay. Irini (Kea). Sanctuary of Dionysos. Building BB (PG) and reused LBA temple (PG-LG).
45. Karthaia. Sanctuary of Apollo. Traces of walls (perhaps Geometric).
46. Ay. Andreas (Siphnos). Temple Θ? (Geometric?).
47. Hypsile (Andros). Sanctuary of female divinity. Temple A (presumably LG).
48. Zagora (Andros). Temenos wall in sanctuary of Athena (LG II).
49. Xobourgo (Tenos). Chthonian chapels I-VI? (*c.* 700 or 7th c. B.C.).
50. Delos. a. Temple Γ (8th c.?) and Pre-oikos of Naxians. b. Artemision E. c. Heraion I (all three *c.* 700 B.C. or early 7th c.).
51. Delion (Paros). Walls of possible temple (8th c.?).
52. Koukounaries (Paros). Temple of Athena (*c.* 700 B.C.).
53. Oikonomos island. Temple? (LG or EA?).
54. Naxos town. Chthonian "enclosures" at Grotta and Mitropolis Sq. (LPG-LG).
55. Iria (Naxos). Sanctuary of Dionysos. Temples I-II (*c.* 800 and 730 B.C., respectively).
56. Gyroulas (Naxos). Sanctuary of Demeter and Apollo. Traces of post holes (8th c.).
57. Tsikalario (Naxos). Buildings A-C inside the MG-LG necropolis.
58. Minoa (Amorgos). a. Temple K in the sanctuary of Dionysos (*c.* 700 B.C.). b. Traces of walls in sanctuary of Lower Town (SPG-LG).
59. Kabeirion (Lemnos). First Telesterion (*c.* 700 B.C.).
60. Mytilene (Lesbos). a. Oval cult (?) building (*c.* 700 B.C.). b. Curvilinear building of unknown function near the sanctuary of Apollo Maloeis (?) (SPG).
61. Antissa (Lesbos). Buildings III and IV, alleged temples (presumably dwellings of the élite). Late 9th/8th c. and c. 700 B.C., respectively.
62. Pyrrha (Lesbos). Sanctuary of Apollo? Oval (?) cult building (Geometric?).
63. Emporio (Chios). a. Peribolos wall in the sanctuary of Athena (*c.* 700 or 7th c. B.C.). b. Walls α-β in sanctuary by the harbour (*c.* 700-690 B.C.).
64. Phanai. Sanctuary of Apollo. Traces of a terrace or peribolos wall (MG or LG).
65. Heraion (Samos). *Hekatompedon* I (*c.* 700 B.C.).
66. Erythrai. Sanctuary of Athena. Unspecified architectural remains of the 8th c. B.C.
67. Old Smyrna. Sanctuary of Athena. Defense Platform I (740-690 B.C.). Area converted into the sanctuary of Athena (addition of ramp) towards the end of the 8th c. B.C. The temple was built *c.* 690 B.C.
68. Ephesos. Artemision. Temple B (*c.* 750 B.C.).
69. Didyma. Sanctuary of Apollo. Sekos I (*c.* 700 B.C.).
70. Vronda. "Temple" G (LM IIIC-?SMin).
71. Kastro. Sanctuary site at Plaï tou Kastrou with traces of walls (EIA).
72. Pachlitsani Agriada. Chapel of Eileithyia (PG-Geometric).
73. Vrokastro. a. Possible public shrine in Upper Settlement (PG-Geometric). b. Chthonian chapel at Karakovilia (first half of 8th c.).
74. Thylakas. Peak sanctuary with small chapel (LBA or EIA?).
75. Olous. "Old Aphrodision" (PG? or Geometric).
76. Dreros. Temple of Apollo (LG).
77. Karphi. a. Public shrines ("Temple" and perhaps Room 16-17) (LM IIIC-SMin).
78. Afrati. Square rooms in sanctuary of female (?) divinity (8th c.).
79. Kato Syme. Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite. Buildings L (SMin-PG) and J (*c.* 700 B.C. or EA).
80. Knossos. Reused Spring Chamber also during the SMin period.
81. Prinias. Alleged "Temple" B (SMin/PG-Geometric?).
82. Gortyna. Temple of Athena (last quarter of 8th c. B.C.?).
83. Vourvoulitis. Temple (undated, but perhaps contemporary with no. 82).
84. Phaistos. Temple (?) at Ay. Georgios (LG/SG or later?).
85. Kommos. Temple A (SMin through 9th c. B.C.). Temple B1 (beginning of 8th c.). Temple B2 (last quarter of 8th c.).
86. Sybrita. Cult (?) building (PG?).
87. Aptera. 8th c. building near the sanctuary of Artemis.

KEY TO MAP 5: EIA SANCTUARIES WITH ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS



MAP 6. DISTRIBUTION OF APSIDAL, OVAL AND CIRCULAR BUILDINGS (*c.* 1100-700 B.C.)

ADDENDUM

p. 43f. (**Poseidi**). Now see S. Moschonissioti, "Excavations in Ancient Mende", in *L'Euboea e la presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Convegno internazionale, Napoli 13-16 nov. 1996*, forthcoming.

p. 101 (**Oropos**). The 1996 excavation at Oropos enabled the author to comprehend the successive building phases of Building Θ (see my forthcoming report in *Ἔργον* and *ΠΑΕ* for 1996; in general about the excavations of EIA Oropos see my paper "Oropos in the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods", in *L'Euboea e la presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Convegno internazionale, Napoli 13-16 nov. 1996*, forthcoming). Initially the plan was oval, subsequently transformed into apsidal. During a third building period, the plan became oval once more (during the initial and final phases, the edifice measured 9,80 by 4,70m. During the second building period the length was enlarged to 12,00m). The first oval building was divided into two roughly equal chambers by means of a cross wall. The stone bench in the back chamber belongs to this phase but remained in use during the subsequent phases. In the second, apsidal, building phase the edifice was a tripartite oikos (*cf.* Table VI instead of Table IVB:5). Unlike the neighbouring oval buildings, the architectural details and the finds indicate that this one was not directly connected with metalworking activities. It was seemingly the most important building within the industrial complex and its function will be elucidated after the study of the finds from this season's excavation (ruler's house? assembly hall? religious structure?). Furthermore, during the 1996 season, two well preserved superimposed oval buildings, I and IA, were fully excavated. They also face towards the S and measure approximately 7,50 X 4,50m. Both buildings appear to have been associated with metalworking.

p. 105 (**Kyme**). As Dr. E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki kindly informed me, the excavations which she has been conducting since 1994 on the Viglatouri hill (Oxylithos) near Euboean Kyme revealed an important settlement of the Geometric period. The buildings uncovered to the present are rectangular, apsidal and oval in plan. They contained large quantities of metal items and jewellery, as well as pottery of the mid 8th c. B.C.

p. 176f. (**Hypsile**). The sanctuary on the acropolis appears to have been dedicated to the cult of Demeter and Kore (Ch. Televantou, *Ἄνδρος. Τα μνημεία και το αρχαιολογικό μουσείο*, Athens 1996, 39-42).

p. 224ff. (**Prinias**). For a view similar to mine, but based on different arguments, see M. d'Acunto, "I cavalieri di Priniàs ed il Tempio A", *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Napoli*, N.S. 2 (1995) 15-55, esp. 26-29.

p. 243 (**Pithekoussai**). An illustration of the building model from Pithekoussai can be found in G. Buchner & C. Gialanella, *Museo archeologico di Pithecusae, isola d'Ischia*, Roma 1994, 62, fig. 28.

p. 253 (**Kirinthos**). Now see E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, "Mycenaean Kerinthos", in *Minotaur and Centaur. Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea presented to Mervyn Popham*, ed. D. Evely, I.S. Lemos & S. Sherratt, *BAR International Series* 638, 1996, 106-110.

p. 314ff. (**Attica**). Add now A.M. d'Onofrio, "Santuari 'rurali' e dinamiche insediative in Attica tra il Protogeometrico e l'Orientalizzante (1050-600 A.C.)", *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Napoli*, N.S. 2 (1995) 57-88 and A. Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas von 950 bis 400 v.Chr.*, Frankfurt am Main 1996

p. 337 (**Cretan sanctuaries**). The existence of a sanctuary at **Eleutherna** already from PG times is briefly discussed by N. Stampolides, *Ἐλεύθερνα*, Rethymno 1993, 35f.

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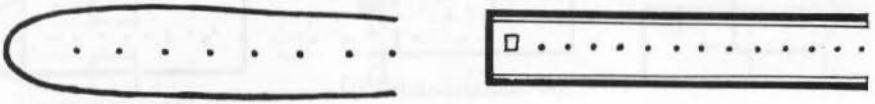
TABLE I
ONE-ROOM BUILDINGS WITH OPEN FRONT (H- and U-shaped)

A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE



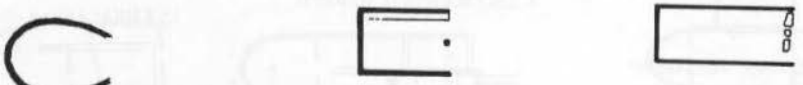
1. ERETRIA D

10. SAMOS H1

2. ERETRIA B1

6. KOMMOS A

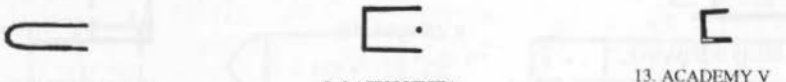
11. SPARTA



3. GONNOL

7. KOMMOS B

12. NEOCHORAKI



4. TEGEA I

8. LATHOURIZA

13. ACADEMY V

5. TEGEA II

9. OLD SMYRNA

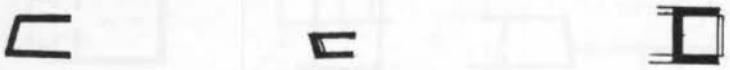
14. GROTTA

15. ASINE Q

B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

As a rule, these form part of larger agglutinated units. For a few examples see Kastanas (Layers 10 and 9, Figs. 19-22), Lathouriza (Building XV, Fig. 141), Koukounaries (Rooms F1-F3, Fig. 321), Karphi (Rooms 19-20, 36-37, Fig. 461), Phaistos (Rooms FF and GG, Fig. 482).

C. MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS



1. PHILIA

2. TIRYNS 110

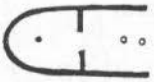
3. PYLOS 93

Scale 1:500

TABLE II
ANTA BUILDINGS WITH PORCH AND MAIN ROOM

A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE

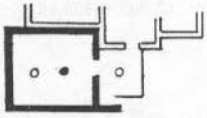
1. ERETRIA A2



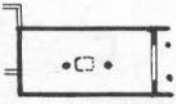
2. NICHORIA IV-5a

3. AIGEIRA A

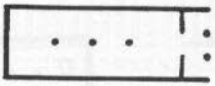
4. ELEUSIS. "MEGARON"



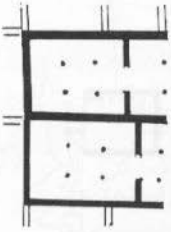
5. ELEUSIS B, PHASE 3



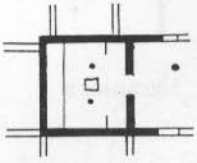
6. EMPORIO. LOWER MEGARON



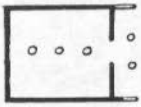
7. EMPORIO. MEGARON HALL



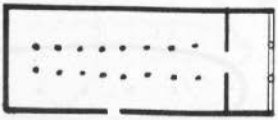
8. ZAGORA H26/27, H24/25/32



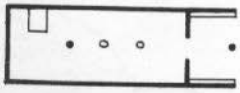
9. ZAGORA H19



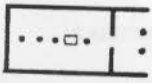
10. DELOS ART E



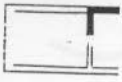
11. DELOS. PRE-OIKOS



12. TIRYNS T2

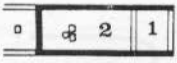


13. TSIKALARIO A



14. HYPSILE A

15. KALLIPOLIS B



16. HALIEIS

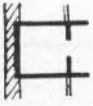
B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

1. OROPOS A

4. DELPHI (AREA 5)

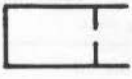
7. ASINE (KASTRAKI)

9. ERETRIA (AREA 3)

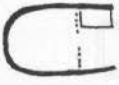


10. VROULIA

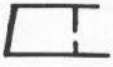
2. SMYRNA. TRENCH B



5. HEPHAISTIA



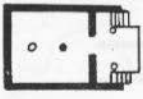
3. SMYRNA. PRIESTESS'S HOUSE



6. MELIE

8. ERETRIA C (AREA 12)

C. MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS

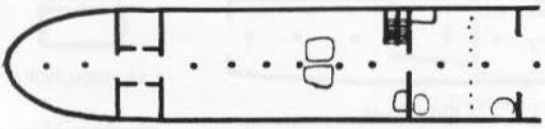


1. ELEUSIS B

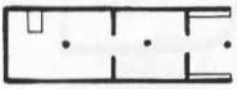
Scale 1:500

TABLE III
ANTA BUILDINGS WITH PORCH AND TWO OR MORE ROOMS

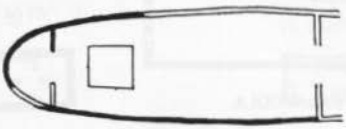
A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE



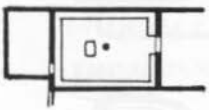
1. LEFKANDI (TOUMBA)



7. TIRYNS T1

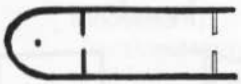


2. TARSUS U2

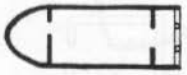


8. SMARI A

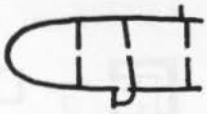
3. ANTISSA III-1



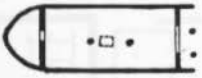
5. NICHORIA IV-5b



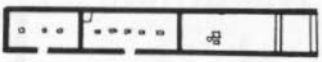
9. PARALIMNI



4. ANTISSA III-2



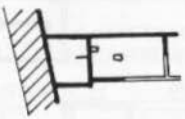
6. EMPORIO. LOWER MEGARON



10. HALIEIS

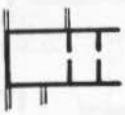
B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

1. SMYRNA LV-LVI



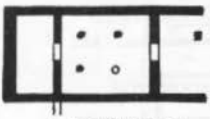
3. AY. ANDREAS (SIPHNOS)

2. ASINE D



4. VROULIA

C. MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS



1. MOURIATADA

2. TIRYNS 110a

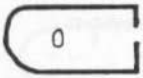
3. KATO SYME L

Scale 1:500

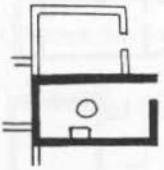
TABLE IV
ONE-ROOM OIKOI

A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE

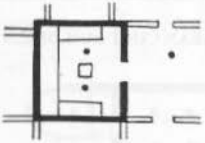
1. ASSIROS. SOUTH BUILDING

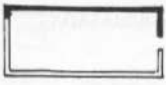

2. ANTISSA IV-2

3. LATHOURIZA II

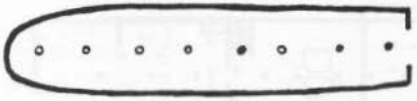

4. KASTANAS, LAYER 12

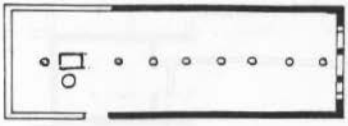
5. PHAISTOS AA

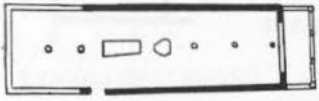

6. ZAGORA H19

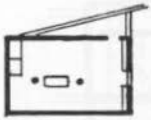

7. KOUKOUNARIES C

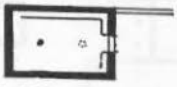
8. AY. ANDREAS

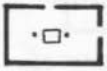

9. ERETRIA D

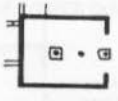

10. KALAPODI A

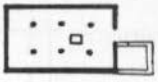

11. KALAPODI B

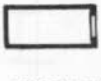

12. DREROS


13. KOUKOUNARIES

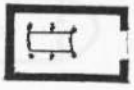

14. PERACHORA


15. PHAISTOS (PHALANDRA)

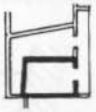

16. TSIKALARIO A2


17. DELOS Γ

18. DELOS ART. E


19. EPHESOS

20. MINOA K

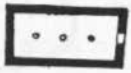

21. XOBOURGO IVa

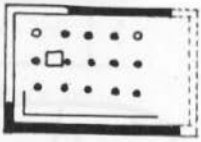
22. XOBOURGO Va

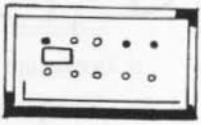
23. VROKASTRO

24. PERACHORA

25. SPARTA






26. IRIA I, II, III

27. HYMETTOS B

28. ASINE O

29. PALLANTION

30. TSIKALARIO C

31. PACHLITSANI AGRIADA

32. THYLAKAS

33. AY. IRINI BB

34. DELOS H1

Scale 1:500

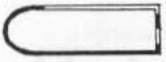
TABLE IV
ONE-ROOM OIKOI

B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

1. LATHOURIZA X

2. LATHOURIZA IX

3. SMYRNA (TRENCH H)



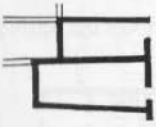
4. ERETRIA (AREA 3)

5. OROPOS Θ

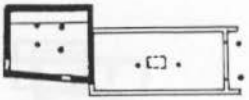
6. ASSIROS 8, PHASE 2

7. ASSIROS 1, PHASE 2

8. KASTANAS, LAYER 9



9. KASTANAS, LAYER 8



10. EMPORIO A

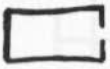
11. EMPORIO G

12. EMPORIO V

13. EMPORIO E

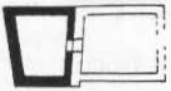
14. EMPORIO H

15. EMPORIO O



16. VATHY LIMENARI Γ

C. MYCENAEAN
CULT BUILDINGS



1. MYCENAE Γ1

2. TIRYNS 117

17. LATHOURIZA V-VII

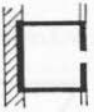
18. LATHOURIZA XI-XII

19. SMYRNA XLVI-XLVII

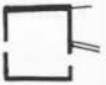
20. SMYRNA XLII

21. ERETRIA (AREA 3)

22. PITHEKOUSSAI IV



23. VROULIA



24. KASTRO KAVOUSI 13

Scale 1:500

TABLE IX
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RULERS' DWELLINGS AND HYPAETHRAL ALTARS

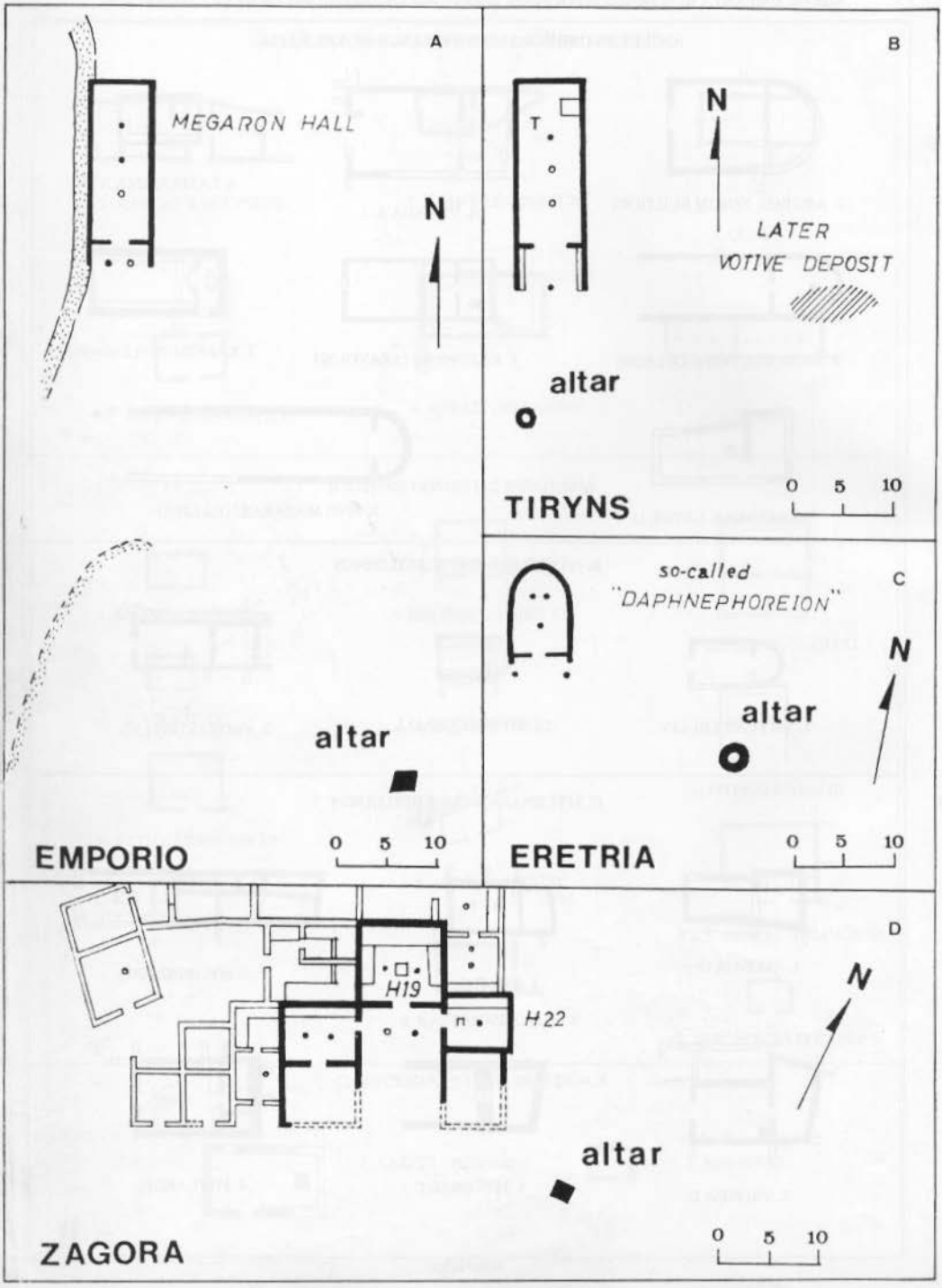


TABLE IX

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RULERS' DWELLINGS AND HYPAETHRAL ALTARS

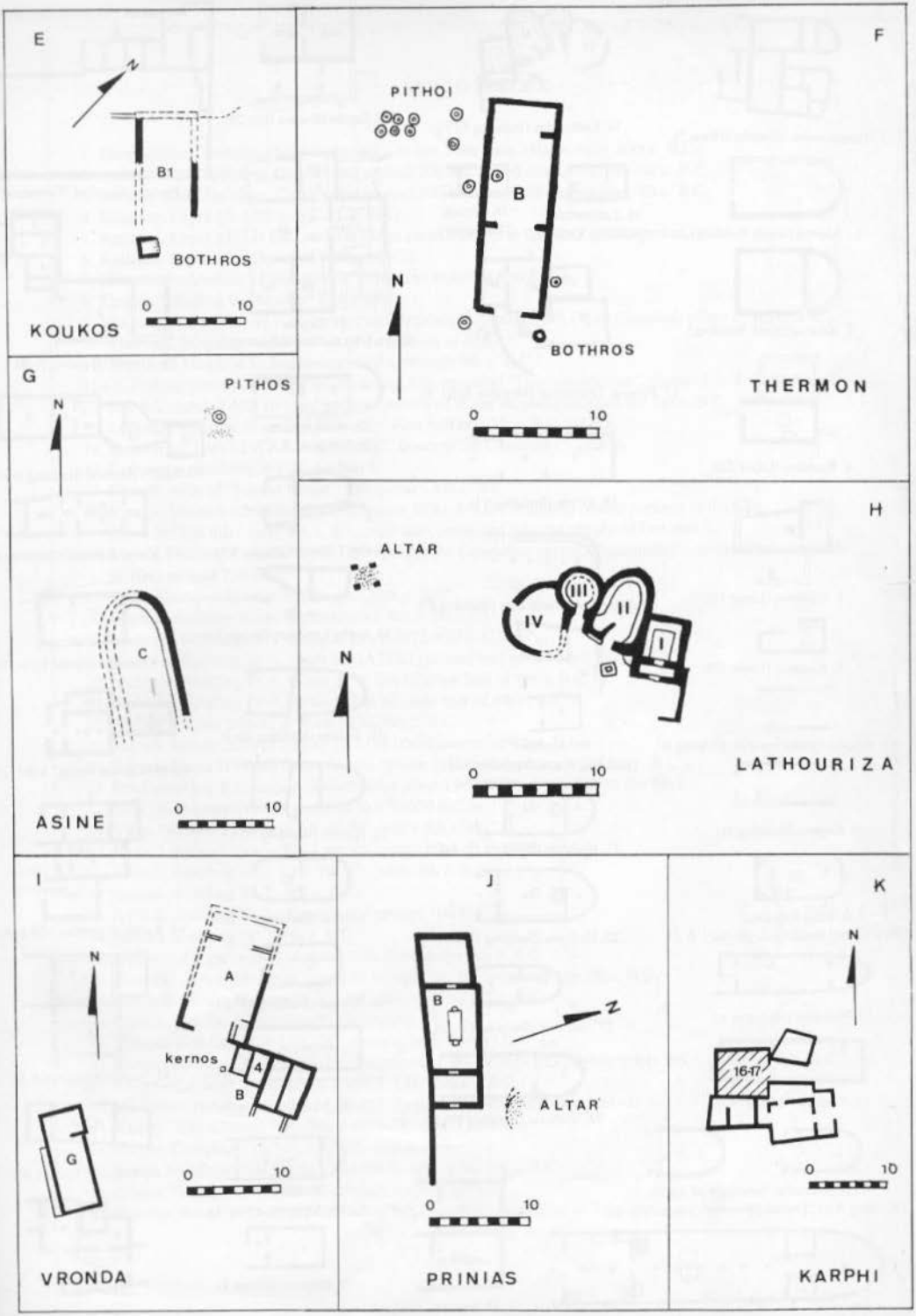
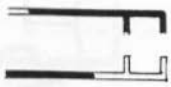
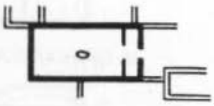


TABLE V
OIKOI WITH PORCH AND MAIN ROOM

A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE



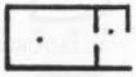
1. KOUKOS B



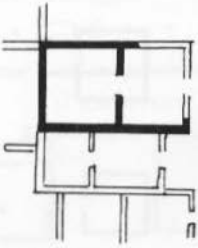
2. KARPHI 137/141

3. KARPHI "GREAT HOUSE"

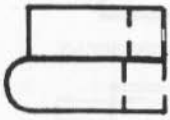
4. LATHOURIZA I



5. EMPORIO I

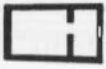


6. ZAGORA H28/29



7. OIKONOMOS ISL.

8. ASINE A

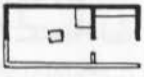


9. THORIKOS III/XXVI

10. ACADEMY α-α'

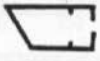
11. AY. ANDREAS

B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

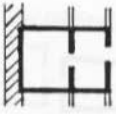


1. KOUKOUNARIES E

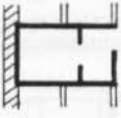
2. VOLOS (IOLKOS?)



3. LATHOURIZA XIII



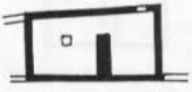
4. VROULIA



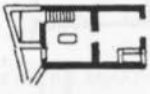
5. VROULIA

6. PITHEKOUSSAI II

C. MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS



1. MYCENAE MEGARON 2

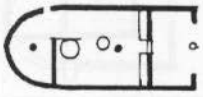


2. MYCENAE "TEMPLE"

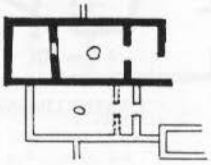
Scale 1:500

TABLE VI
OIKOI WITH PORCH AND TWO OR MORE ROOMS

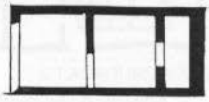
A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE



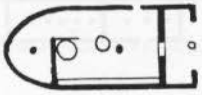
1. NICHORIA IV-1a



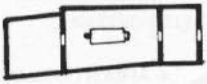
5. KARPHI 138-140



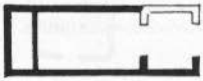
8. PHAISTOS "GREEK TEMPLE"



2. NICHORIA IV-1b

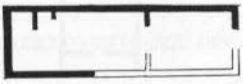


6. PRINIAS B



9. GORTSOULI

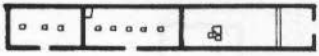
3. THESSALONIKE TOUMBA
PHASE 4



7. THERMON B

10. MYCENAE

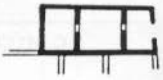
4. THESSALONIKE TOUMBA
PHASE 3



11. HALIEIS

B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

1. THERMON α11



2. AY. ANDREAS Δ

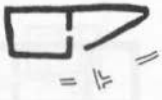
Scale 1:500

TABLE VII
OBLONG OIKOI WITH ENTRANCE IN THE LONG SIDE

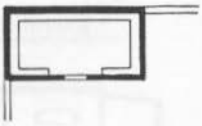
A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE

1. KASTRO A (KAVOUSI)

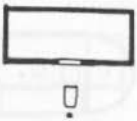
2. VATHY LIMENARI X7



3. VATHY LIMENARI X6



4. AFRATI (ARKADES)



5. OLOUS

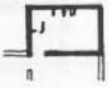
6. HALIEIS

B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

1. SMYRNA XXXVII

2. MILETOS C

3. VATHY LIMENARI X5



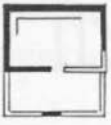
4. ASSIROS 5, PHASE 2

5. ERETRIA C (AREA 12)

6. ASINE (KASTRAKI)

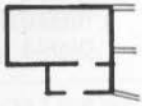
7. SMYRNA XXXIX

8. KASTANAS, LAYER 8



9. THORIKOS X-XI/XXI

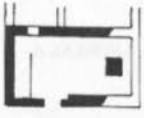
10. PITHEKOUSSAI III



11. KASTRO 5-6 (KAVOUSI)

12. XEROPOLIS/LEFKANDI 1

C. MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS



1. KARPHI "TEMPLE"

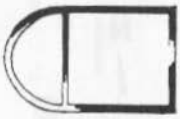
2. KALAPODI

Scale 1:500

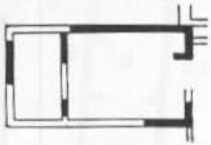
TABLE VIII

OIKOI AND ANTA BUILDINGS WITH MAIN FRONT ROOM AND SMALLER REAR CHAMBER(S)

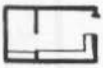
A. CULT BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS OF THE ÉLITE



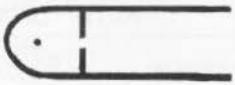
1. ASSIROS. NORTH BUILDING



4. VRONDA A

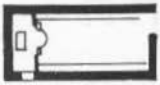


6. LATHOURIZA XVIII



2. NICHORIA IV-5 (COULSON)

5. KASTRO 9-11 (KAVOUSI)



7. KABEIRION (LEMNOS)

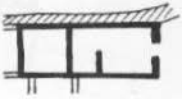
3. KASTANAS, LAYER 11

8. ANO MAZARAKI (RAKITA)

B. OTHER DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

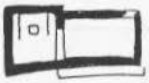
1. SMYRNA LIII-LIV

2. PITHEKOUSSAI I

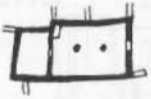


3. VROKASTRO L3-5

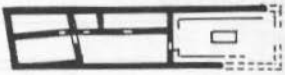
C. MYCENAEAN CULT BUILDINGS



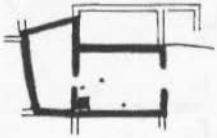
1. VRONDA G



3. ASINE G

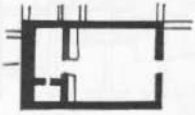


5. AY. IRINI



2. VRONDA D

4. MYCENAE Γ



6. PHYLAKOPI

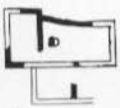
Scale 1:500

1. Thessalonike. Toumba (Phase 3).

2. Assiros (South Building).

3. Assiros (North Building).

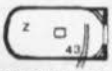
4. Kastanas (Layer 12).


5. Kastanas (Layer 11).

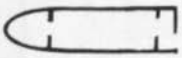
6. Kastanas (Layer 10).

7. Koukos (predecessor of Building B).

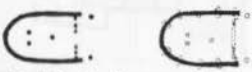
8. Koukos (Building B).

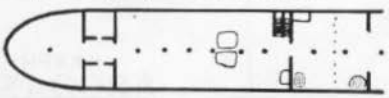


9. Vitsa Zagoriou
(Wall 43 and Building Z, phases 1 & 2).


10. Thermon (Megaron A).

11. Thermon (Megaron B).


12a-b. Eretria. Sanctuary of Apollo
(Building A or "Daphnephoreion", phases 1 & 2).


13. Lefkandi Toumba (so-called Heroön).

14. Lathouriza (Building I-IV).

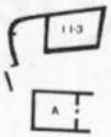
15. Lathouriza
(Building XVIII).

16. Eleusis
("Megaron").

17. Eleusis. Telesterion (Megaron B/B1-3).

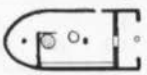
18. Tiryns (Building T1).

19. Asine Karmaniola area (Building C).

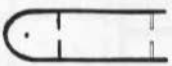


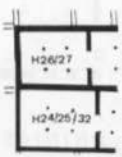
20. Aigeira
(Building A and dependencies).

21. Nichoria (Building IV-1a).

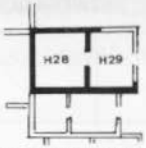

22. Nichoria (Building IV-1b).

23. Nichoria (Building IV-5a).

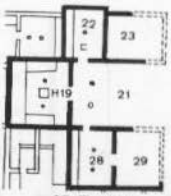

24. Nichoria (Building IV-5b).



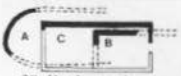
25. Zagora
(Rooms H26/27 & H24/25/32).



26. Zagora (Rooms H28/29).

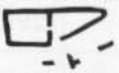


27. Zagora
(Room H19 and dependencies).

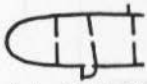


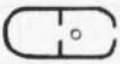
28. Koukounaries
(Buildings A, B, C).

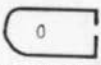
29. Vathy Limenari (House X7).


30. Vathy Limenari (House X6).

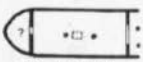
31. Antissa (Building III-1).


32. Antissa (Building III-2).

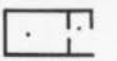

33. Antissa (Building IV-1).

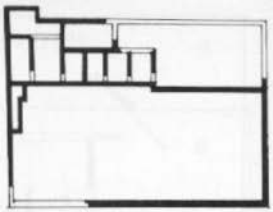

34. Antissa (Building IV-2).

35. Emporio (Megaron Hall).



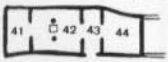
36. Emporio
(Lower Megaron, phase 1).


37. Emporio (House I).

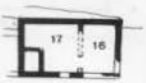

38. Praisos (so-called "Farmstead").

39. Vronda (Building A-B).

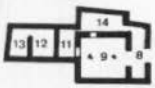
40. Kastro Kavousi (Building 9-13).



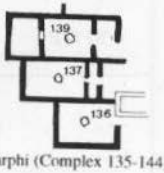
41. Kastro Kavousi (Building A).



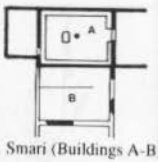
42. Vrokastro (House U16-17).



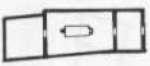
43. Karphi ("Great House" 8-9/11-18).

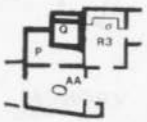


44. Karphi (Complex 135-144).



45. Smari (Buildings A-B).


46. Prinias ("Temple B").



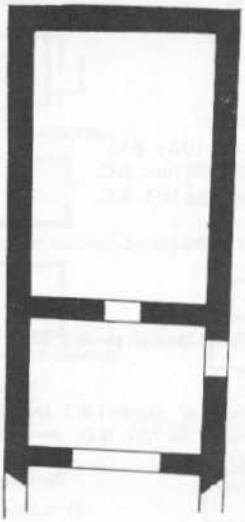
47. Phaistos
(Room AA and dependencies).

0 10 20 30

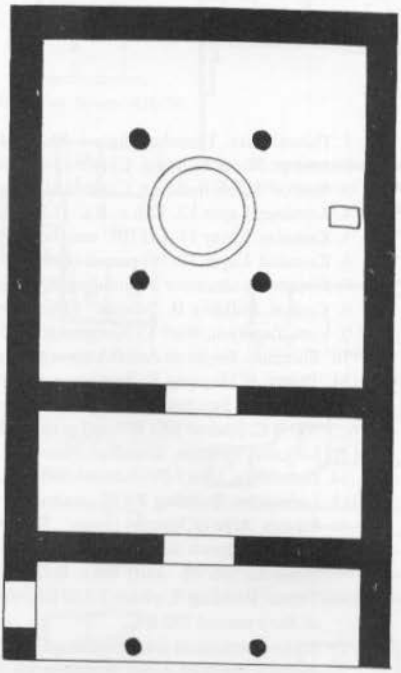
KEY TO TABLE X

1. Thessalonike. Toumba, Phase 3. Phases 4-3: late 12th - late 11th or early 10th c. B.C.
2. Assiros. North Building. Constructed around 700 B.C., used throughout the 7th c. B.C.
3. Assiros. South Building. Constructed around 700 B.C., used throughout the 7th c. B.C.
4. Kastanas. Layer 12. 12th c. B.C. (LH IIIC).
5. Kastanas. Layer 11. LH IIIC and the SMyc periods down to the early (?) PG period.
6. Kastanas. Layer 10. PG period (10th c. B.C.).
7. Koukos. Predecessor of Building B. Transition from LBA to EIA?
8. Koukos. Building B. "Mature" EIA phase.
9. Vitsa Zagoriou. Wall 43 (Geometric) and Building Z (phase 1: EA (?) or Classical; phase 2: 4th c. B.C.).
10. Thermon. Megaron A. LBA through beginning of EIA?
11. Thermon. Megaron B. Beginning of EIA through 9th c. B.C.?
12a-b. Eretria. Sanctuary of Apollo. Building A or so-called "Daphnephoreion", phases 1 & 2. Built around 760 B.C. (end of MG II?) and perhaps destroyed in the second quarter of the 7th c. B.C.
13. Lefkandi Toumba. So-called "Heroön". First half of 10th c. B.C. (MPG).
14. Lathouriza. Unit I-IV. Around 700 B.C., down to the Classical (?) period.
15. Lathouriza. Building XVIII. Archaic?
16. Eleusis. Area of "Sacred House". "Megaron". 8th c. B.C.
17. Eleusis. Beneath the Telesterion. Megaron B/B1-3. LBA building, reused perhaps in the EIA (from the late 9th - early 8th c. B.C., and later converted into the temple of Demeter?).
18. Tiryns. Building T, phase 1. LH IIIC through the Geometric period? Presumably converted into a temple of Hera around 750 B.C.
19. Asine Karmaniola area. Building C. 10th c. B.C.
20. Aigeira. Building A and dependencies. 8th c. B.C. (?)
21. Nichoria. Building IV-1, phase a. DA II (975-850 B.C.).
22. Nichoria. Building IV-1, phase b. DA II/III (second half of the 9th c. B.C.).
23. Nichoria. Building IV-5, phase a (?). DA III (first half of 8th c. B.C.).
24. Nichoria. Building IV-5, phase b. DA III (first half of 8th c. B.C.).
25. Zagora. Rooms H26/27 & H24/25/32. 8th c. B.C.
26. Zagora. Rooms H28/29 (phase 2). LG I (third quarter of 8th c. B.C.).
27. Zagora. Room H19 and dependencies (phase 3). LG II (last quarter of 8th c. B.C.).
28. Koukounaries. Buildings A (constructed around 900 B.C.), B (middle of the 8th c.) and C (last quarter of 8th c., down to 670/660 B.C.).
29. Vathy Limenari. House X7. Late 9th - early 8th c. B.C.
30. Vathy Limenari. House X6. Late 9th - early 8th c. B.C.
31. Antissa. Building III-1. Late 9th (?) - early 8th c. B.C.
32. Antissa. Building III-2. 8th c. B.C.
33. Antissa. Building IV-1. Constructed around 700 B.C.
34. Antissa. Building IV-2. 7th c. B.C.
35. Emporio. Megaron Hall. Around 700, through the 6th c. B.C.
36. Emporio. Lower Megaron, phase 1. Around 700 B.C., through the 7th c. B.C.
37. Emporio (House I). Around 700 B.C., through the 7th c. B.C.
38. Praisos. So-called "Farmstead". Geometric.
39. Vronda. Building A-B. LM IIIC, down to early SMin (?).
40. Kastro (Kavousi). Building 9-13. Presumably LPG through EO periods (early 9th c. to early 7th c. B.C.).
41. Kastro (Kavousi). Building A. Phase 1: LG, Phase 2: EO.
42. Vrokastro. House U16-17. LM IIIC (?) through PG and Geometric periods.
43. Karphi. "Great House" (Rooms 8-9/11-18). LM IIIC-SMin.
44. Karphi. Complex 135-144. LM IIIC-SMin.
45. Smari. Buildings A-B. SMin (?) to the middle of the 7th c. B.C.
46. Prinias. "Temple B". SMin (?) through Archaic periods.
47. Phaistos. Room AA and dependencies. 9th c. down to beginning of 7th c. B.C.

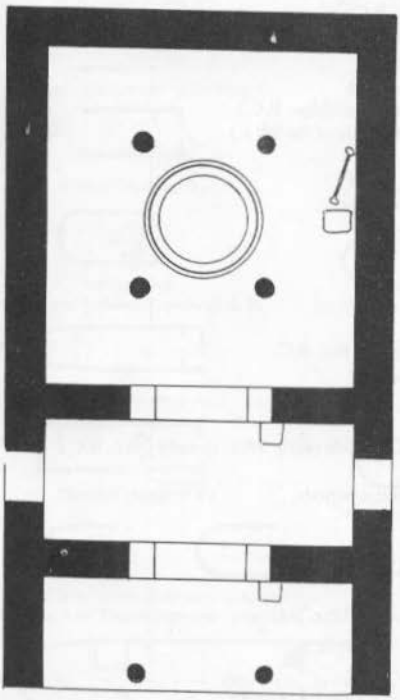
TABLE XI. MYCENAEAN "MEGARA" (Scale 1:200)



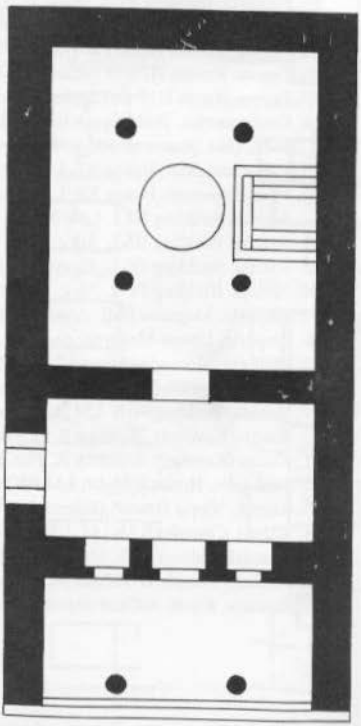
MENELAION



MYCENAE



PYLOS



TIRYNS

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FIGURES

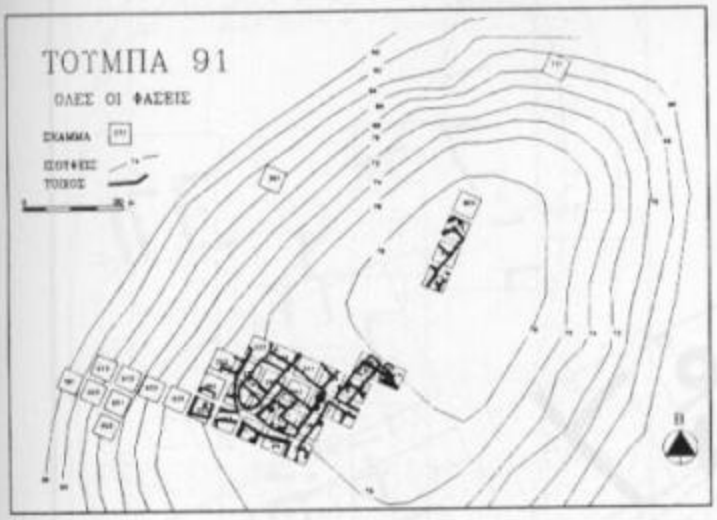


Fig. 1. Thessalonike, Toumba. Topographical plan with the excavated architectural remains.

Fig. 2. Thessalonike, Toumba. Plan of buildings of Phase 3

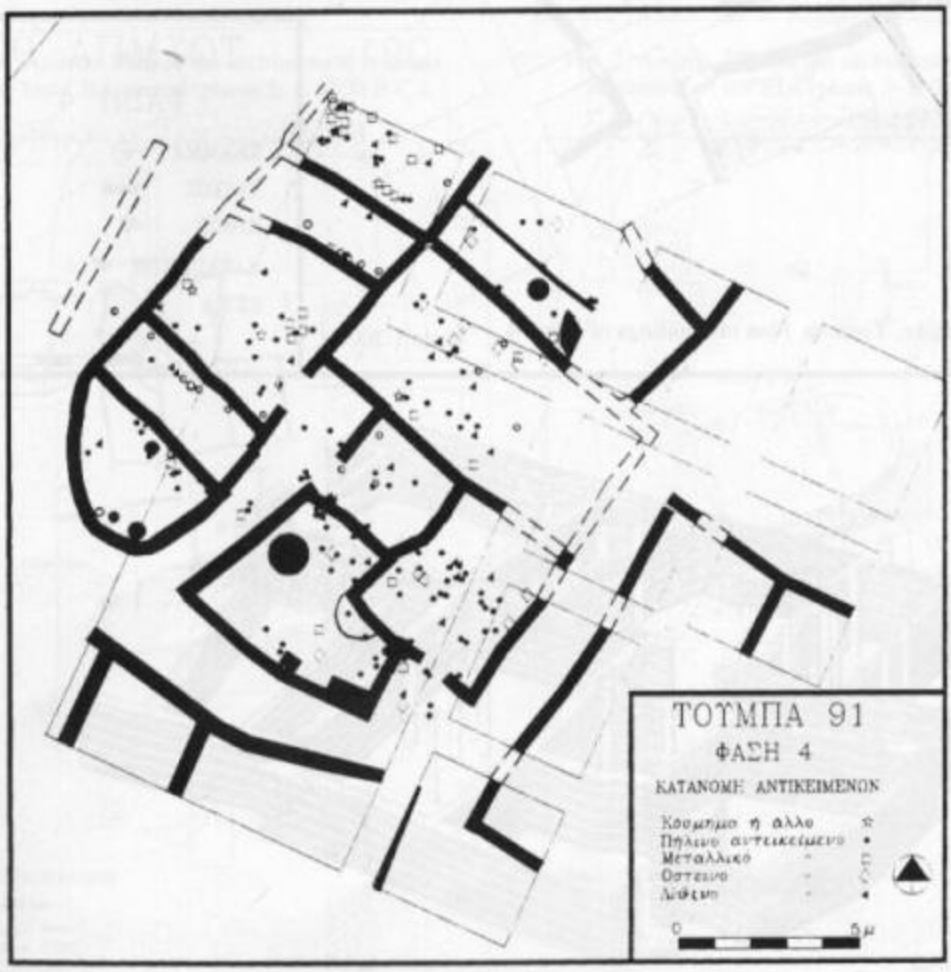


Fig. 3. Thessalonike, Toumba. Distribution of finds in the rooms of the building of Phase 4.

Scale 1:200

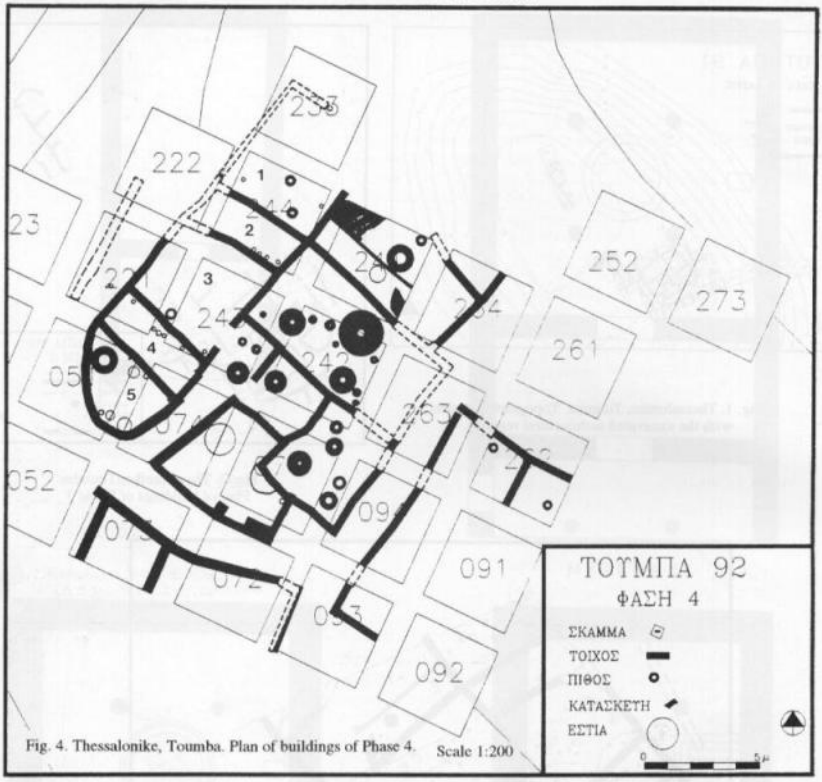


Fig. 4. Thessalonike, Toumba. Plan of buildings of Phase 4. Scale 1:200

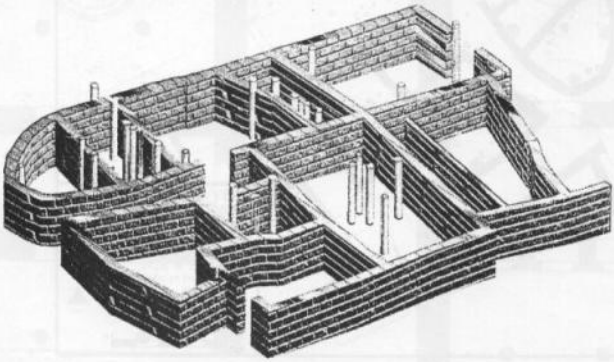


Fig. 5. Thessalonike, Toumba. Isometric reconstruction of the building of Phase 4.

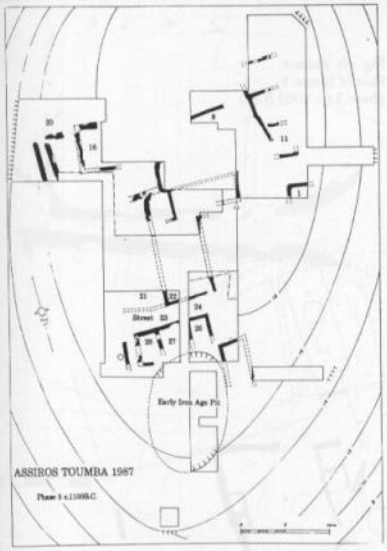


Fig. 6. Assiros. Plan of the architectural remains in the last LBA period (phase 5: *c.* 1100 B.C.).

Fig. 7. Assiros. Plan of the architectural remains in the beginning of the EIA (phase 3: *c.* 1050-950 B.C.).

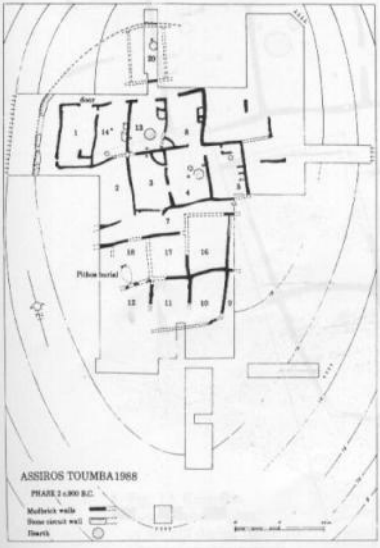


Fig. 8. Assiros. Plan of the architectural remains in the EIA (phase 2: *c.* 1000-950 B.C.).

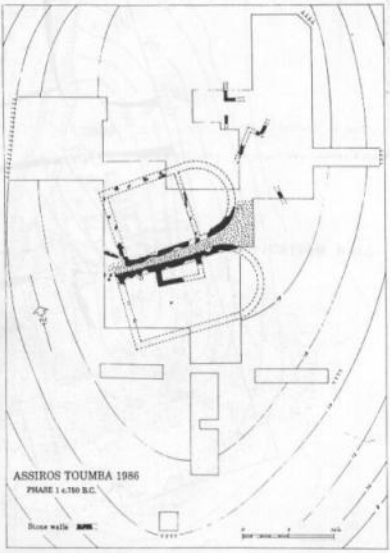


Fig. 9. Assiros. Plan of the architectural remains in the last EIA period (phase 1: *c.* 700 B.C.).

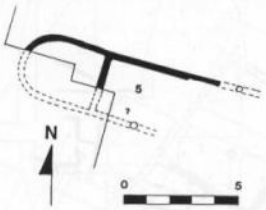


Fig. 10. Assiros.
Plan of House 5,
phase 3 (*c.* 1000 B.C.).

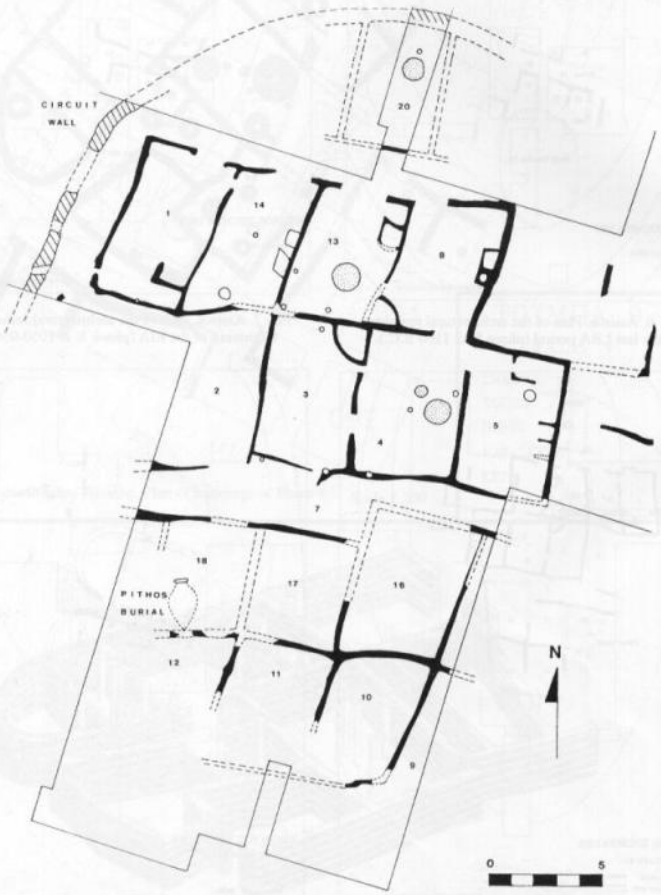


Fig. 11. Assiros. Plan of the architectural remains of phase 2 (*c.* 1000-950 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

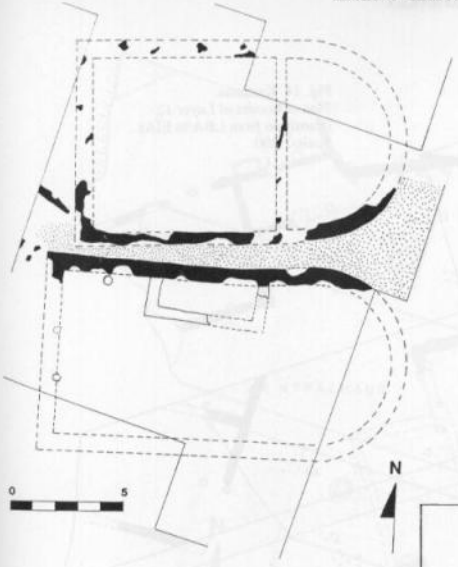


Fig. 12. Assiros.
Plan of the two apsidal buildings of phase 1 (*c.* 700 B.C.).
Scale 1:200.

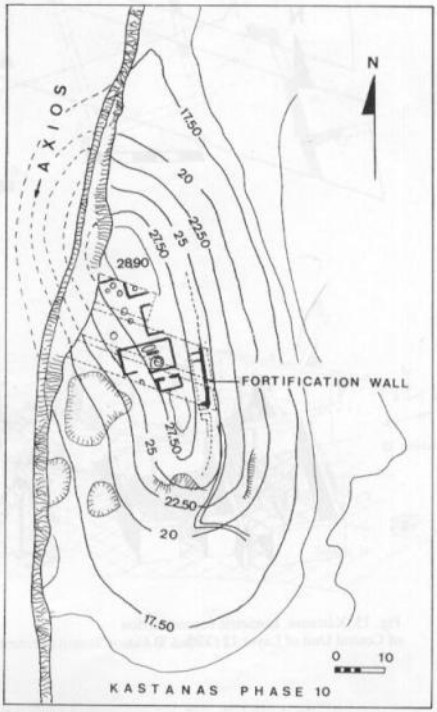


Fig. 13. Kastanas.
Topographical plan of the hill during phase 10 (Protogeometric period).

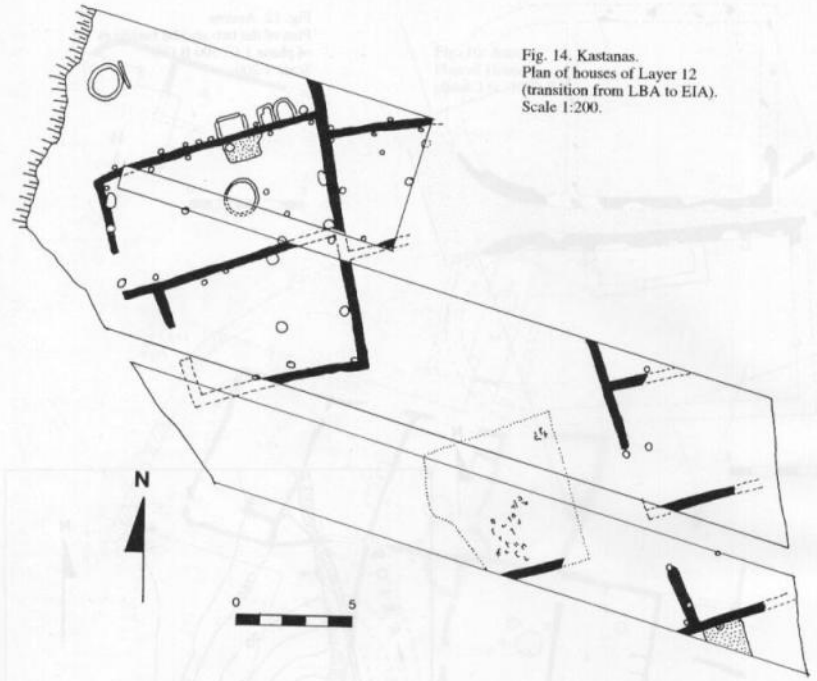


Fig. 14. Kastanas.
Plan of houses of Layer 12
(transition from LBA to EIA).
Scale 1:200.

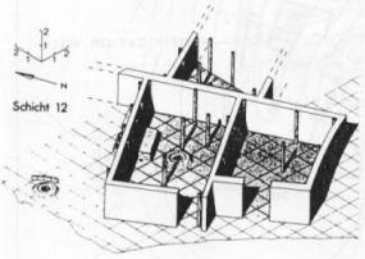


Fig. 15. Kastanas. Isometric reconstruction of Central Unit of Layer 12 (12th c. B.C.).

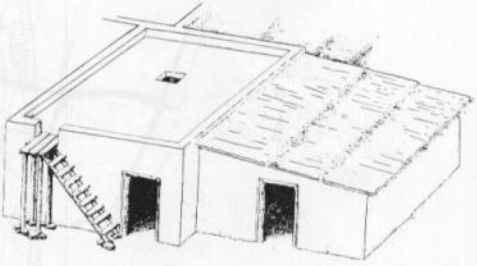


Fig. 16. Kastanas. Graphic reconstruction of Central Unit of Layer 12 (12th c. B.C.)

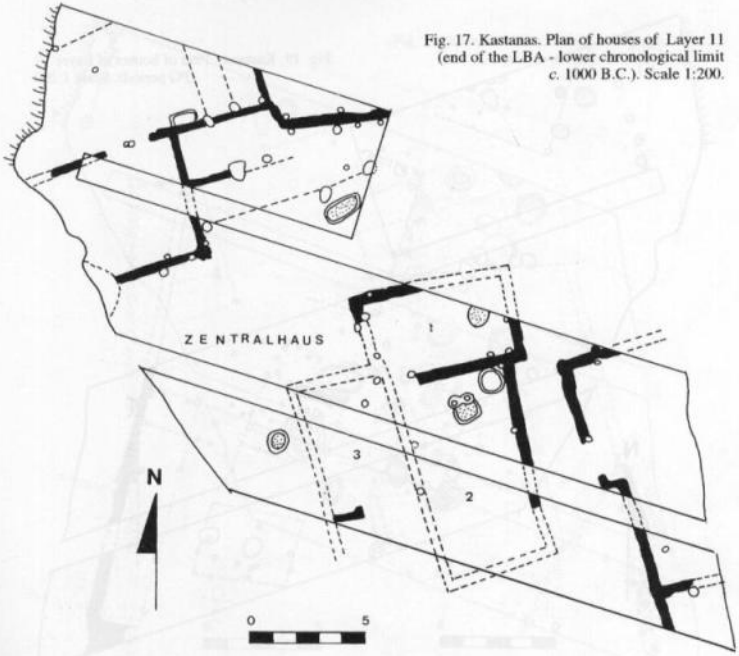


Fig. 17. Kastanas. Plan of houses of Layer 11 (end of the LBA - lower chronological limit *c.* 1000 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

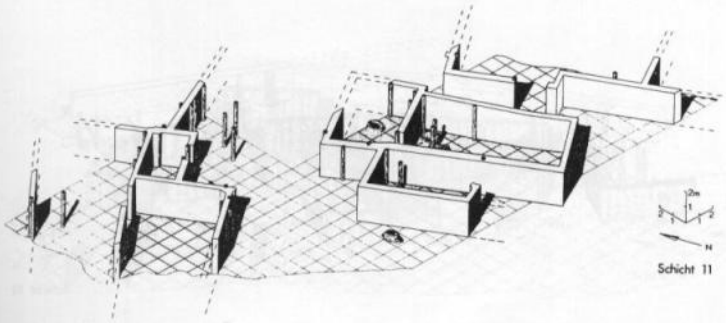
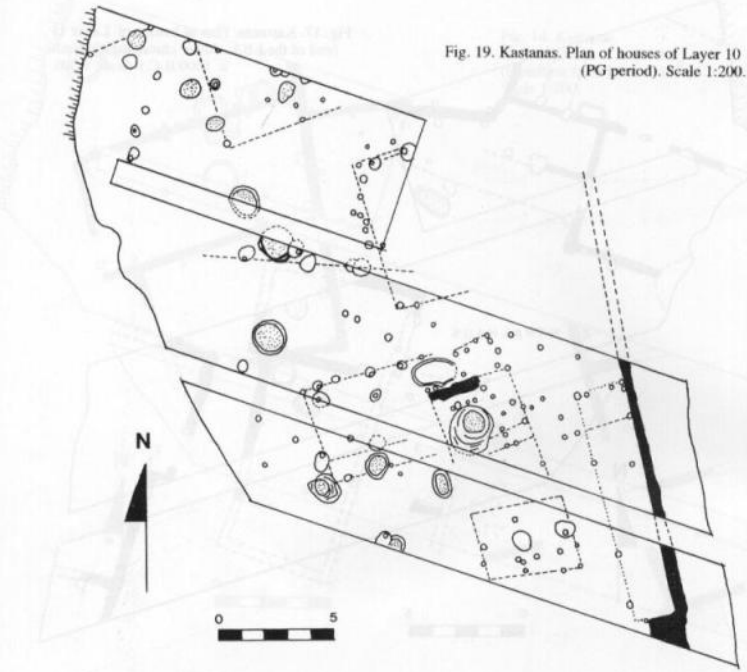


Fig. 18. Kastanas. Isometric reconstruction of houses of Layer 11.

Fig. 19. Kastanas. Plan of houses of Layer 10 (PG period). Scale 1:200.



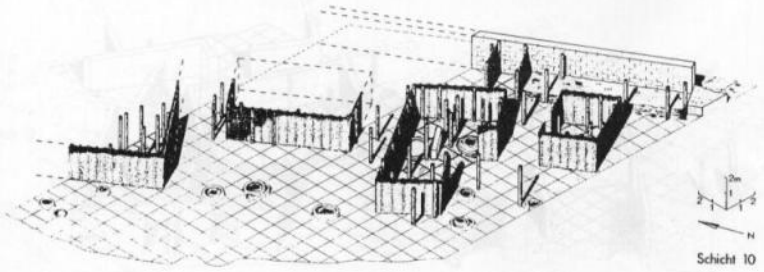
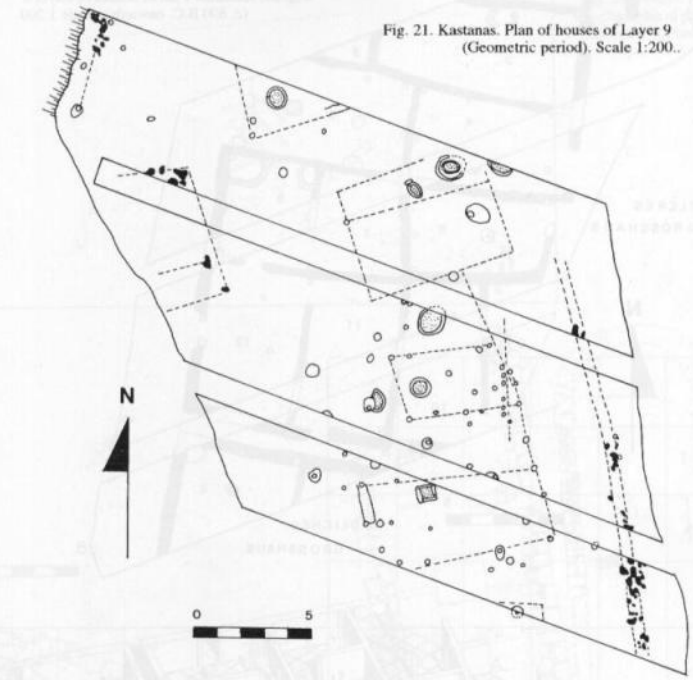


Fig. 20. Kastanas. Isometric reconstruction of houses of Layer 10.

Fig. 21. Kastanas. Plan of houses of Layer 9 (Geometric period). Scale 1:200..



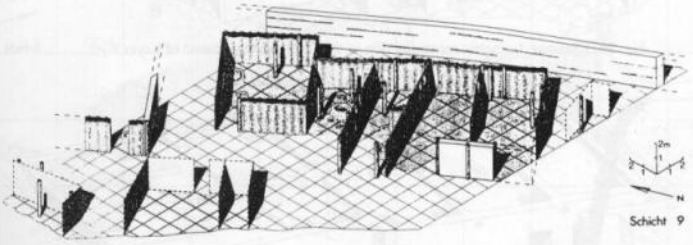


Fig. 22. Kastanas. Isometric reconstruction of houses of Layer 9.

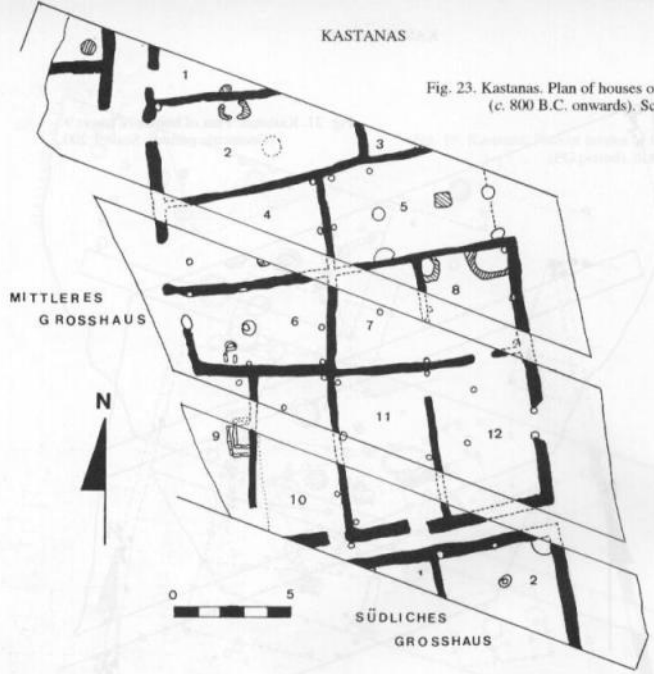


Fig. 23. Kastanas. Plan of houses of Layer 8 (c. 800 B.C. onwards). Scale 1:200.

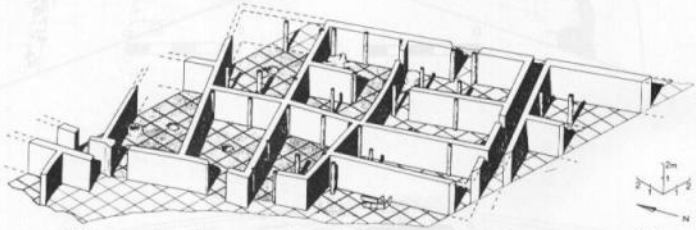


Fig. 24. Kastanas. Isometric reconstruction of the "Mittlere Grosshaus" of Layer 8.

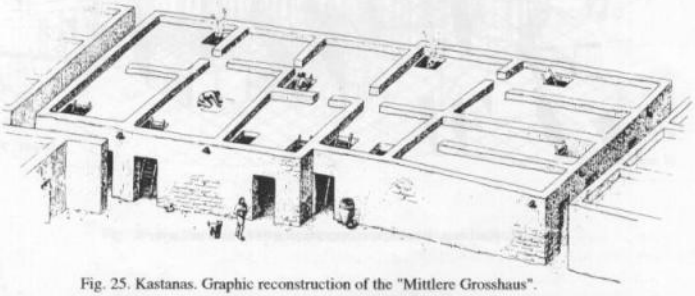


Fig. 25. Kastanas. Graphic reconstruction of the "Mittlere Grosshaus".

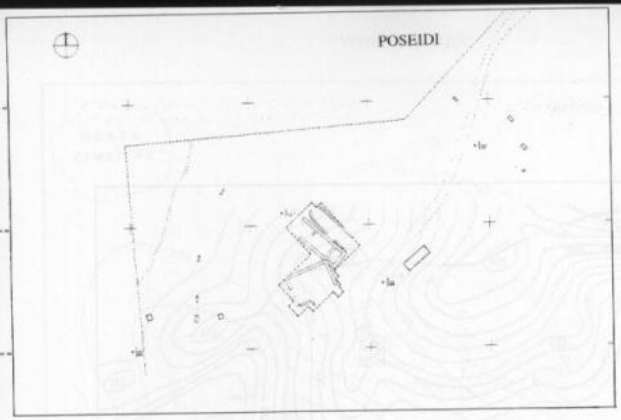


Fig. 26. Poseidi (Chalkidike). Topographical plan of the sanctuary of Poseidon.

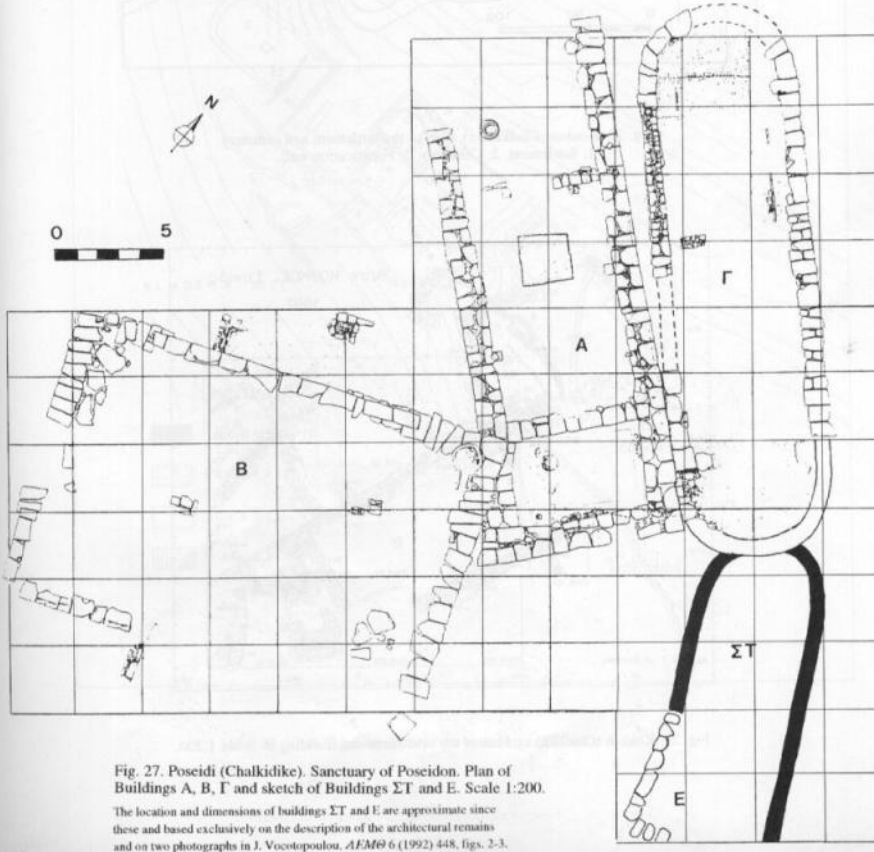


Fig. 27. Poseidi (Chalkidike). Sanctuary of Poseidon. Plan of Buildings A, B, Γ and sketch of Buildings ΣΤ and E. Scale 1:200.

The location and dimensions of buildings ΣΤ and E are approximate since these and based exclusively on the description of the architectural remains and on two photographs in J. Vocotopoulou, *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992) 448, figs. 2-3.

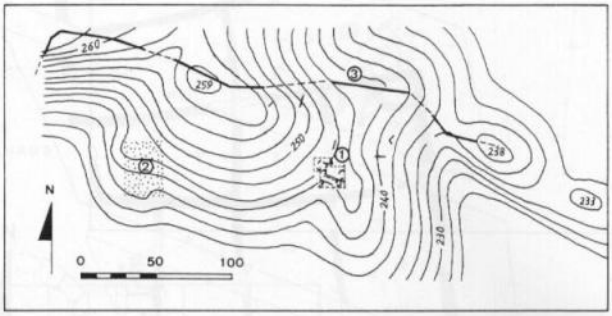


Fig. 28. Koukos (Chalkidike). Plan of the settlement and cemetery.
1: Settlement. 2: Cemetery. 3: Fortification wall.

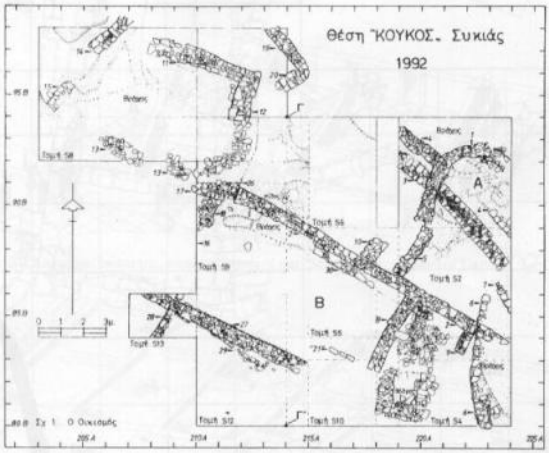


Fig. 29. Koukos (Chalkidike). Plan of the settlement and Building B. Scale 1:200.

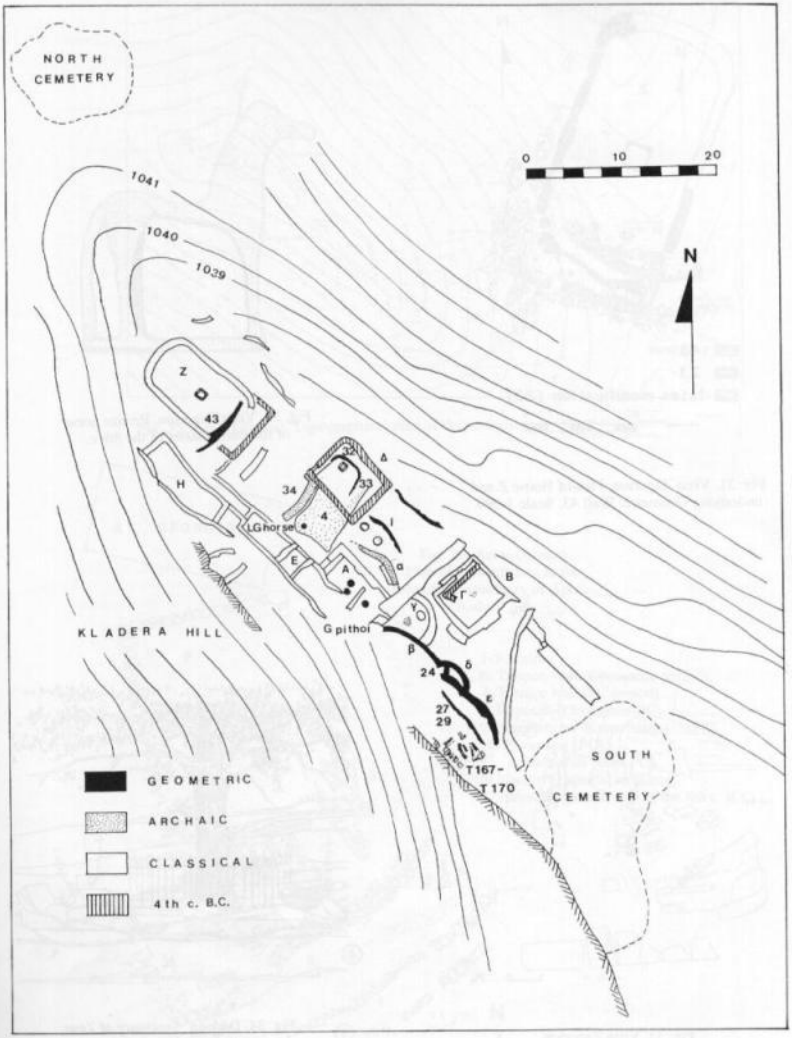


Fig. 30. Vitsa Zagoriou. Plan of the settlement (9th-4th c. B.C.).

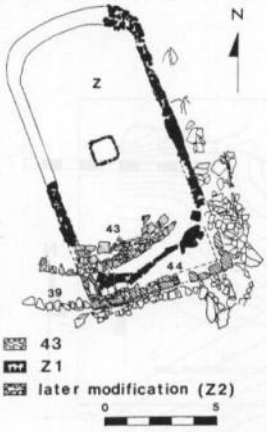


Fig. 31. Vitsa Zagoriou. Plan of House Z and underlying Geometric Wall 43. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 32. Vitsa Zagoriou. Bronze horse of the third quarter of the 8th c.

Fig. 33. Vitsa Zagoriou. Graves of the 9th c. B.C. (T167-170) inside the settlement.

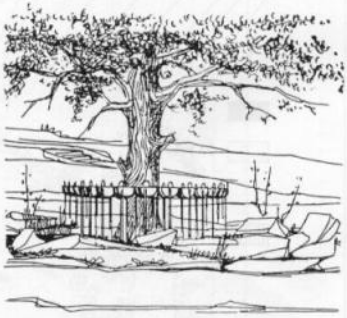


Fig. 34. Dodona. Sanctuary of Zeus. Imaginative graphic reconstruction of the area around the sacred tree in the 8th-6th c. B.C.

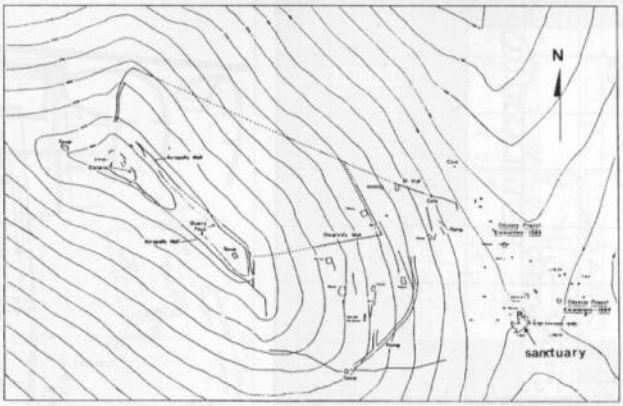


Fig. 35. Aetos (Ithaca). Topographical plan of the settlement.

Fig. 36. Aetos (Ithaca).
Plan of EIA remains in the
area of the sanctuary of Apollo.
Scale 1:200.

1-5: Cairns.
6: Terrace wall (Geometric period).
7: Terrace wall (PC period).
8: Deposits (Geometric-PC).
9. Foundations of sanctuary (?) (PC).
10: Pavement (PC).
11: Terrace wall (Late PC).
In black: PG apsidal structure?
27: possible temple wall of the 8th c. B.C.

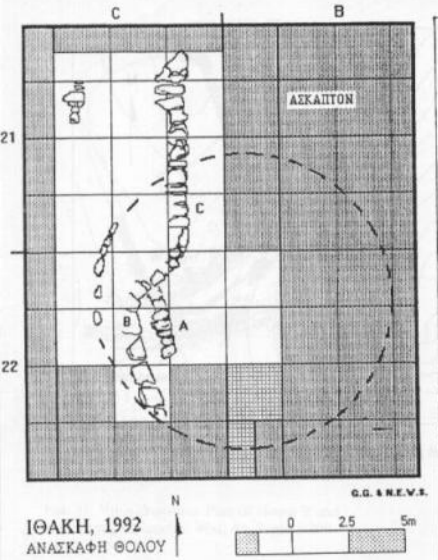


Fig. 37. Aetos (Ithaca).
Plan of the "Tholos". Scale 1:200.

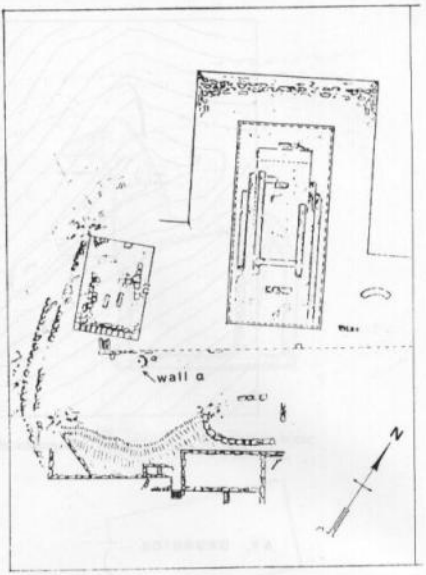


Fig. 38. Kalydon. Sanctuary
of Apollo Laphrios and Artemis Laphria.
Location of curved wall α.

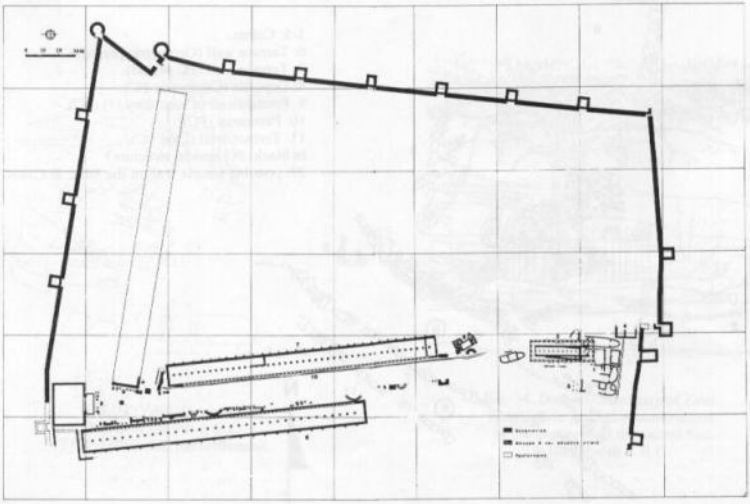


Fig. 39. Thermon. Topographical plan of the sanctuary. 1: Prehistoric buildings. 2: Temple of Apollo.

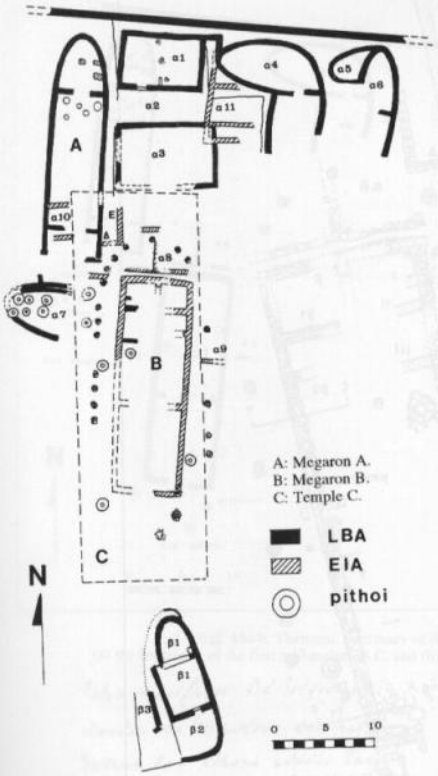


Fig. 40. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Plan of LBA and EIA architectural remains in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo.

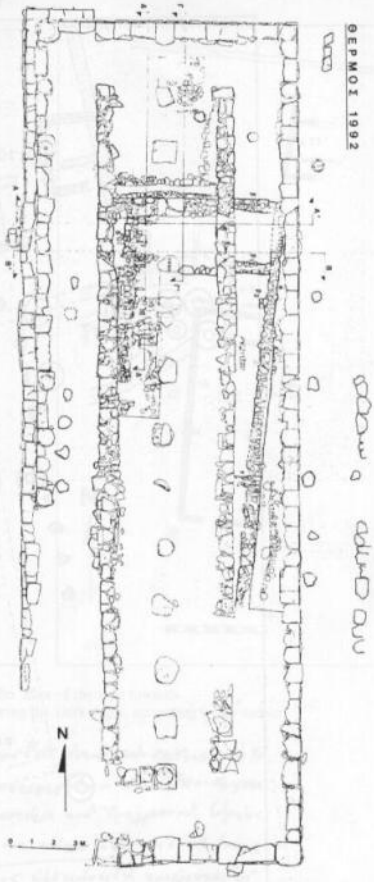


Fig. 41. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Plan of Temple C and Megaron B. Scale 1:200.

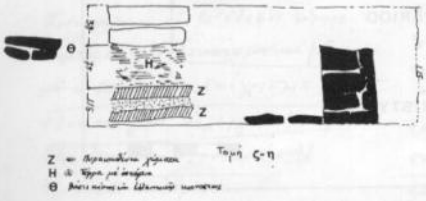


Fig. 42. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Megaron B. Rhomaios' N section, ζ-η (*cf.* Fig. 44).

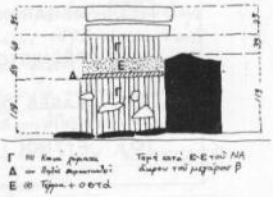


Fig. 43. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Megaron B. Rhomaios' S section ε-ε (*cf.* Fig. 44).

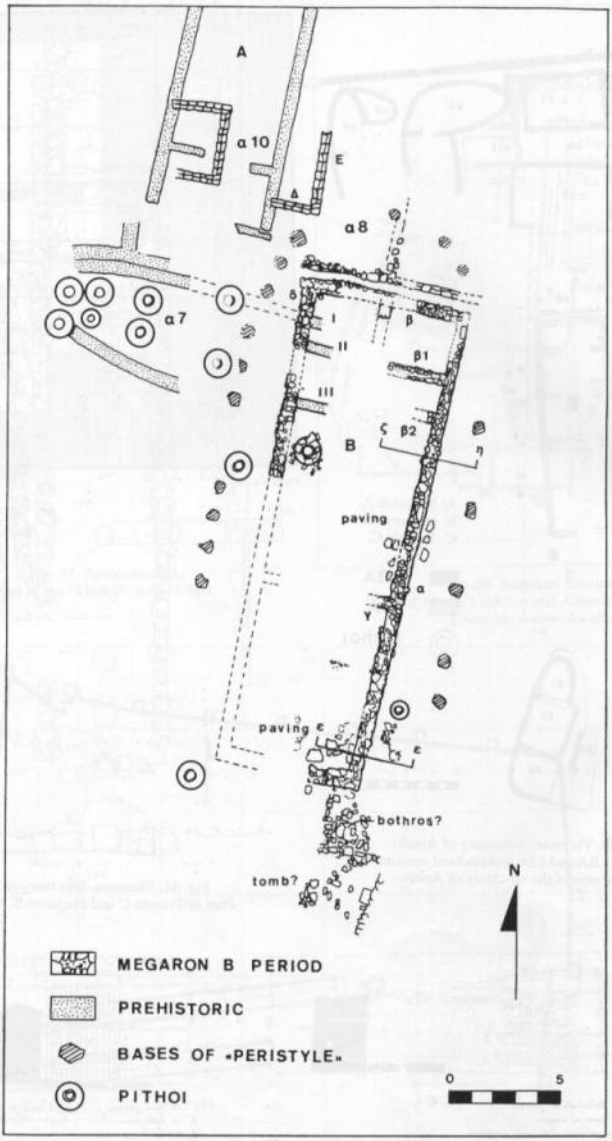


Fig. 44. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Megaron B and associated remains. Scale 1:200.

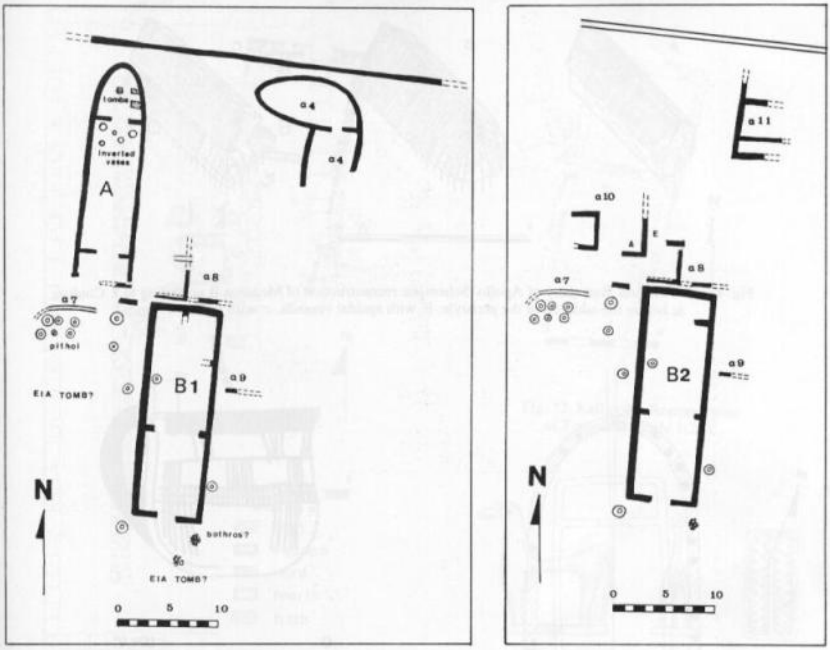


Fig. 45a-b. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Plan of the area towards
(a) the beginning of the first millennium B.C. and (b) during the Dark Ages, according to the author.

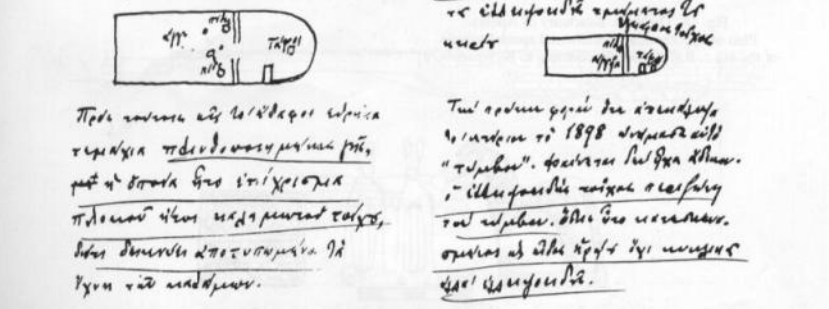


Fig. 46a-b. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Rough sketch of Megaron A by G. Soteriades (July 9 & 12, 1908).

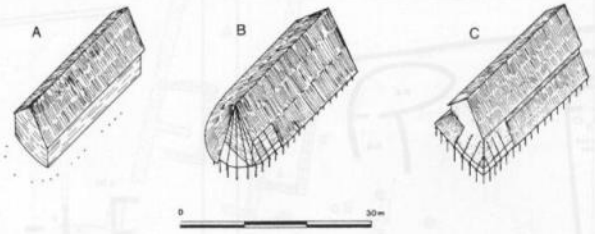


Fig. 47a-c. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Schematic reconstruction of Megaron B according to J. Coulton
a: before the addition of the peristyle. b: with apsidal veranda. c: with lean-to veranda.

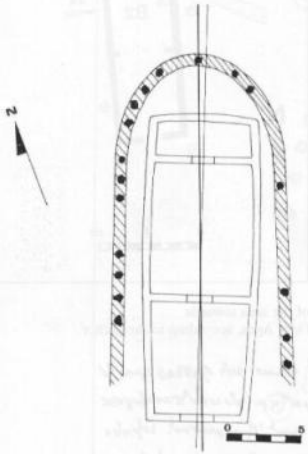


Fig. 48. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo.
Plan of hypothetical monumental apsidal temple
of the 8th c. B.C. (shaded) according to B. Wesenberg.

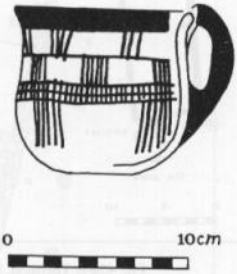


Fig. 49. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo.
PG kyathos presumably belonging to one
of the burials discovered in Megaron A.

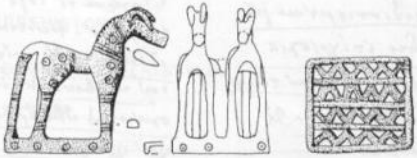


Fig. 50. Thermon. Sanctuary of Apollo. Bronze horse of the LG period.

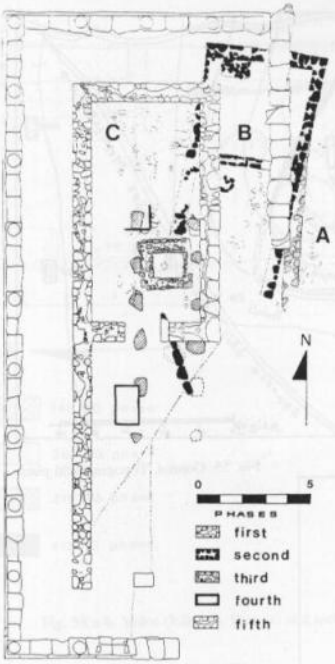


Fig. 51. Kallipolis.
Plan of Temples C (end of 4th c. B.C.: phase 5), Buildings B (LG: phase 2) and A (undated: phase 1). Phase 3: bothros with votives (Archaic and Classical). Phase 4: *escharai* in the open air (late Classical?). Scale 1:200.

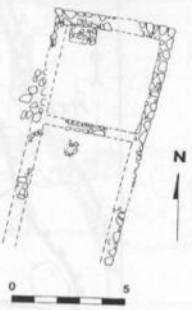


Fig. 52. Kallipolis. Restored plan of Temple B. Scale 1:200.

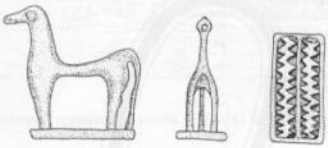


Fig. 53. Kallipolis. Bronze horse figurine from Building B. Scale 1:2.

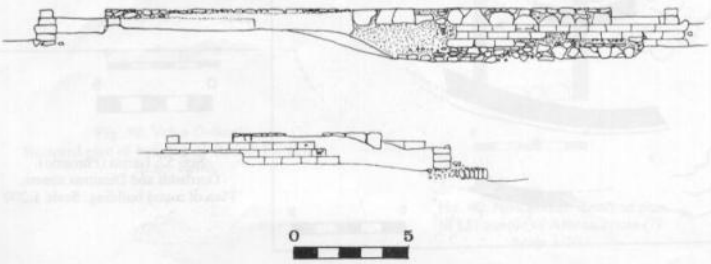


Fig. 54a-b. Kallipolis. Temples B-C. (a) Longitudinal section. (b) Cross section. Scale 1:200

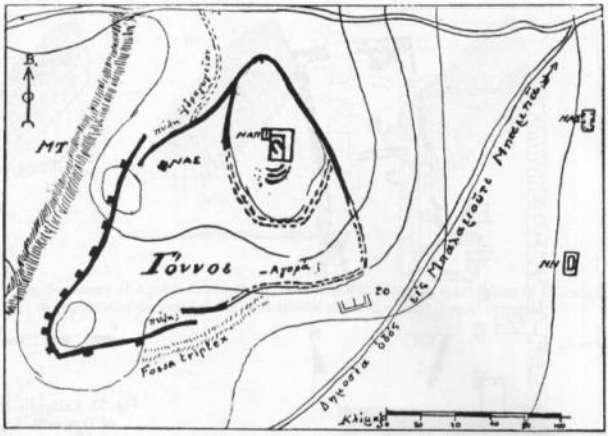


Fig. 55. Gonnoi. Topographical plan

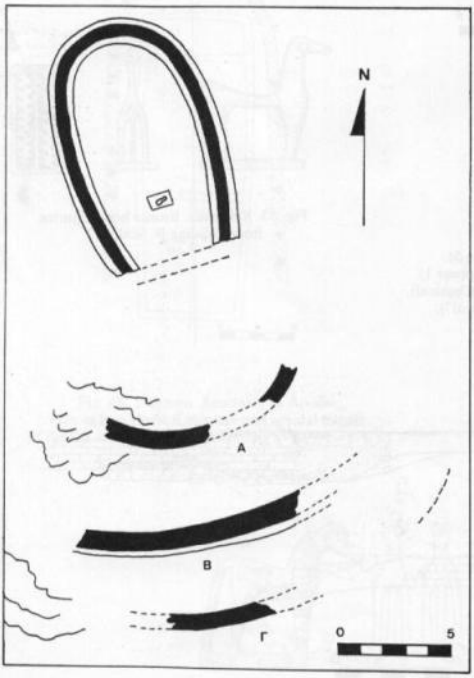


Fig. 56. Gonnoi.
Plan of horseshoe-shaped temple
and terrace walls A-Γ. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 57. Larisa (Phrourio).
Garibaldi and Dimitras streets.
Plan of round building. Scale 1:200

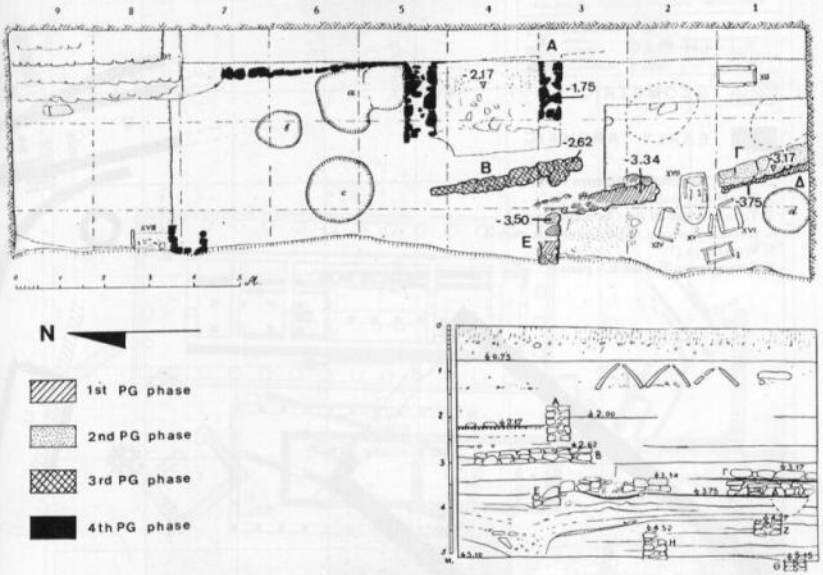


Fig. 58 a-b. Volos (Iolkos?). Plan (a) and section (b) of architectural remains and tombs of the PG period.
Scale 1:100.

Fig. 59. Volos (Iolkos?).
Restored plan of building of the last PG phase.
Scale 1:200.

Fig. 60. Neochoraki. Restored plan
of LG temple of Athena Itonia (?).
Scale 1:200.

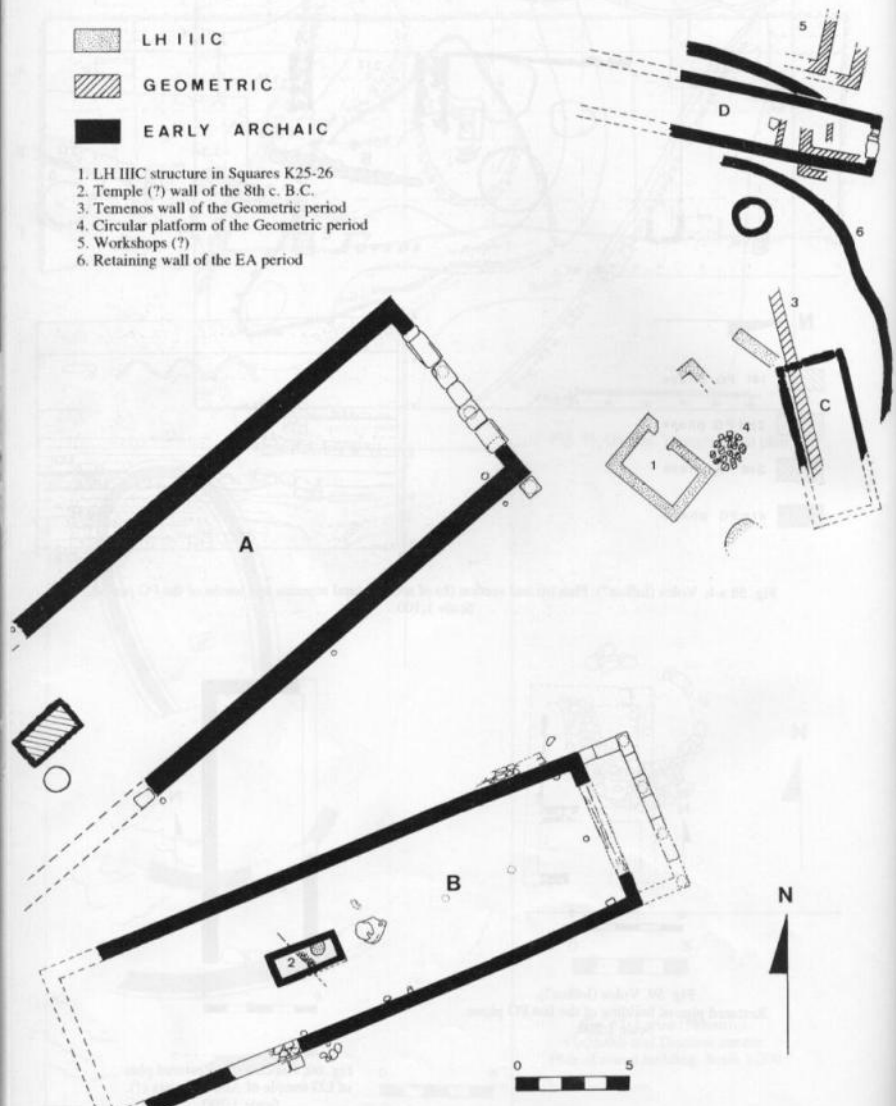


Fig. 61. Kalapodi. Plan of sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos and of Apollo (LH IIIC-EA periods)
A: Temple A; B: Temple B; C: "Ash deposit"; D: Stoa-like building. Scale 1:200.

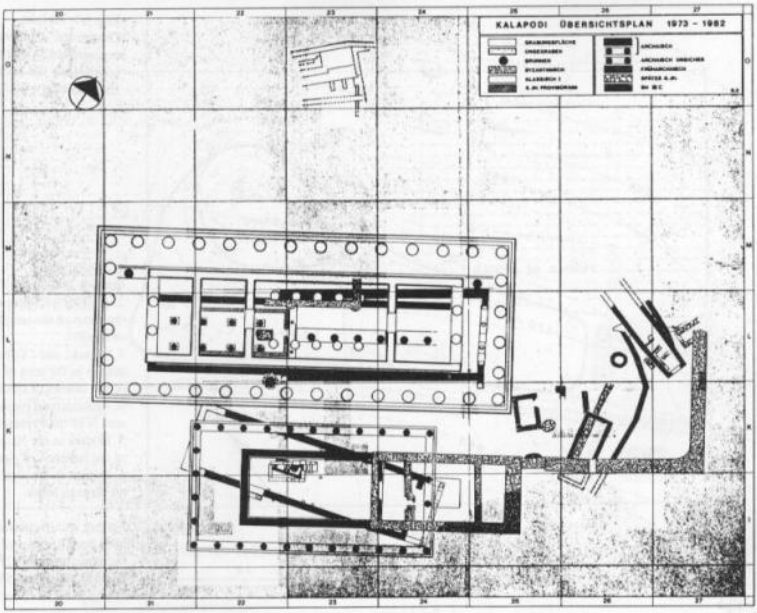


Fig. 62. Kalapodi. Plan of sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo. All periods.

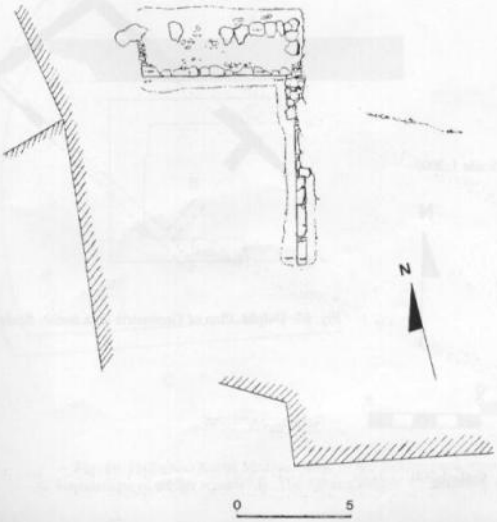


Fig. 63. Ay. Varvara, near Chryson. Plan of Archaic terrace wall (shaded) with polygonal masonry and LG/EA peribolos wall (outline). Scale 1:200.

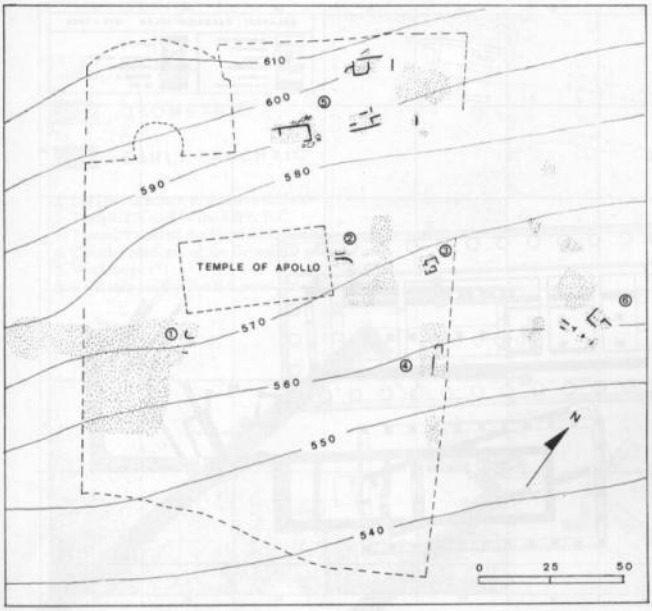


Fig. 64. Delphi. Geometric architectural remains and pottery (dotted) in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo.

1. Apsidal wall beneath Treasury XXX.
2. Apsidal wall beneath the ramp of the temple of Apollo.
3. "Black" and "Yellow" houses in the area of the base of the chariot of the Rhodians.
4. Architectural remains in the area N of the Prytaneion.
5. Houses in the NE part of the temenos of Apollo.
6. Houses in the area of the Roman baths.

Further architectural remains have been discovered in the areas between (2) and (3), E of (4) and N and SW of (6), but no plans have been published.

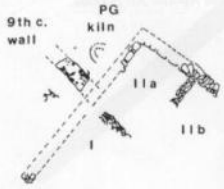


Fig. 65. Delphi. Plan of the "Black House". Scale 1:200.

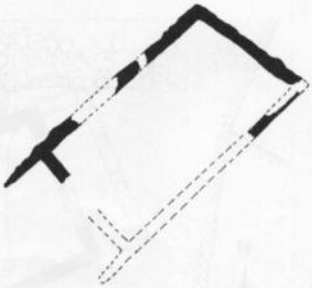


Fig. 67. Delphi. Plan of Geometric anta house. Scale 1:200.

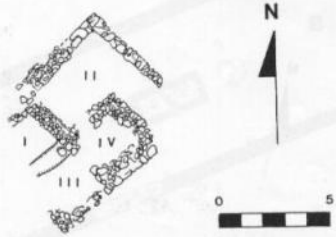


Fig. 66. Delphi. Plan of the "Yellow House". Scale 1:200.

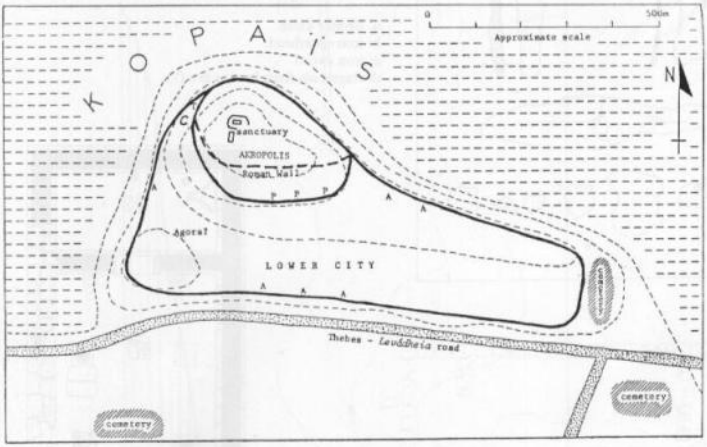


Fig. 68. Haliartos (Kastri Maziou). Topographical plan.

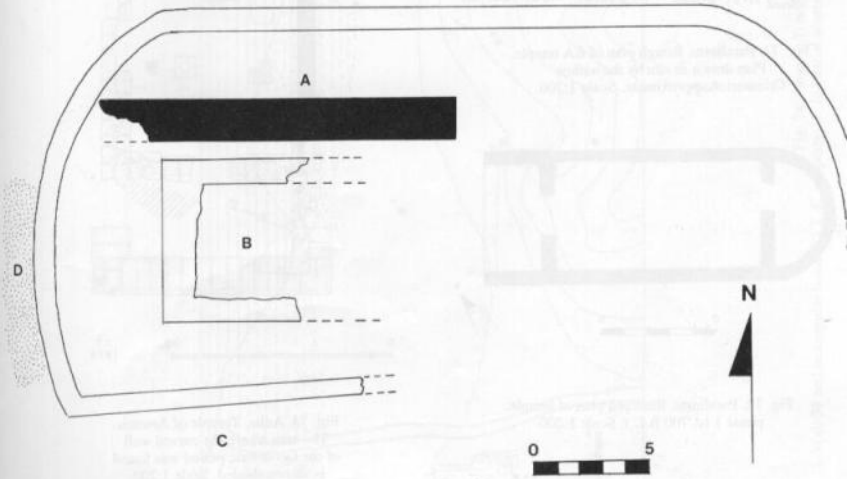


Fig. 69. Haliartos (Kastri Maziou). Plan of the architectural remains in the sanctuary of Athena
A: Foundations of earlier temple? B: The Athena temple. C: Temenos wall. D: Votive deposit. Scale 1:200.

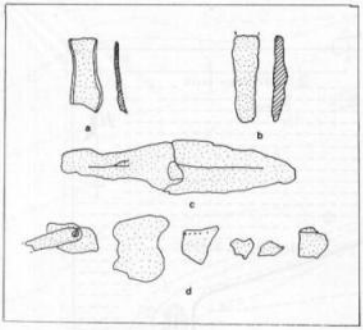


Fig. 70. Koroneia. Sanctuary of Athena Itonia (?).
Finds from LG cremation warrior burial beneath Temple A.

a: Bronze knife.
b: iron spearhead.
c: iron sword.
d: fragments from bronze urn (?).

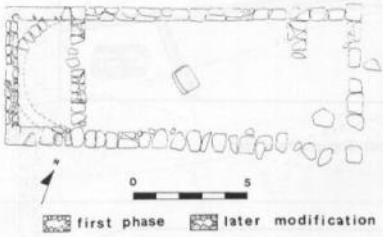


Fig. 71. Paralimni. Rough plan of EA temple.
Plan drawn *in situ* by the author.
Orientation approximate. Scale 1:200.

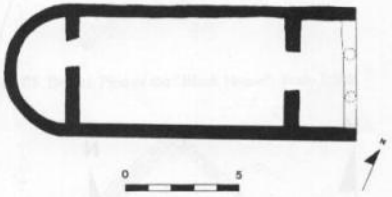


Fig. 72. Paralimni. Restored plan of temple, phase 1 (c. 700 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

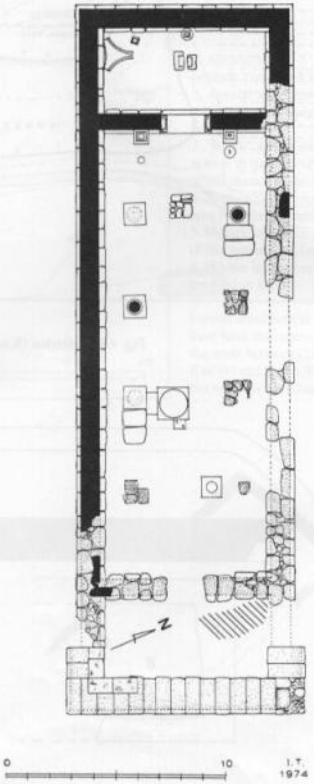


Fig. 73. Aulis. Temple of Artemis.
The area where the curved wall of the Geometric period was found is shown shaded. Scale 1:200.

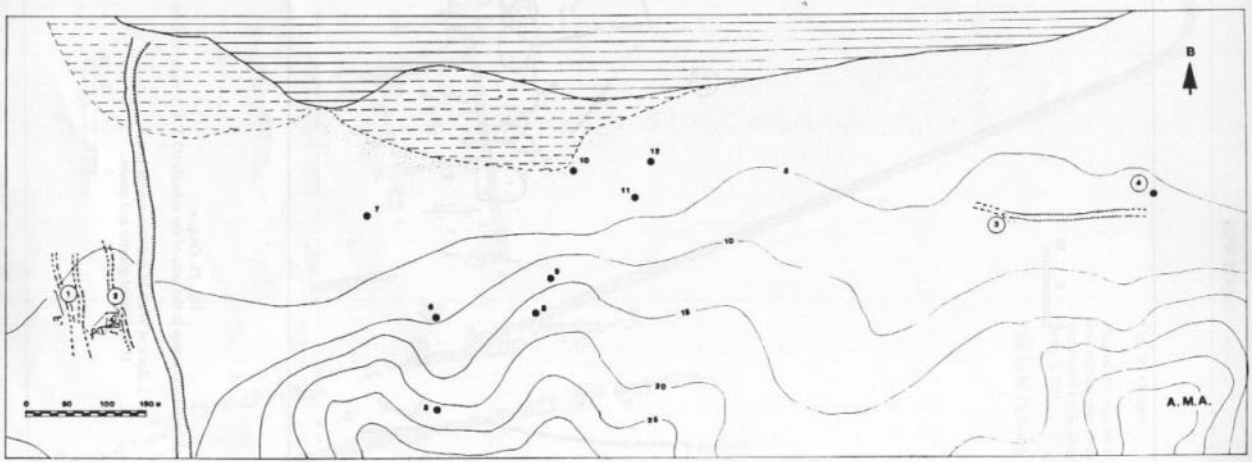


Fig. 74. Oropos. Topographical plan of Oropos in the EIA.
1. Wall 34 and rectangular house (Ο.Σ.Κ. property). 2. Industrial quarter (Ο.Σ.Κ. property). 3. Ο.Τ.Ε. property. 4. LG tomb. 5-12. Scant Geometric sherds.

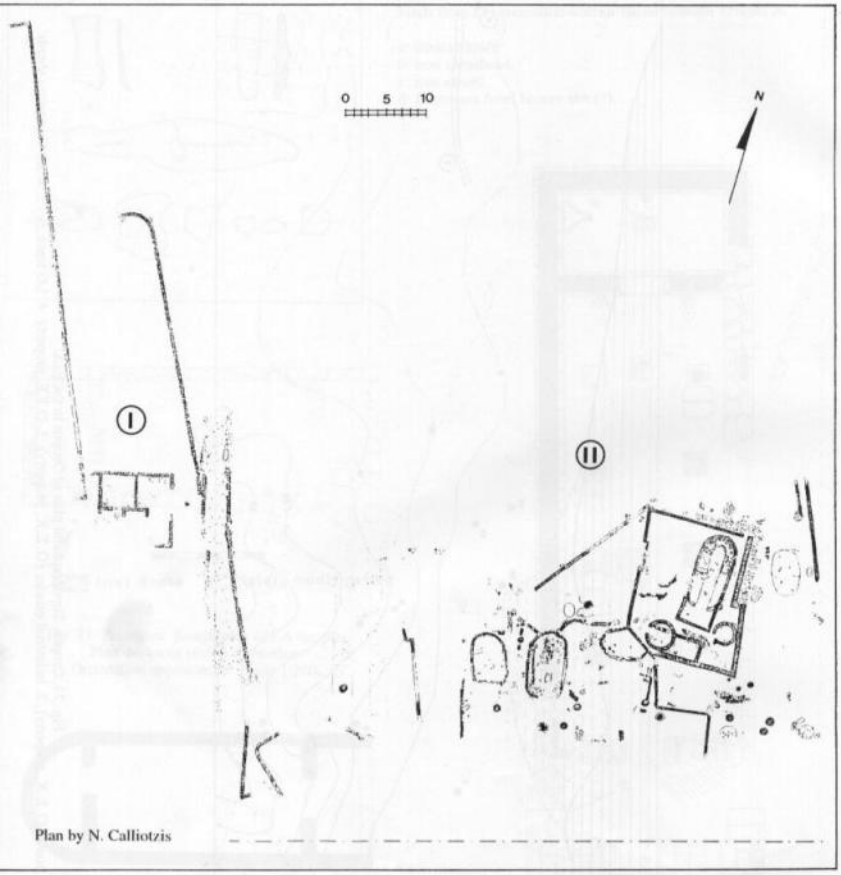


Fig. 75. Oropos.
General plan of the architectural remains in the area of the schools (Ο.Σ.Κ.) excavated by A. Dragona.

I. Area of Wall 34 and rectangular house.
II. Industrial quarter and tombs.

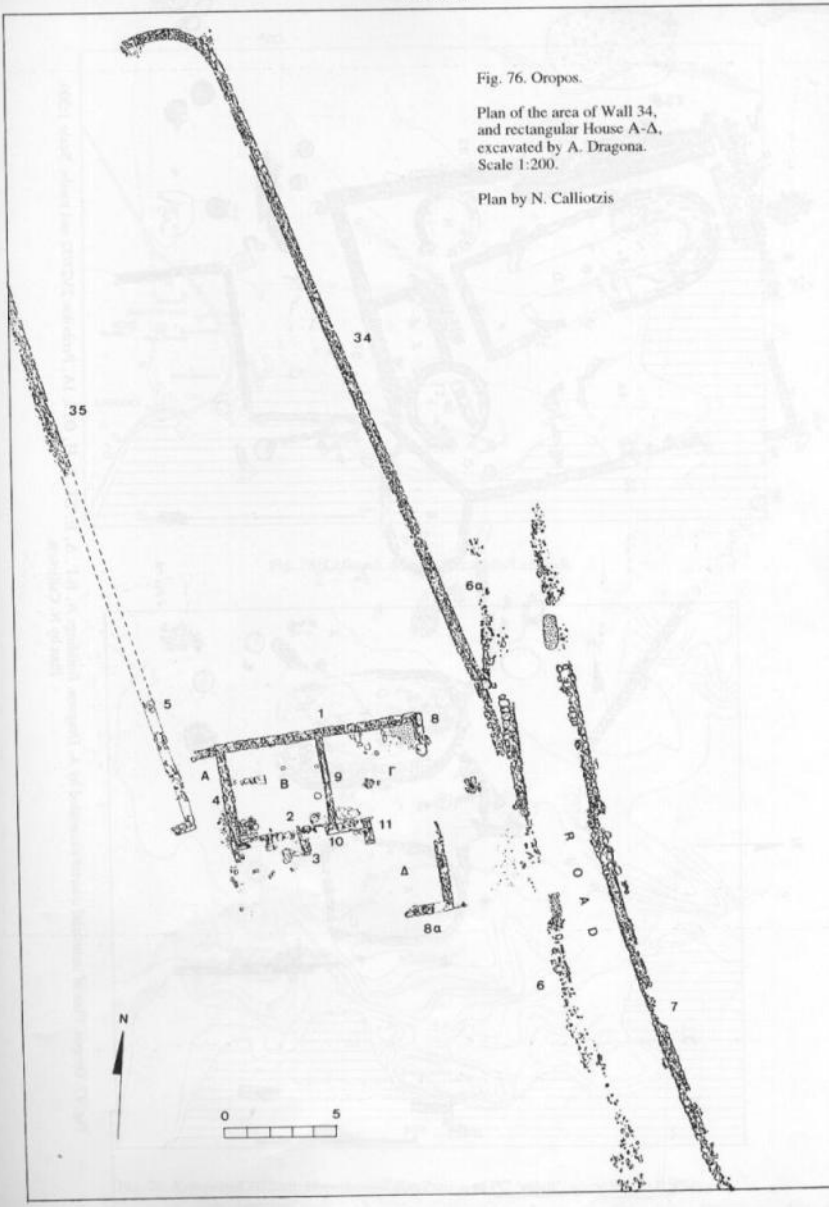


Fig. 76. Oropos.

Plan of the area of Wall 34, and rectangular House A-Δ, excavated by A. Dragona. Scale 1:200.

Plan by N. Calliotzis

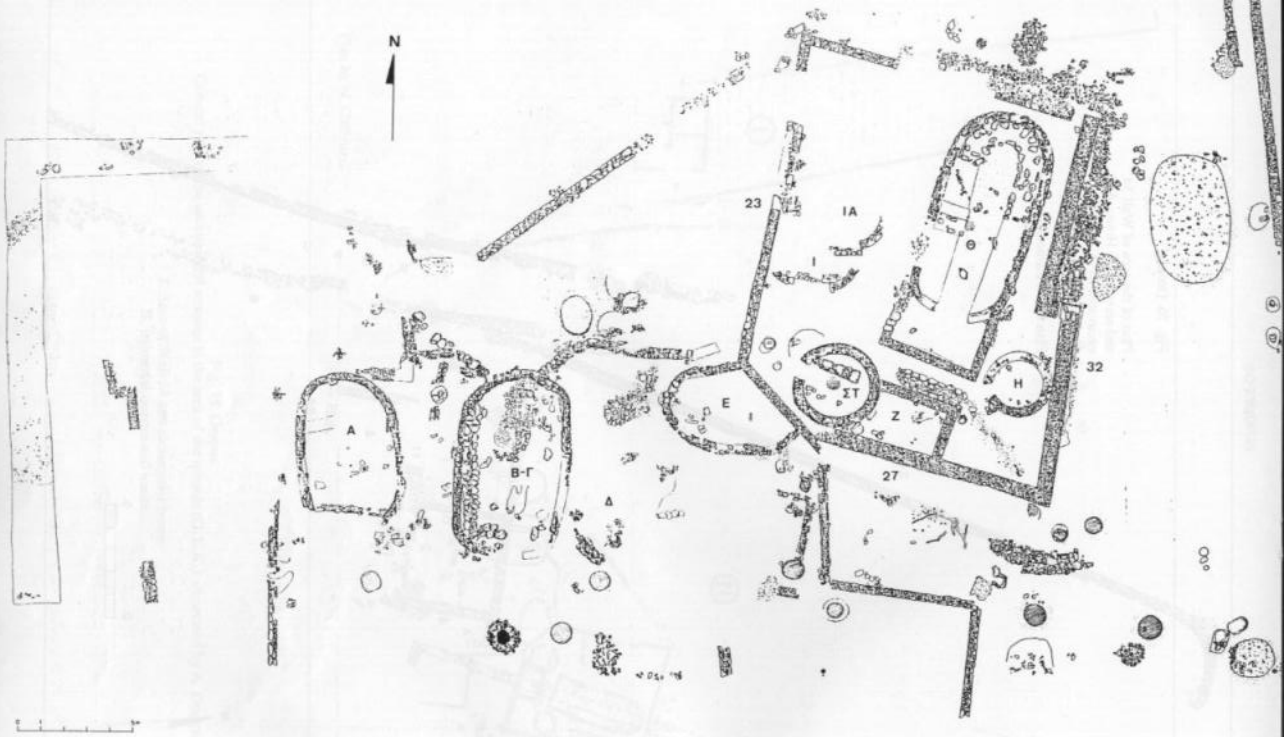


Fig. 77. Oropos. Plan of industrial quarter excavated by A. Dragona. Buildings A, B-Γ, Δ, E, ΣΤ, Z, H, Θ, I, IA, Peribolos 23/27/32 and tombs. Scale 1:200. Plan by N. Calliotzis.

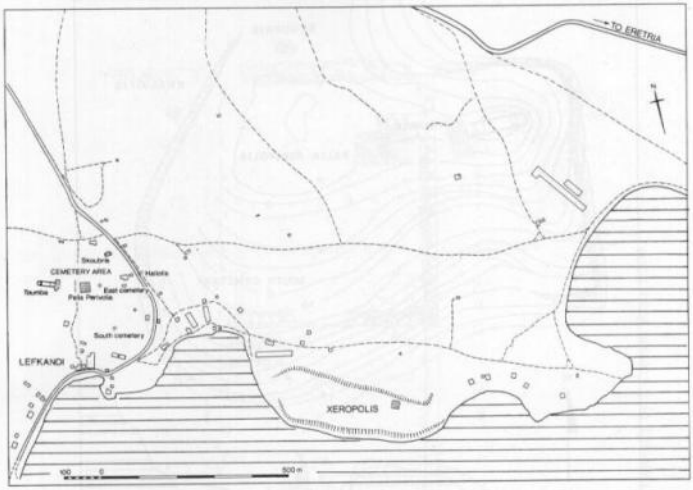


Fig. 78. Lefkandi. Map of Xeropolis/Lefkandi.

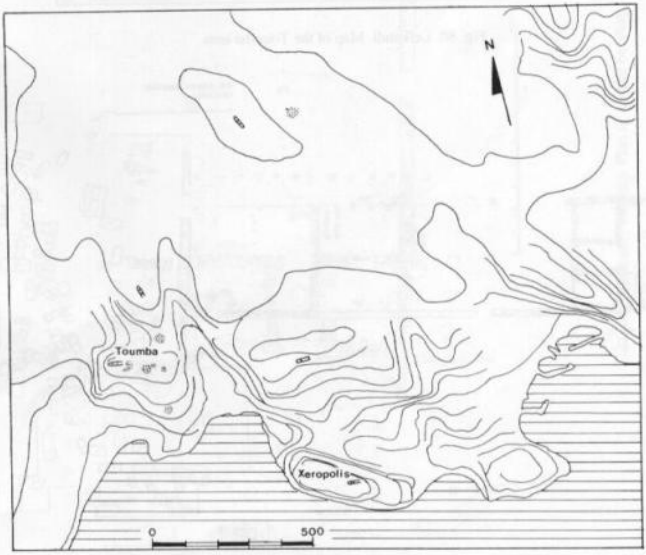


Fig. 79. Xeropolis/Lefkandi. Hypothetical distribution of PG "oikoi", according to P. Calligas.

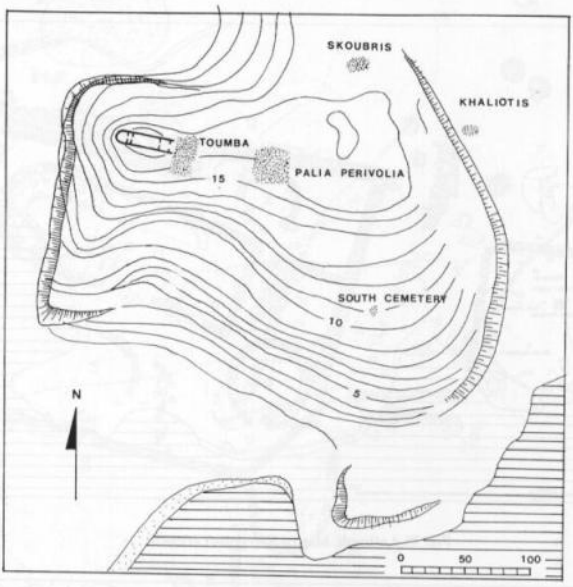


Fig. 80. Lefkandi. Map of the Toumba area.

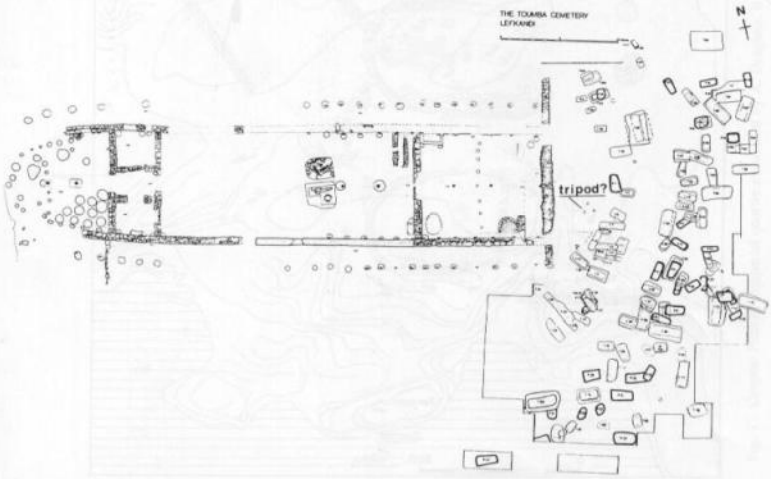


Fig. 81. Lefkandi, Toumba. Plan of "Heroön" (*c.* 1000-950 B.C.) and cemetery (c. 950–825/800 B.C.).

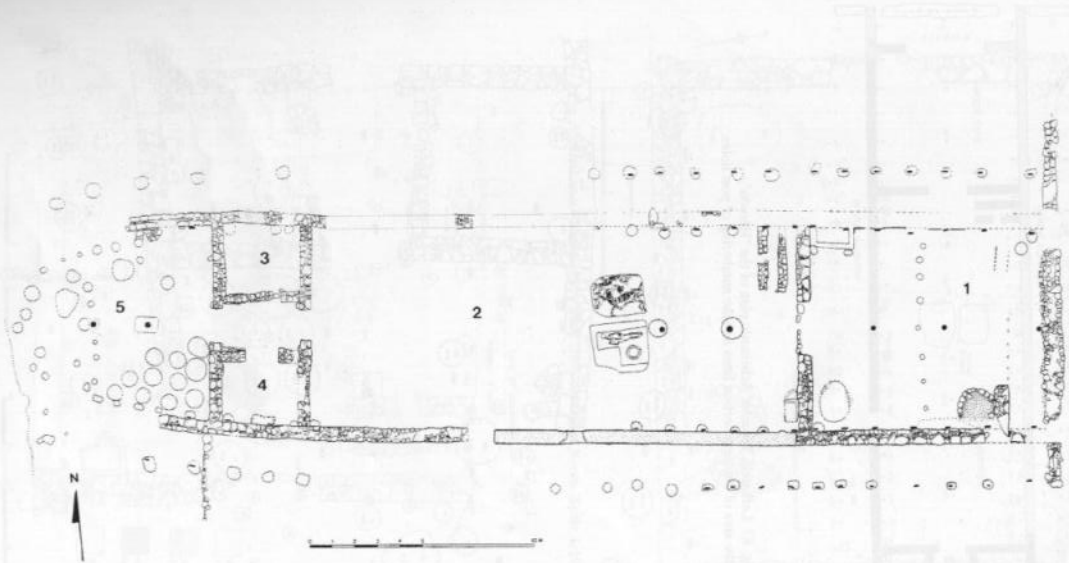


Fig. 82. Lefkandi, Toumba. Plan of apsidal building (so-called "Heroön"), by J. Coulton. Scale 1:200.

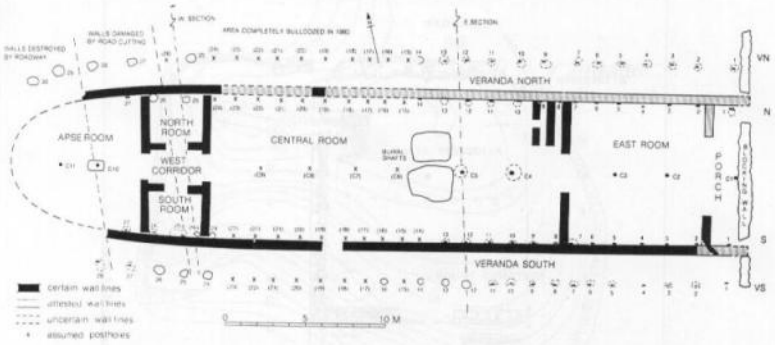


Fig. 83. Lefkandi, Toumba. Schematic plan of the "Heroön", showing the area of damage, section lines and the numbering of post holes.

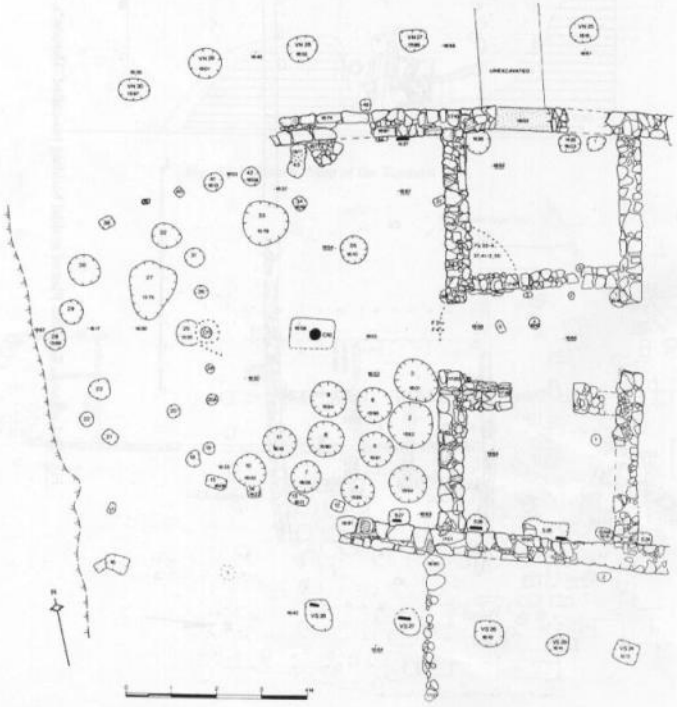


Fig. 84. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). Apsidal end. Scale 1:100.

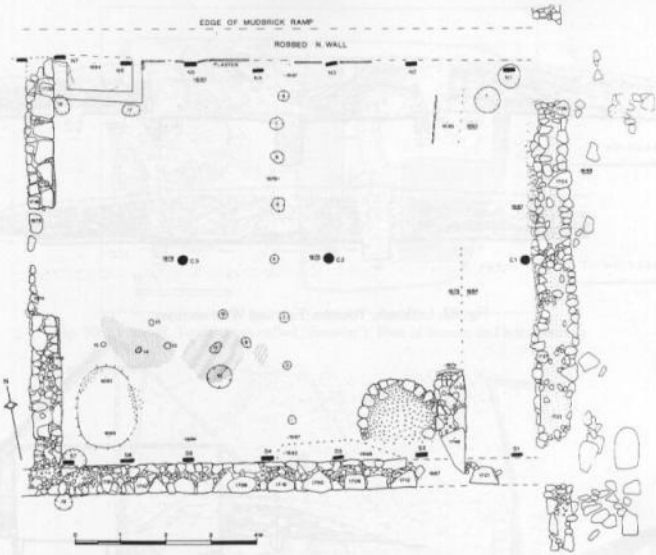


Fig. 85. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). East Room. Scale 1:100.

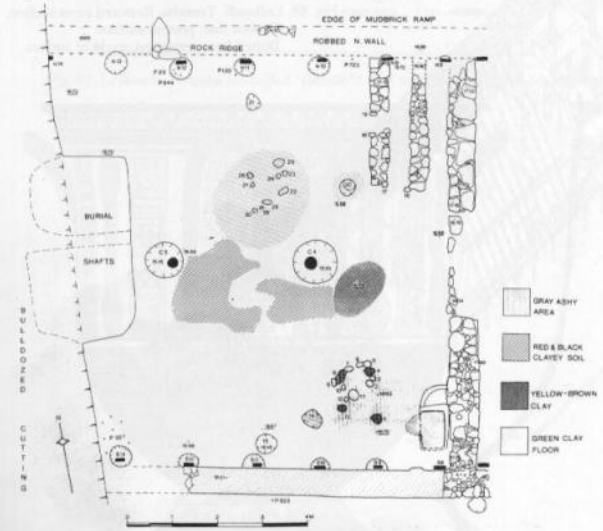


Fig. 86. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). East half of Central Room. Scale 1:100.

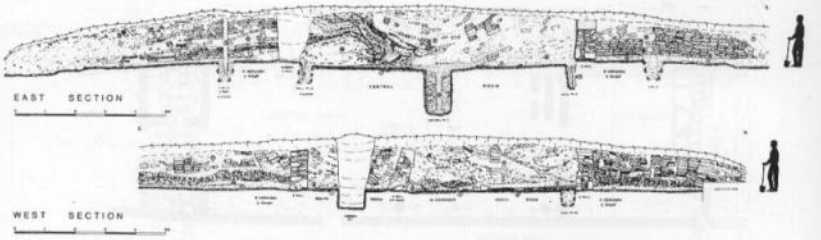


Fig. 87. Lefkandi, Toumba. East and West sections.

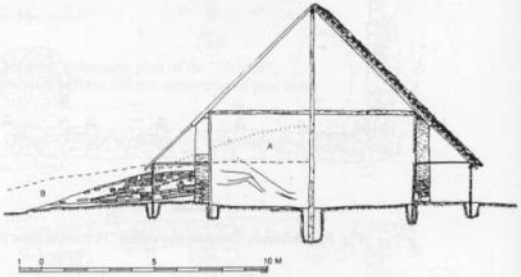


Fig. 88. Lefkandi. Toumba. Restored cross section.
Broken line: present surface.
Dotted line: presumed origin of surface.

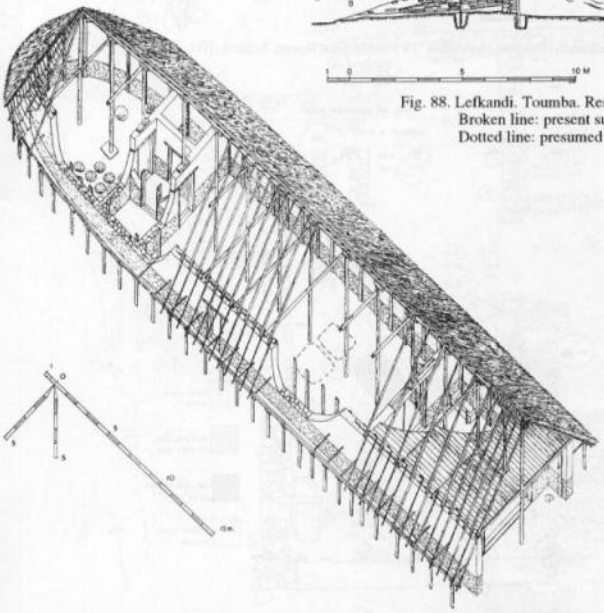


Fig. 89. Lefkandi, Toumba. Graphic restoration of the apsidal building by J. Coulton.

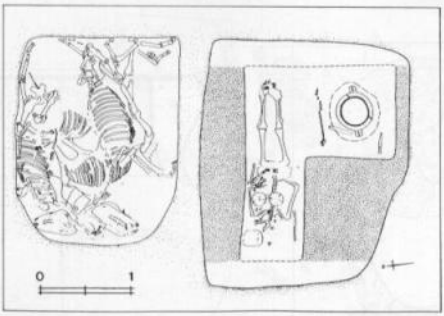


Fig. 90. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). Plan of human and horse burials.

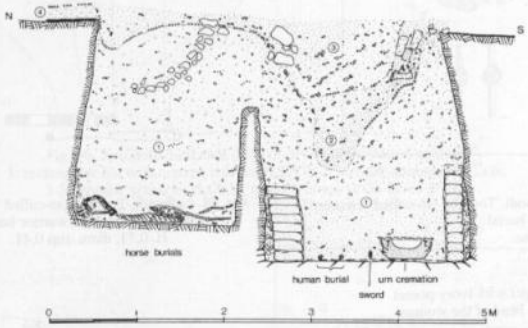


Fig. 91. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). N-S section through the burial pits.

Fig. 92. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). Krater. H. 0,80, diam. rim 0,88.

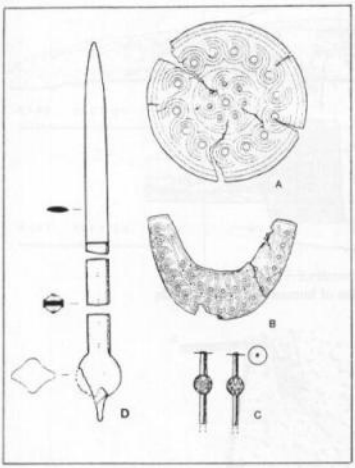


Fig. 93a-d. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). Jewels of female burial
A: gold breast disc.
B: gold "pectoral".
C: gilt iron pins,
and (D) iron dagger with ivory pomel found next to the head of the woman.

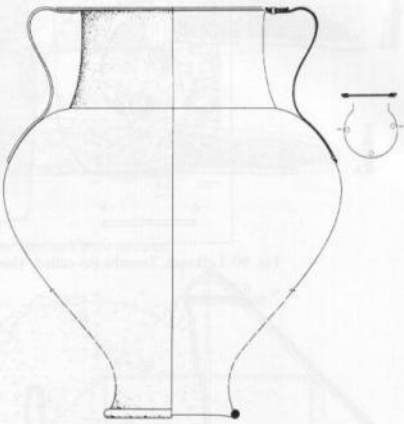


Fig. 94. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). Bronze ash urn from warrior burial. H. 0,71, diam. rim 0,41.

Fig. 95. Lefkandi, Toumba (so-called "Heroön"). The decorated rim and handles of the bronze ash urn.

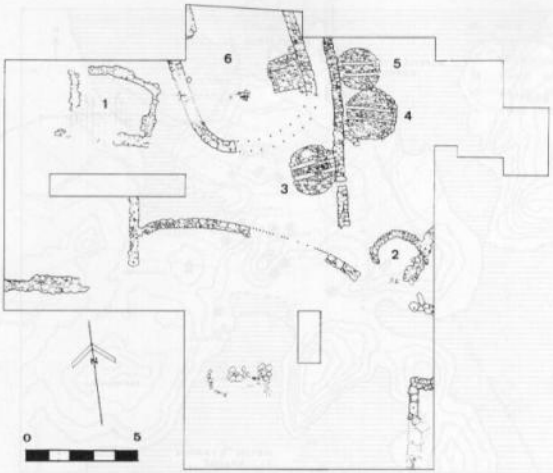


Fig. 96. Xeropolis/Lefkandi. Plan of SPG-LG habitation quarter.
1: rectangular hut with convex rear wall (SPG); 2: circular animal pen (LG);
3-5: circular granaries (LG); 6: oval (?) house (LG). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 97. Xeropolis/Lefkandi.
Restored plan of oval (?) hut. Scale 1:200.

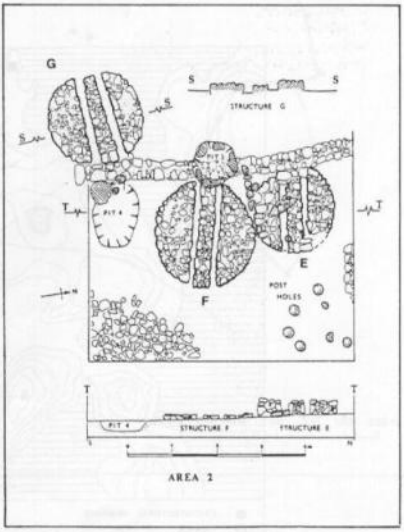


Fig. 98. Xeropolis/Lefkandi.
Plan of circular pavings. Scale 1:100.

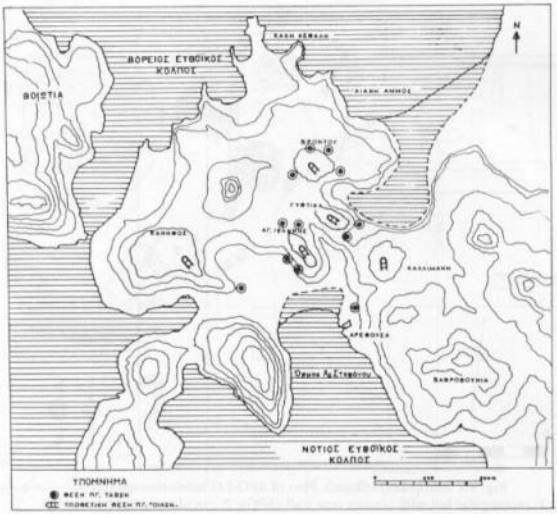


Fig. 99. Chalcis. Map. Hypothetical distribution of PG "oikoi", according to P. Calligas.

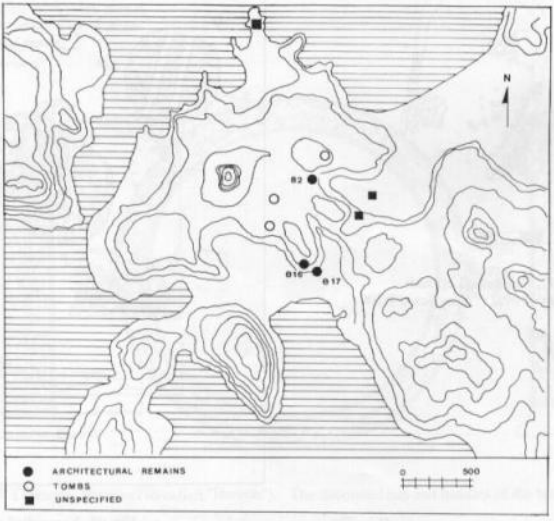


Fig. 100. Chalcis. Map. Remains of the Geometric period.

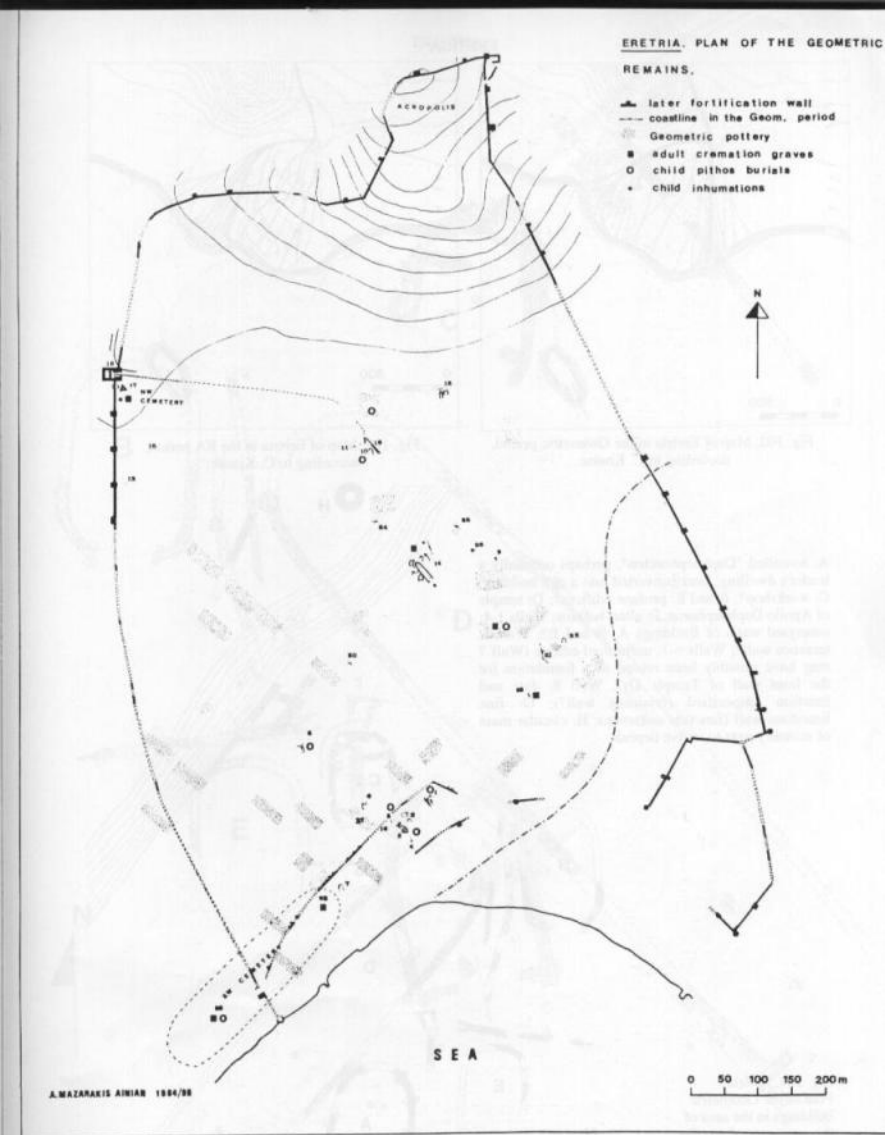


Fig. 101. Eretria. Plan of the Geometric remains.

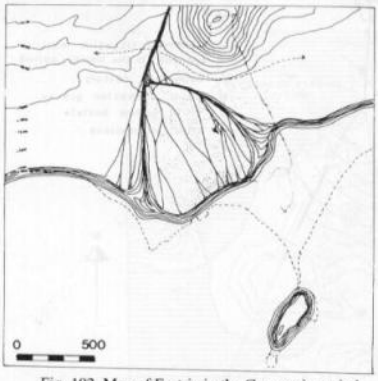


Fig. 102. Map of Eretria in the Geometric period, according to C. Krause.

Fig. 103. Map of Eretria in the EA period, according to C. Krause.

A: so-called "Daphnephoreion", perhaps originally a leader's dwelling, later converted into a cult building; C: workshop?; B and E: profane edifices?; D: temple of Apollo Daphnephoros; F: altar/ bothros; Walls 1-4: courtyard walls of Buildings A, B and E?; Wall 5: temenos wall?; Walls 6-7: unfinished edifice (Wall 7 may have possibly been reused as a foundation for the front wall of Temple D)?; Wall 8: date and function unspecified (retaining wall?); G: fine limestone wall (function unknown); H: circular mass of masonry next to votive deposit.

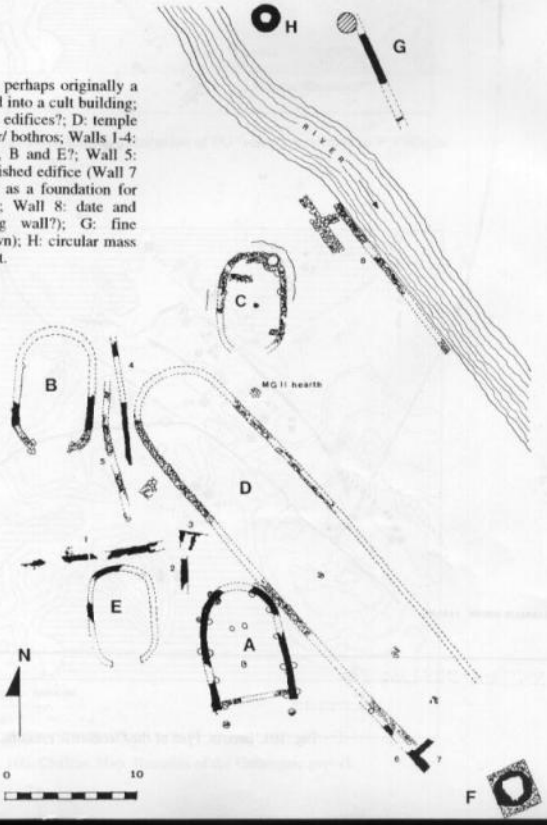


Fig. 104. Eretria. Plan of the Geometric buildings in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo and tentative attempt to distinguish between earlier and later building phases.

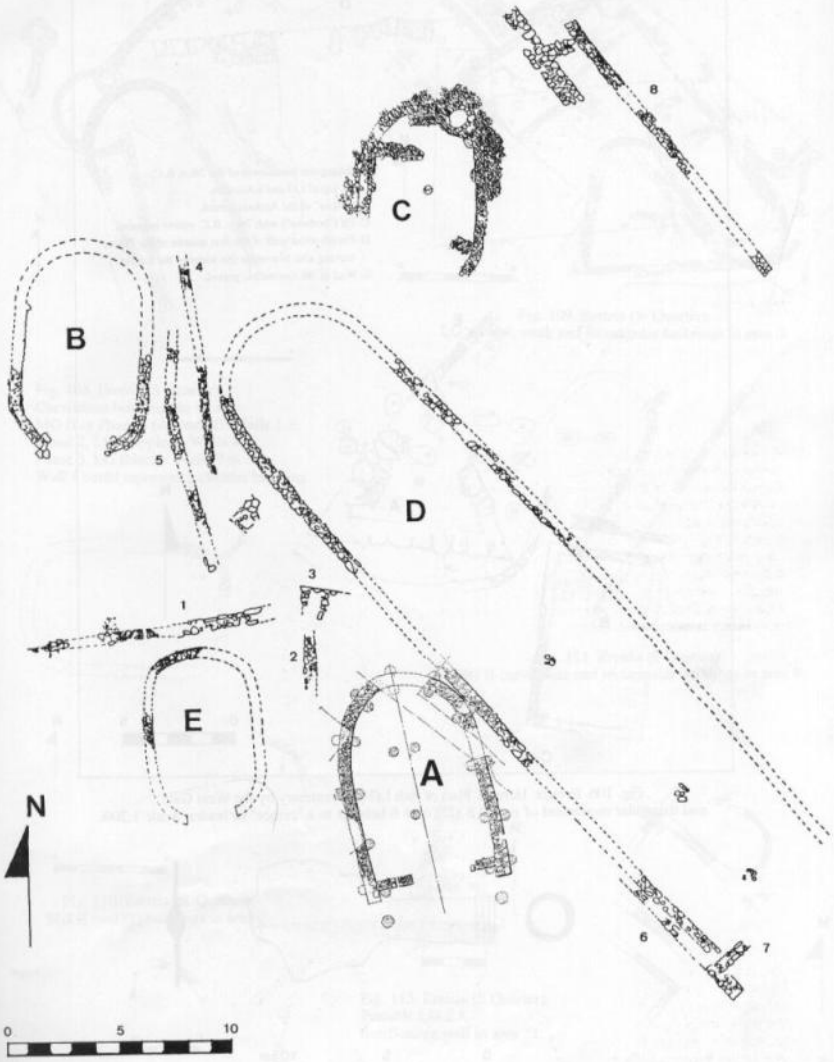


Fig. 105. Eretria. Sanctuary of Apollo. Plan of Buildings A-E. Scale 1:200.

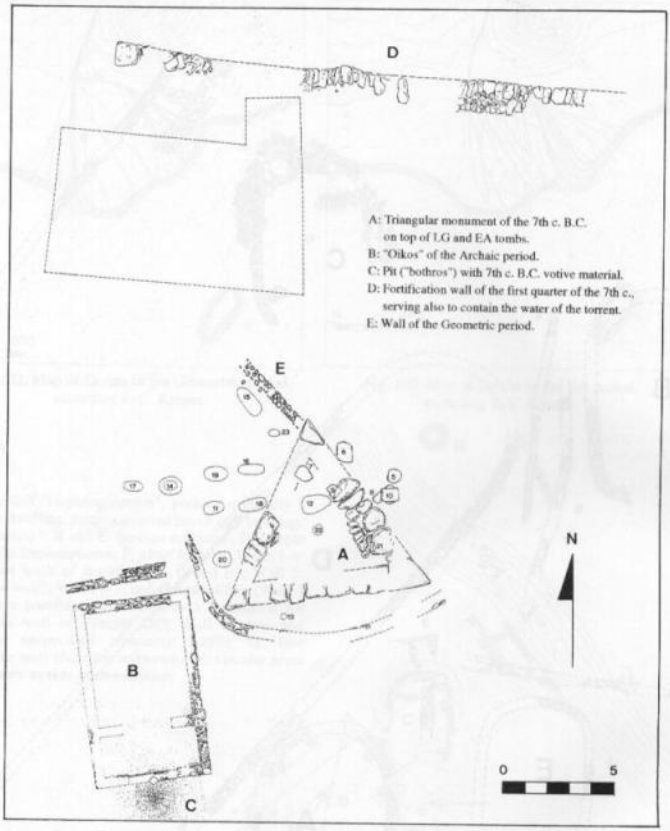

D
A: Triangular monument of the 7th c. B.C.
on top of LG and EA tombs.
B: "Oikos" of the Archaic period.
C: Pit ("bothros") with 7th c. B.C. votive material.
D: Fortification wall of the first quarter of the 7th c.,
serving also to contain the water of the torrent.
E: Wall of the Geometric period.
E
A
B
C
N
0
5

Fig. 106. Eretria. Heroön. Plan of rich LG-EA cemetery by the West Gate and triangular monument of *c.* 680 B.C. Tomb 6 belongs to a "prince" or leader. Scale 1:200.

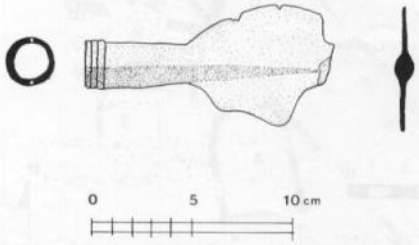


Fig. 107. Eretria. Heroön. Mycenaean spearhead from Tomb 6.

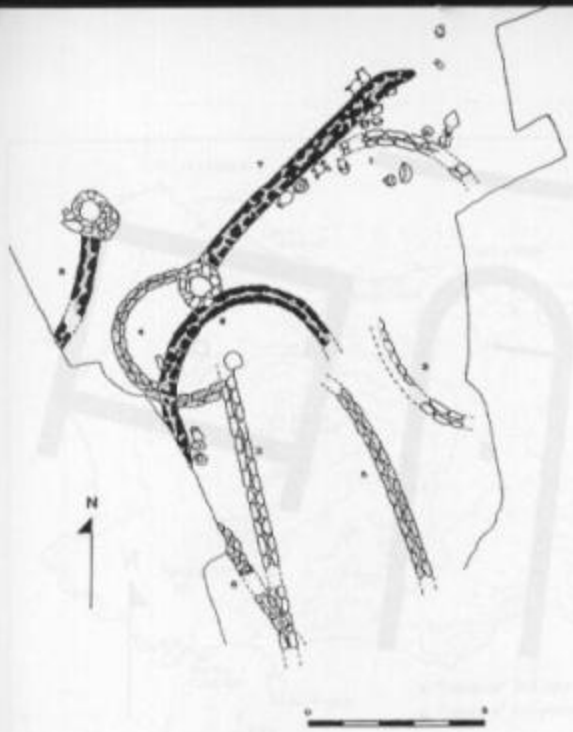


Fig. 108. Eretria (S Quarter).
Curvilinear buildings in area 1.
MG II or Phase 1 (unshaded): Walls 1-3.
Phase 2, LG (stippled): Walls 4-6.
Phase 3, LG (black): Walls 7-9.
Wall 4 could represent a circular building.

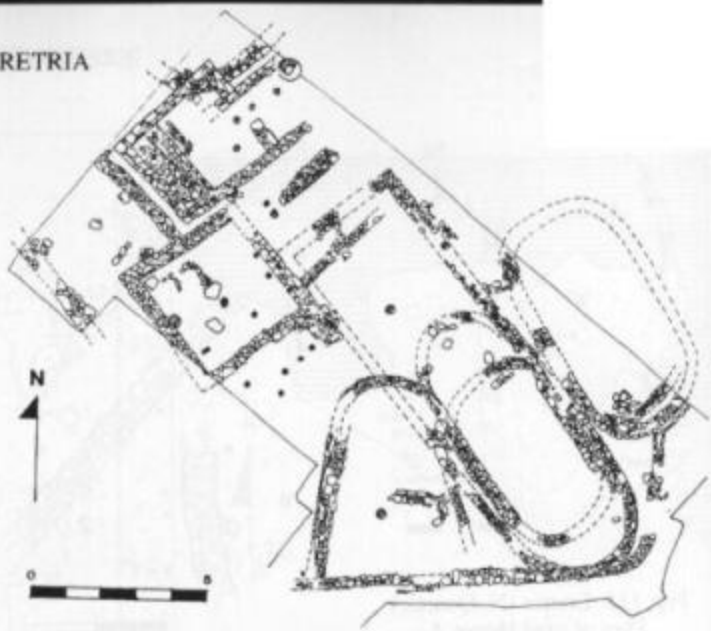
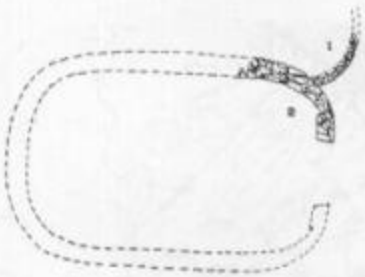


Fig. 109. Eretria (S. Quarter).
LG apsidal, oval, and rectangular buildings in area 3.



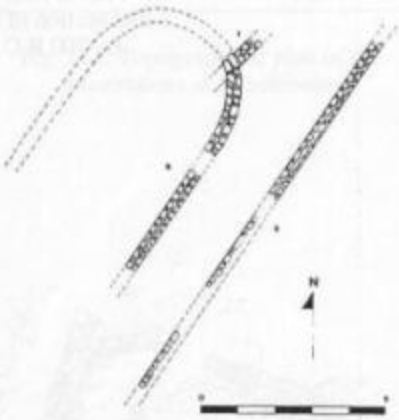


Fig. 111. Eretria (S Quarter).
MG II curvilinear and rectangular buildings in area 8.

Fig. 110. Eretria (S. Quarter).
MG II oval (?) buildings in area 2.

Fig. 113. Eretria (S Quarter).
Possible LG-EA
fortification wall in area 21.

Fig. 112. Eretria (S Quarter).
Curved wall in area 20.

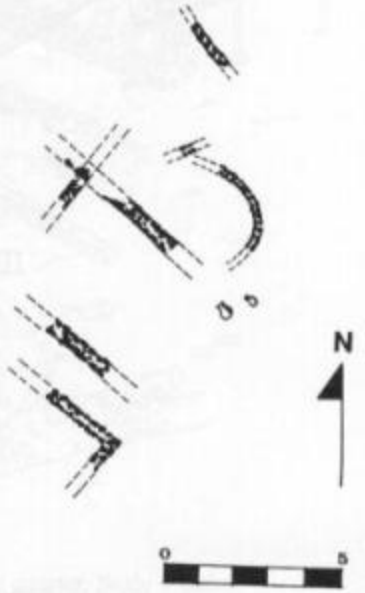


Fig. 114. Eretria (S. Quarter).
LG curved wall and rectilinear walls in area

Scale 1:200

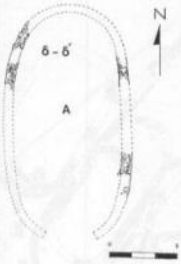


Fig. 115. Eretria (N. Quarter). Plan of oval House A (c. 725 B.C.) in area 10/19.

Scale 1:200

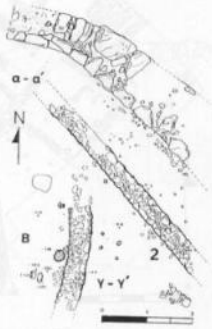


Fig. 116. Eretria (N Quarter). Plan of oval (?) Building B and section of fortification wall (c. 700 B.C.). Scale 1:100

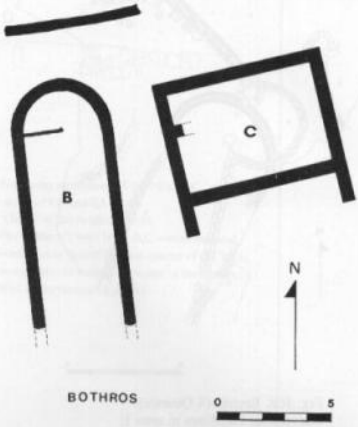


Fig. 117. Eretria (N Quarter). Buildings B and C in area 12. (c. 700 B.C.). Scale 1:200

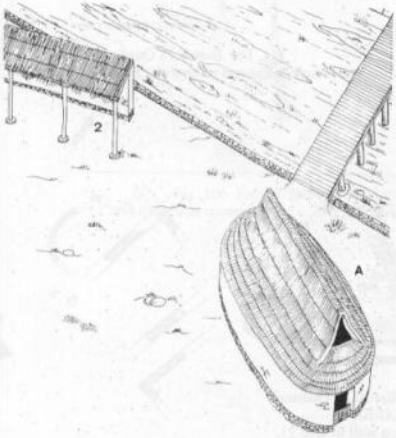


Fig. 118. Eretria (N. Quarter). Area 10/19. Imaginative restoration of phase 1:Building A and "stoa".

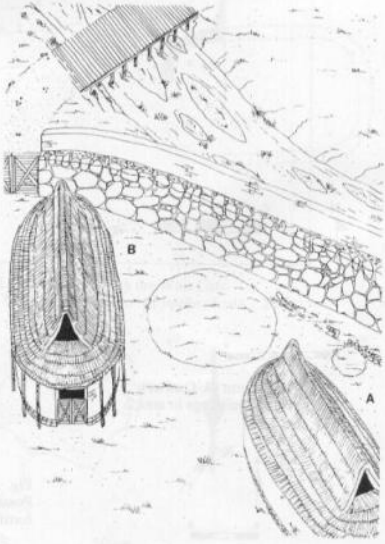


Fig. 119. Eretria (N. Quarter). Area 10/19. Imaginative restoration of phase 2: Fortification wall and oval House B (c. 700 B.C.).

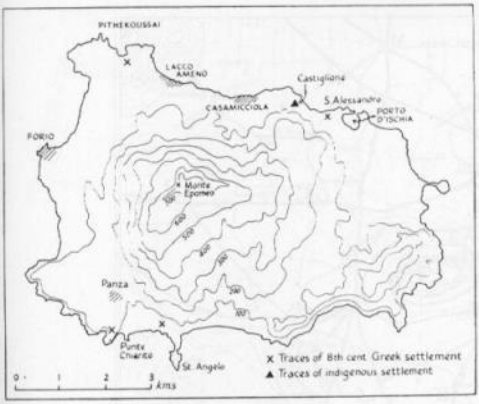


Fig. 120. Map of Pithekoussai.

Fig. 121. Topographical plan of the excavations at Pithekoussai.

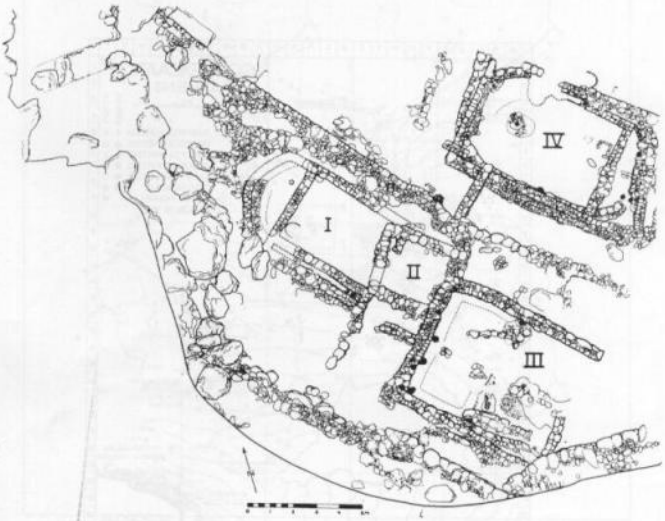


Fig. 122. Pithekoussai (Mezzavia hill, area Mazzola). Plan of LG metalworking quarter. Scale 1:200.

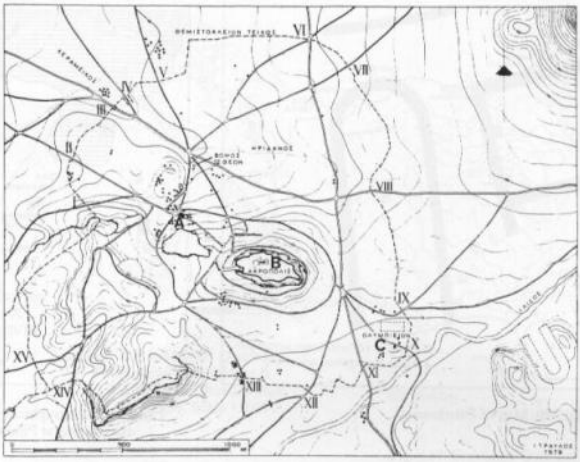


Fig. 123. Athens. Map of Athens in the Geometric period.
A. Areopagus, North slope; B: Acropolis. C. Olympieion area.

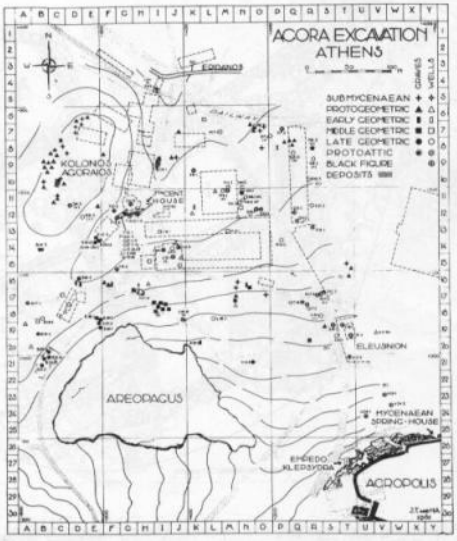


Fig. 124. Athens. Early burials and wells in the Agora.

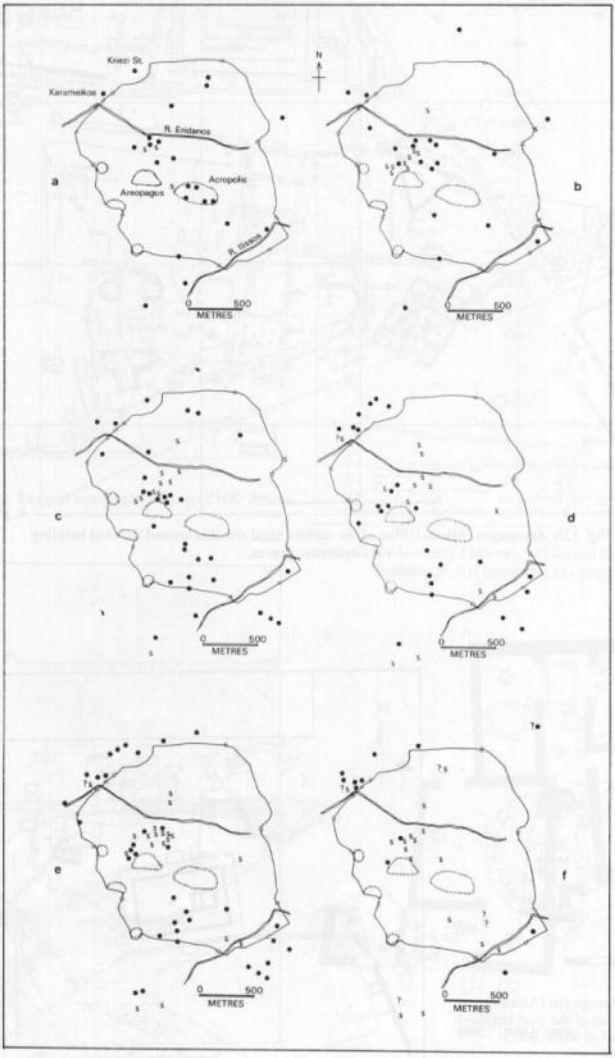


Fig. 125a-f. Distribution of EIA burials in Athens, according to I. Morris. a: SMyc. b: PG. c: EG-MG. d: LG I. e: LG II. f: Protoattic and Transitional.

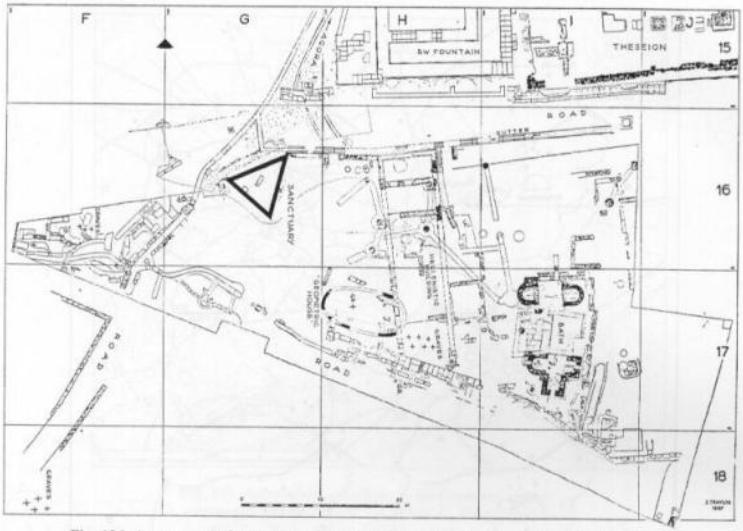


Fig. 126. Areopagus (Athens). Plan of the architectural remains around the oval building
+ = Geometric graves.

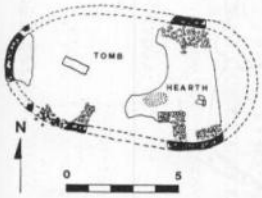


Fig. 127. Areopagus (Athens).
Restored plan of the oval building
(second half of 9th c. B.C.).
Scale 1:200.

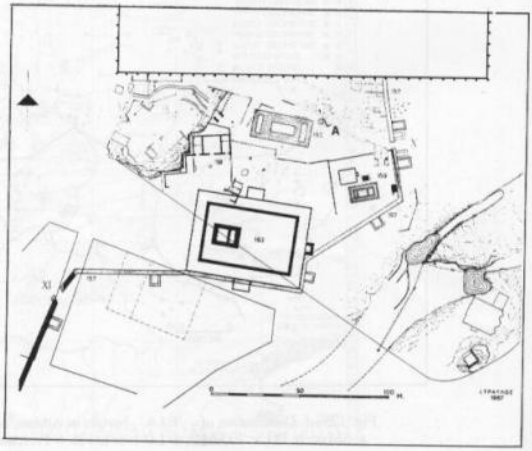


Fig. 128. Olympieion (Athens). Area of sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios.
A: architectural remains of the 8th c. B.C.

Fig. 129. General topographical map of NW Athens.

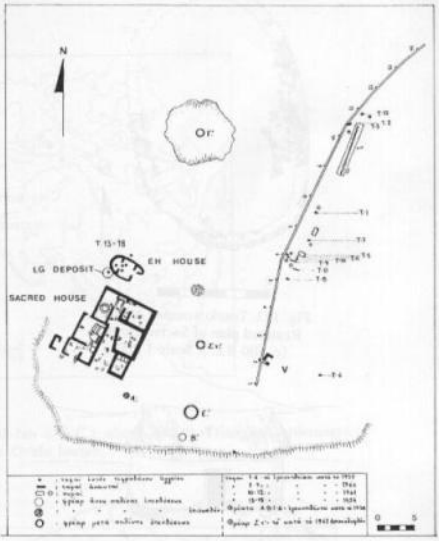


Fig. 130. Academy (Athens). LG Sacred House and Building V, EH house and LG graves.

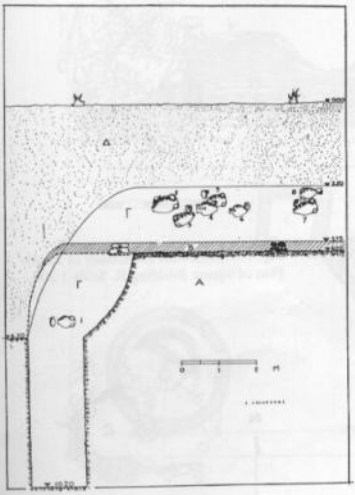


Fig. 131. Academy (Athens). Section through LG tombs, pits and EH house, N of the Sacred House.

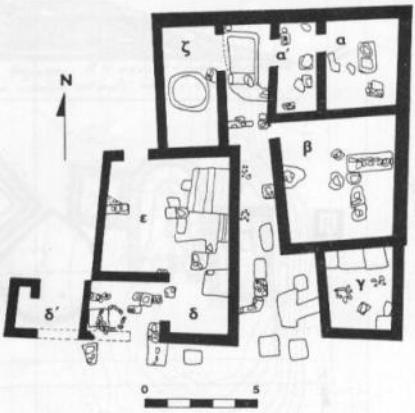


Fig. 132. Academy (Athens). Plan of the LG Sacred House. Scale 1:200.

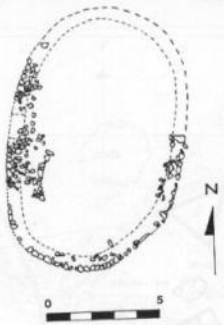


Fig. 133. Tourkovounia (Athens). Restored plan of Sacred House (c. 700 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 134. Tourkovounia (Athens). Graphic restoration of Sacred House by H. Lauter.

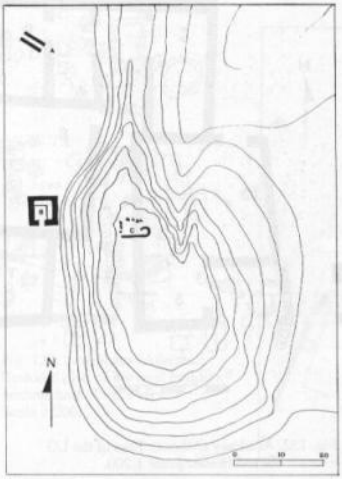


Fig. 136. Hymettos (Sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios). Plan of Buildings A-C

Fig. 135. Tourkovounia (Athens). Plan of "tumulus". Scale 1:200.

Fig. 137. Hymettos (Sanctuary of Zeus). Plan of square Building B. Scale 1:200.

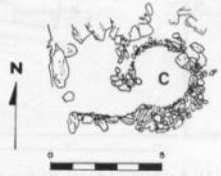


Fig. 138. Hymettos (Sanctuary of Zeus). Plan of round Building C. Scale 1:200.

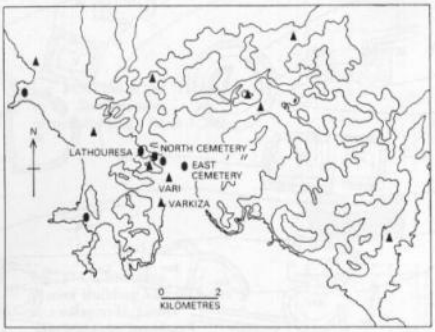


Fig. 139. Lathouriza. Map of the area of Vari (8th-6th c. B.C.), after I. Morris. Triangles: settlements, sanctuaries. Ovals: burials.

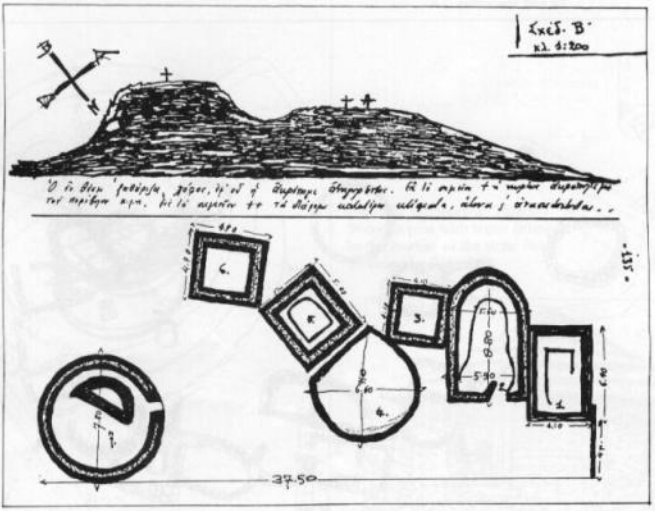


Fig. 140. Lathouriza. Pencil drawing by Ph. Stavropoullos showing the location of the settlement (++) and the rough plan of Buildings 1-7 (Lauter's I-VIII).

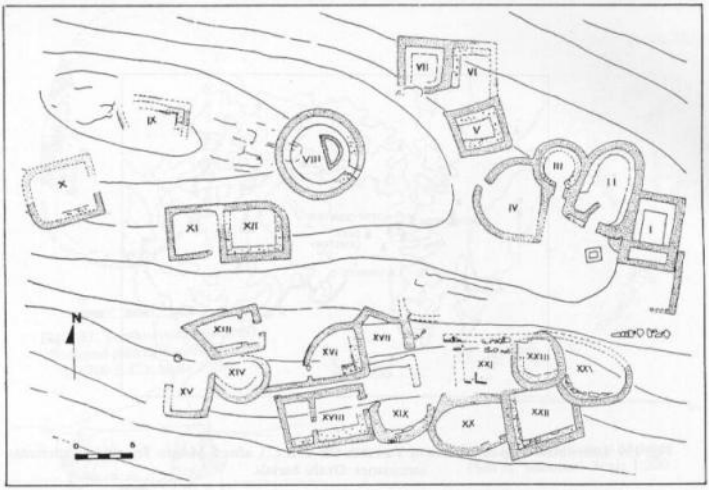


Fig. 141. Lathouriza. Plan of theLG-EA settlement by H. Lauter, with additions (*c.* 700 B.C.). The so-called fortification wall is modern and has been omitted on the plan.

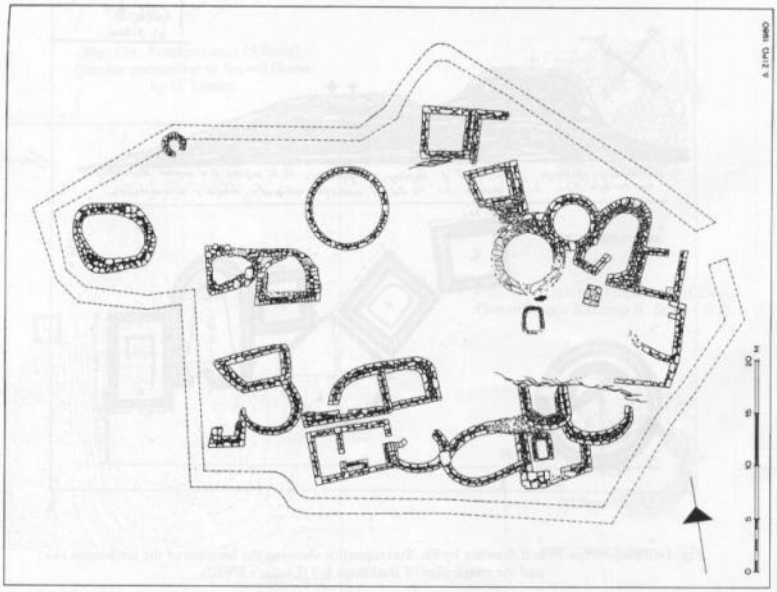


Fig. 142. Lathouriza. Plan of the LG-Archaic settlement by D. Giro.

Fig. 143. Plan of the "Tholos" by Ph. Stavropoullos (pencil drawing). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 144. Lathouriza. Plan of Building VIII ("Tholos") according to H. Lauter with additions based on Ph. Stavropoullos' plan. Scale 1:200.

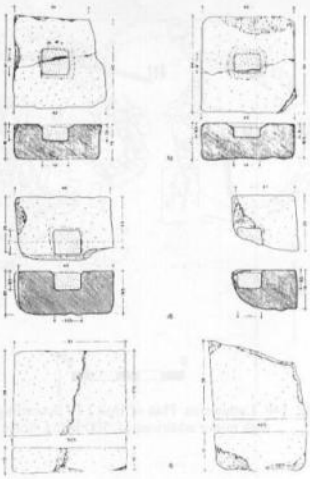


Fig. 145a-f. Lathouriza. "Tholos". a-d: stone bases with cavity in the middle e-f: parastade blocks.

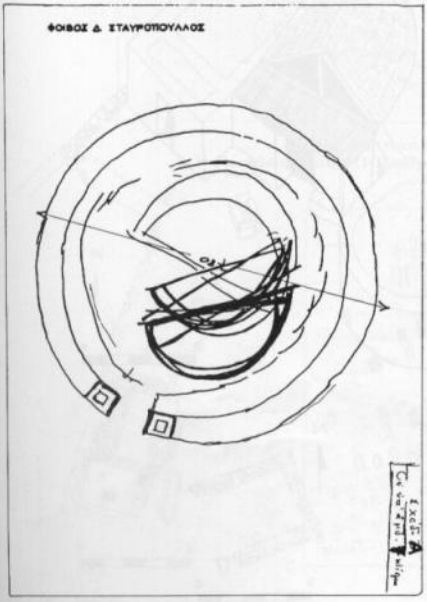


Fig. 147. Lathouriza. Rough sketch of the "Tholos". by Ph. Stavropoullos (pencil drawing).

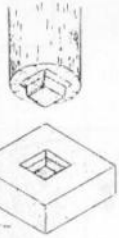


Fig. 146. Lathouriza."Tholos". Wooden post with tenon fitting in the mortise of the stone base. Drawing by F. Seiler.

Fig. 148. Lathouriza. Graphic restoration of the "Tholos" by F. Seiler.

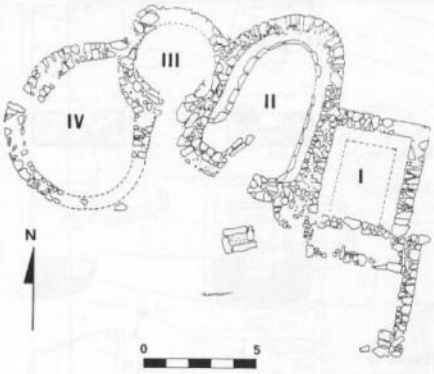


Fig. 149. Lathouriza. Plan of Unit I-IV according to H. Lauter, with minor additions (*c.* 700 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 150. Lathouriza. Graphic restoration of Unit I-IV by H. Lauter.

Fig. 151. Lathouriza. Isometric restoration of Unit I-IV according to the author.

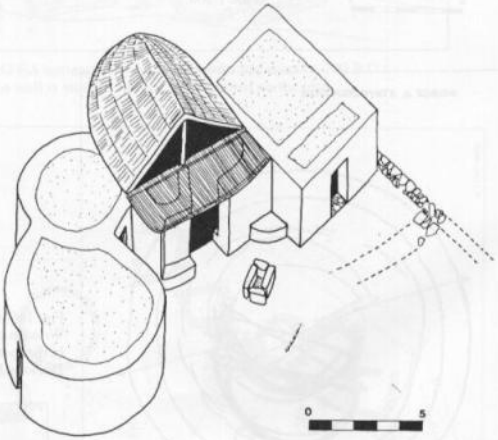


Fig. 152. Lathouriza. Plan of House XVIII by H. Lauter (Archaic?). Scale 1:200.

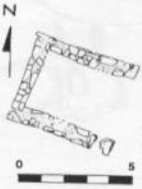


Fig. 153. Lathouriza. Plan of "suburban" chapel by H. Lauter (*c.* 700 B.C.?). Scale 1:200.

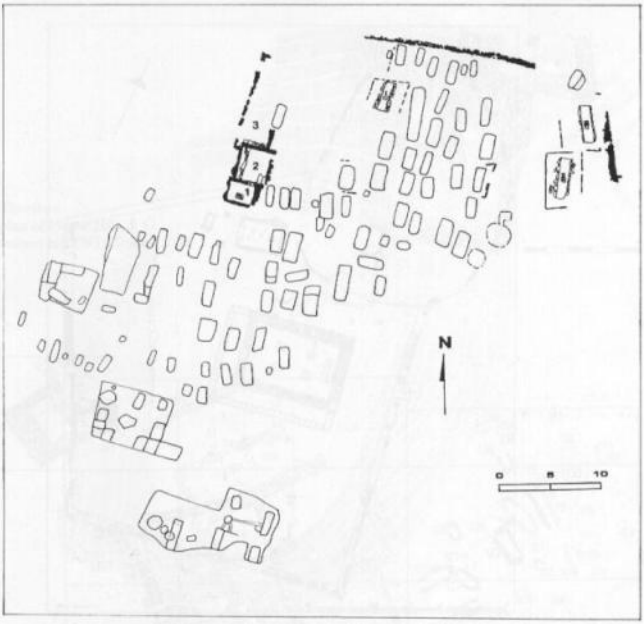


Fig. 154. Anavyssos. Plan of LG necropolis.
In black: chthonian chapel (1-3) and peribolos wall. I-III: wealthy LG tombs.

Fig. 155. Anavyssos. Restored plan of LG IIb chthonian chapel. Scale 1:200.
Stippled: benches and base.
Tomb XXII: LG IIa. Tomb XVIII: LG IIb.

Fig. 156a and b. Anavyssos. The necropolis during (a) the LG IIa and (b) the LG IIb periods, according to I. Morris.

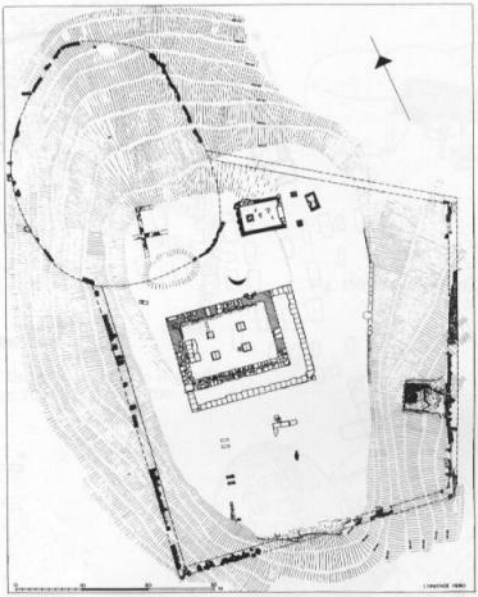


Fig. 157. Sounion. Temenos of Athena and Phrontis.

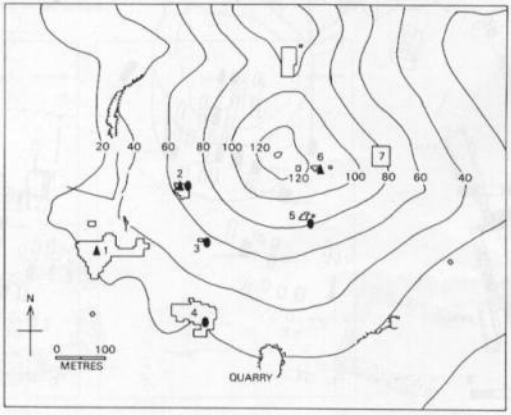


Fig. 158. Thorikos. Topographical plan of the Velatouri hill, after I. Morris.
Triangles: settlement. Ovals: cemeteries.
2: Necropolis "West 4" (D52). 3, 5: Geometric tombs. 6: SG House. 7: Mycenaean Tomb III with EA cult.

Fig. 159. Thorikos
Restored plan of House H/L, J, G
on the Velatouri hill (SG). Scale 1:200.

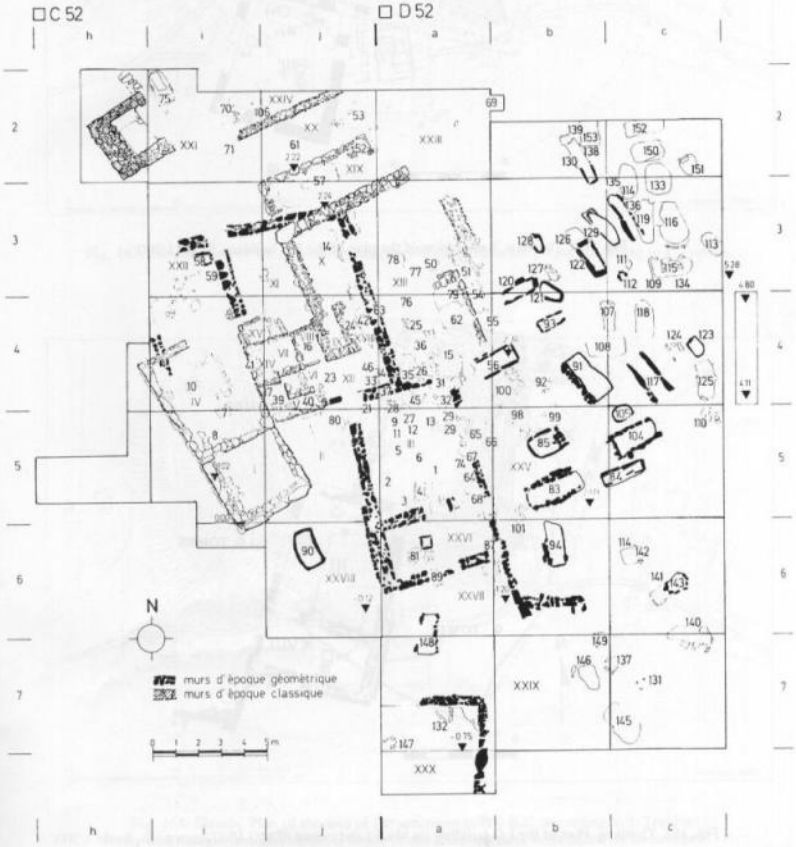


Fig. 160. Thorikos. Plan of buildings and tombs in Necropolis West 4.
In black: EG-LG buildings and LG tombs. Scale 1:200.

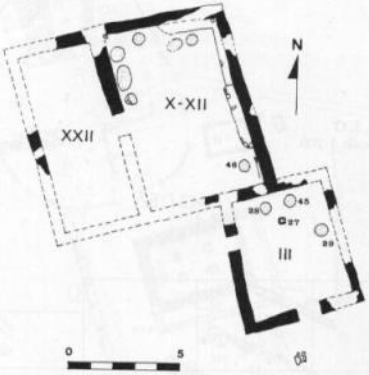


Fig. 161. Thorikos. Restoration of the plan of the EG building. Scale 1:200.

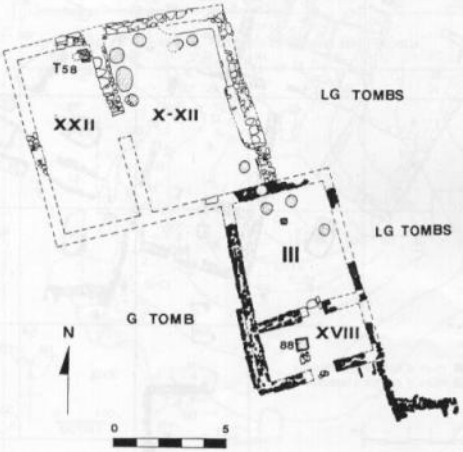


Fig. 162. Thorikos. Plan of the LG building (in black) and extent of MG I/LG necropolis. Scale 1:200.

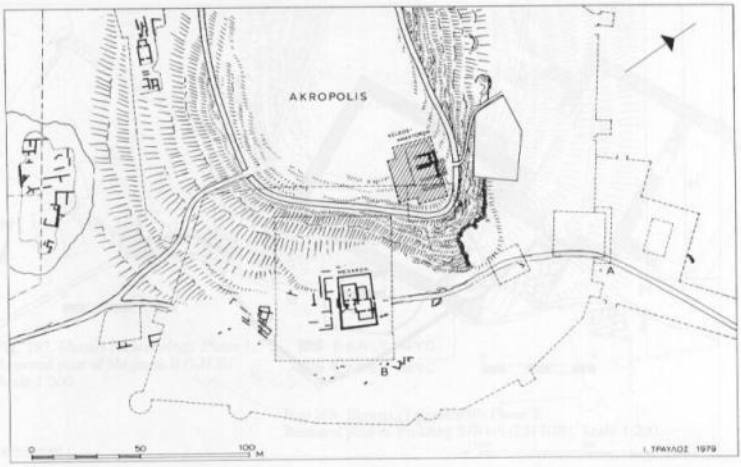


Fig. 163. Eleusis. Plan of the area of the sanctuary in the prehistoric period according to J. Travlos.

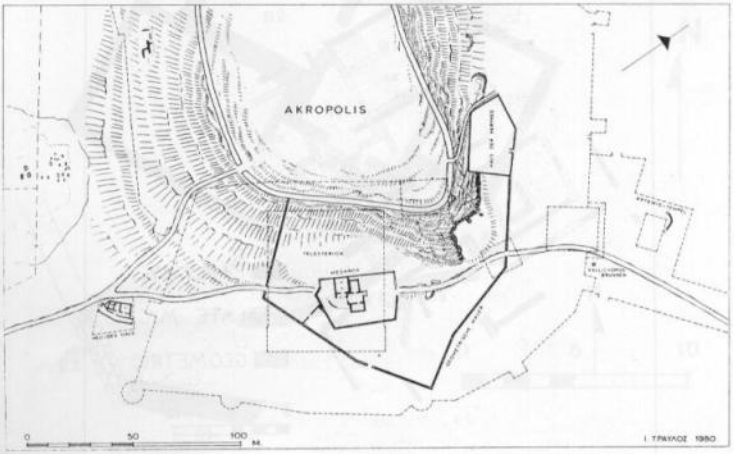


Fig. 164. Eleusis. Plan of the area of the sanctuary c. 700 B.C. according to J. Travlos (the architectural remains on the S slopes of the acropolis have been added by the author).

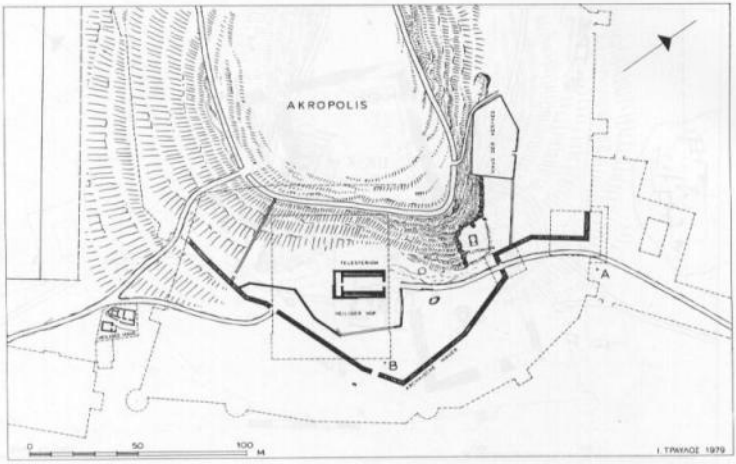


Fig. 165. Eleusis. The sanctuary in the era of Solon.

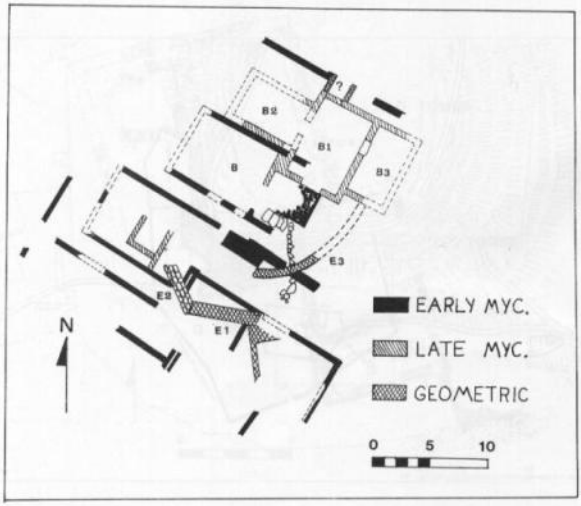


Fig. 166. Eleusis. LH and Geometric architectural remains below the Telesteria.

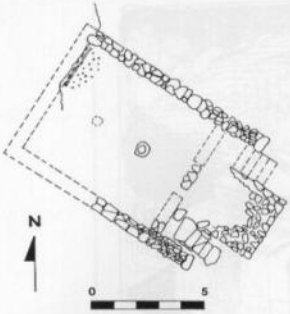


Fig. 167. Eleusis (Telesterion). Phase 1. Restored plan of Megaron B (LH II). Scale 1:200.

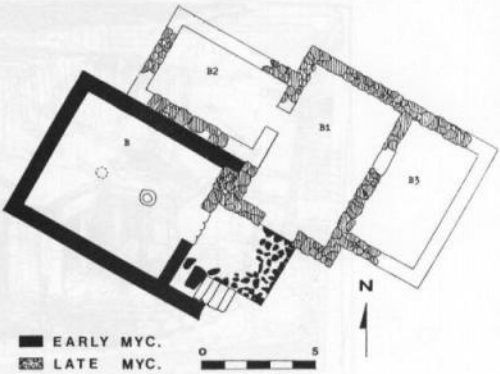


Fig. 168. Eleusis (Telesterion). Phase 2. Restored plan of Building B/B1-3 (LH IIIB). Scale 1:200.

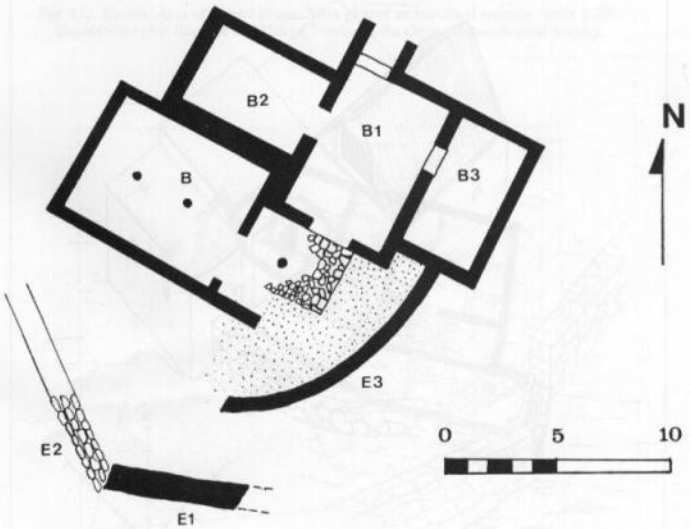


Fig. 169. Eleusis (Telesterion). Phase 3. Restored plan of Building B/B1-3 according to Travlos' theory (c. 750 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

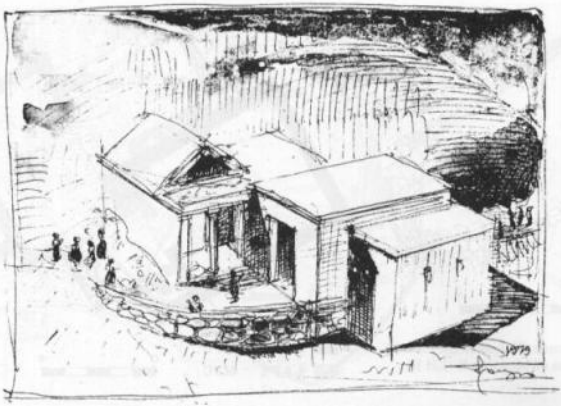


Fig. 170. Eleusis. Sketch of the Telesterion in the 8th c. B.C. according to J. Travlos.

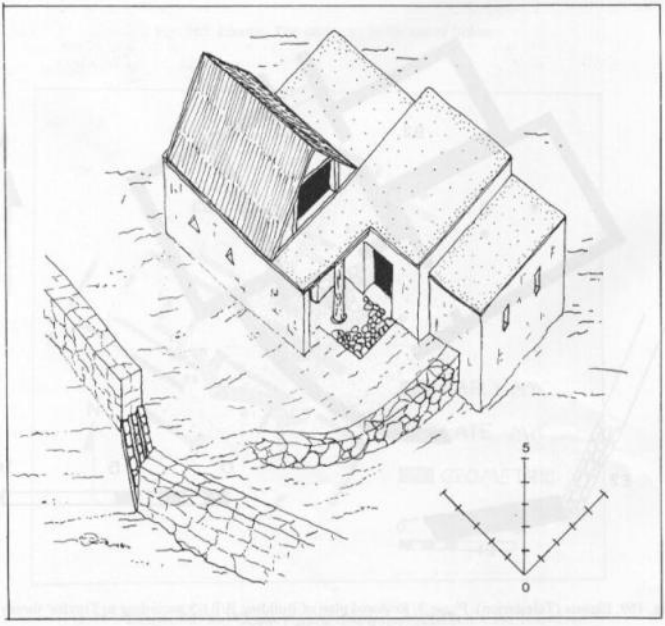


Fig. 171. Eleusis. Isometric restoration of LG Telesterion by the author, based on Travlos' rough sketch. Scale 1:200.

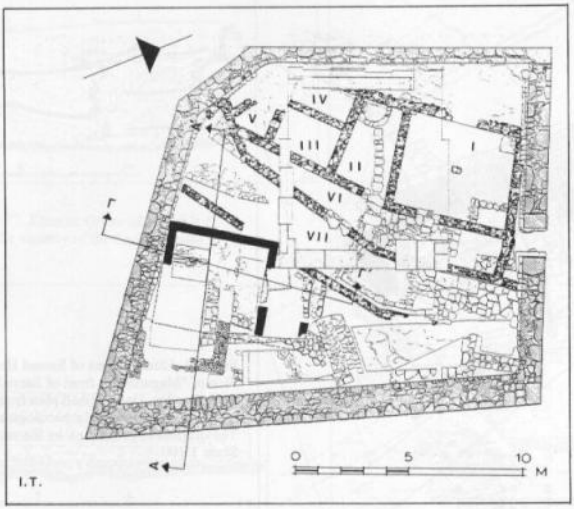


Fig. 172. Eleusis. Area of Sacred House. State plan of architectural remains. Scale 1:200. Unpublished plan from the archives of Travlos in the Greek Archaeological Society.

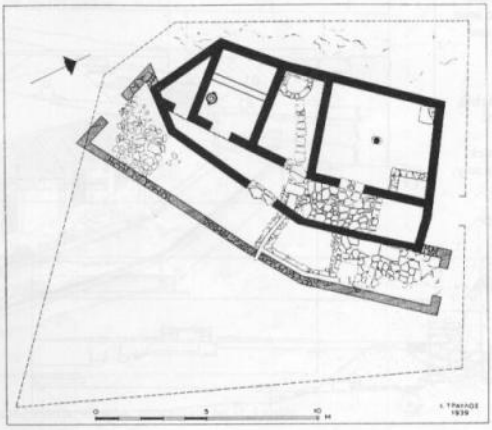


Fig. 173. Eleusis. Plan of the Sacred House in the LG-EA periods. Scale 1:200.

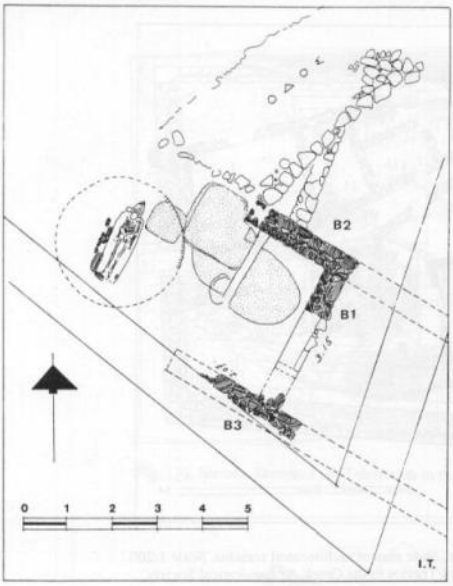
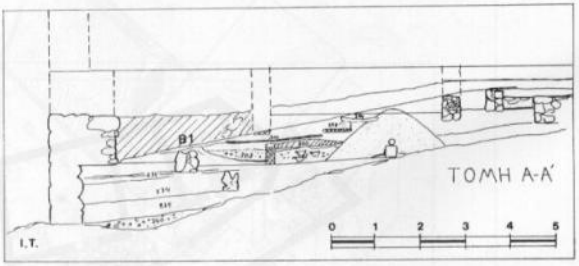


Fig. 174. Eleusis. Area of Sacred House. Plan of "Megaron" in front of Sacred House, by J. Travlos. Unpublished plan from the archives of the Greek Archaeological Society. The original in pencil, ink by the author. Scale 1:100.

Fig. 175. Eleusis. Area of Sacred House. Section A-A in the area of the "Megaron" and the tomb near the Sacred House, by J. Travlos. NW towards the right. Unpublished pencil drawing from the archives of the Greek Archaeological Society. Ink by the author.



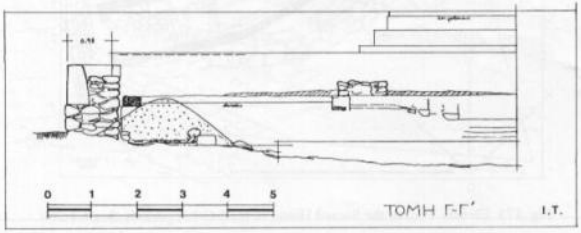


Fig. 176. Eleusis. Area of Sacred House. Section Γ-Γ in the area of the "Megaron" and the tomb near the Sacred House, by J. Travlos. SW towards the left. *Ibid.*

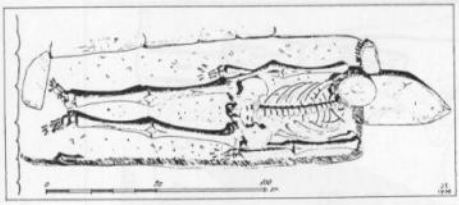


Fig. 177. Eleusis. Grave of *c.* 700 B.C. in the vicinity of the Sacred House.

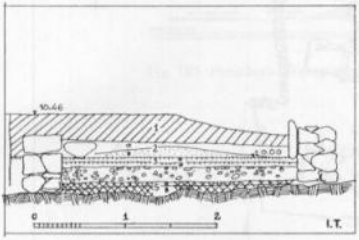


Fig. 178. Eleusis. Sacred House. Longitudinal section through Room III by J. Travlos. SW: left. NE: right.

Unpublished pencil drawing from the archives of Greek Archaeological Society. Ink by the author.

Fig. 179. Eleusis. Sacred House. Isometric reconstruction. Scale 1:200.

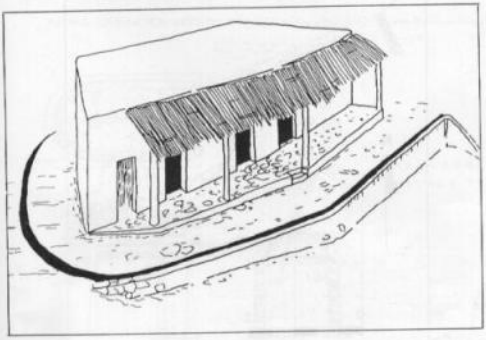


Fig. 180. Eleusis. Sacred House. Graphic restoration by H. Lauter.

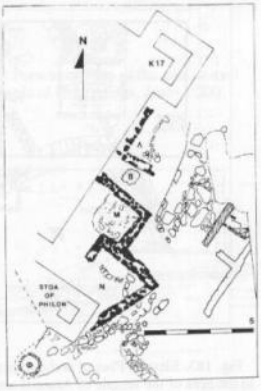


Fig. 181. Eleusis. Architectural remains at the E corner of the stoa of Philo. In black: the so-called "Sacred House" (LBA) Φ: the so-called "Kallichoron" well. Scale 1:200.

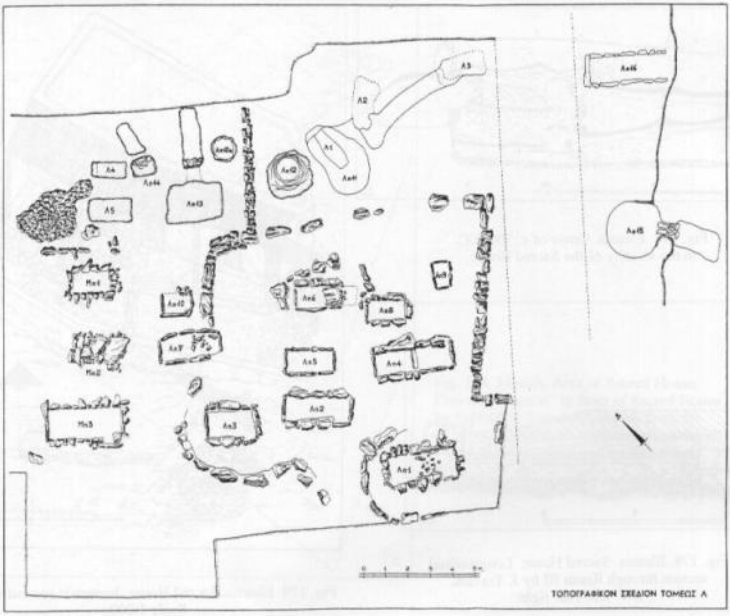


Fig. 182. Eleusis. West Cemetery. The so-called "Heroön of the Seven against Thebes". Scale 1:200.

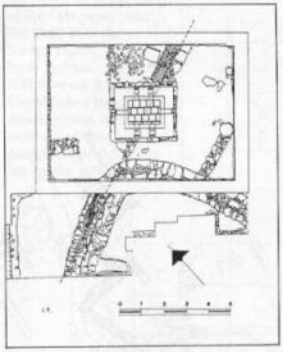


Fig. 183. Eleusis. Plan of architectural remains in the area of the temple of Artemis and Poseidon. Unpublished pencil drawing by J. Travlos in the archives of the Greek Archaeological Society. Ink by the author. Scale 1:200.

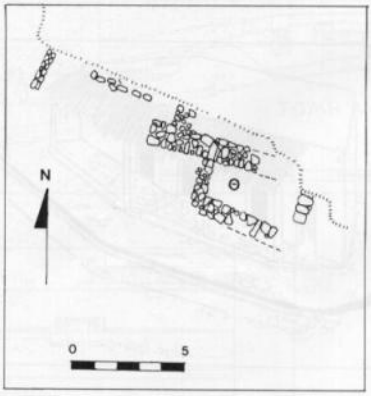


Fig. 184. Eleusis. Architectural remains of the Geometric period on the South slope of the hill. Scale 1:200.

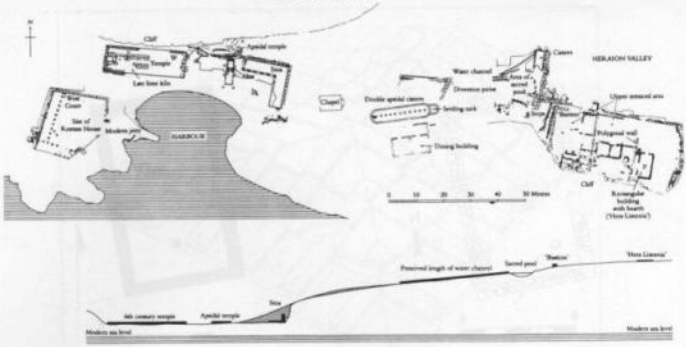


Fig. 185. Perachora. Topographical plan of the sanctuary of Hera by R. Tomlinson.

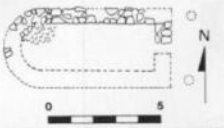


Fig. 186. Perachora. Restored plan of temple of Hera Akraia (first half of 8th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

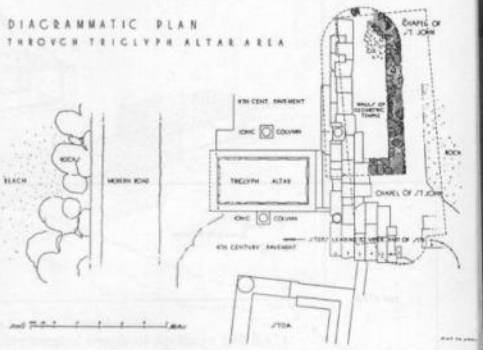


Fig. 187. Perachora. Plan of the area around the temple of Hera Akraia. Scale 1:200.

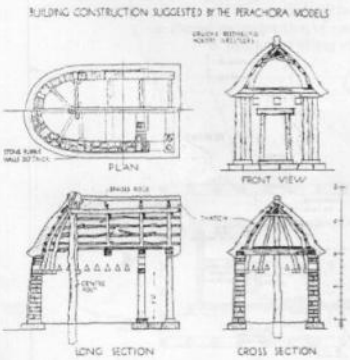


Fig. 188. Perachora. Hypothetical graphic restoration of apsidal temple by H. Payne, based on the building models (scale of models).

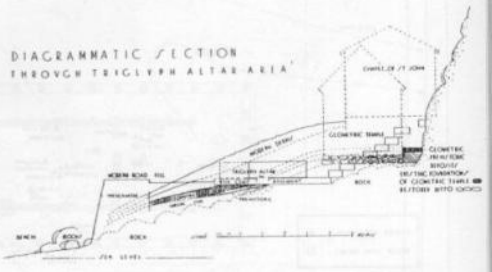


Fig. 189. Perachora
Section of the area around the temple of Hera Akraia.

Fig. 190. Perachora. Plan of so-called temple of Hera Limenia. Scale 1:200.

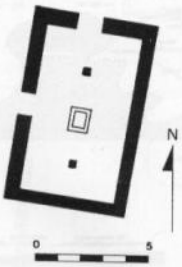


Fig. 191. Perachora. Restored plan of so-called temple of Hera Limenia. Scale 1:200.

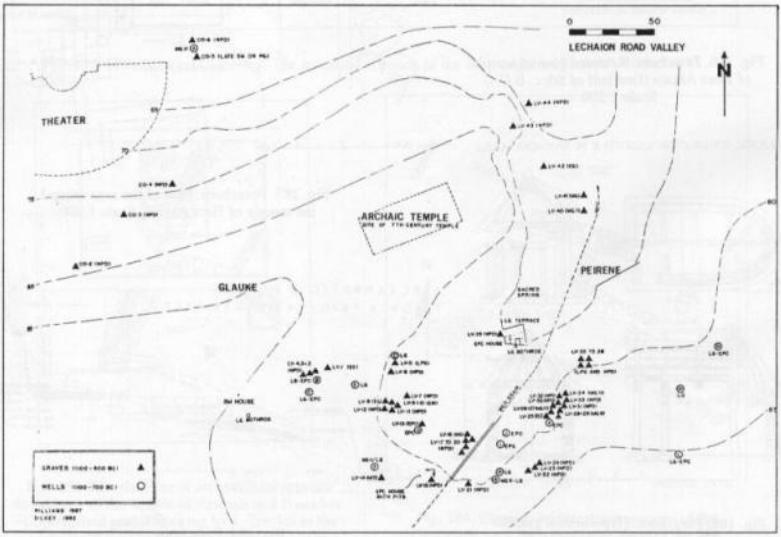


Fig. 192. Corinth. Early burials in the area of "Temple Hill", after K. Dickey.

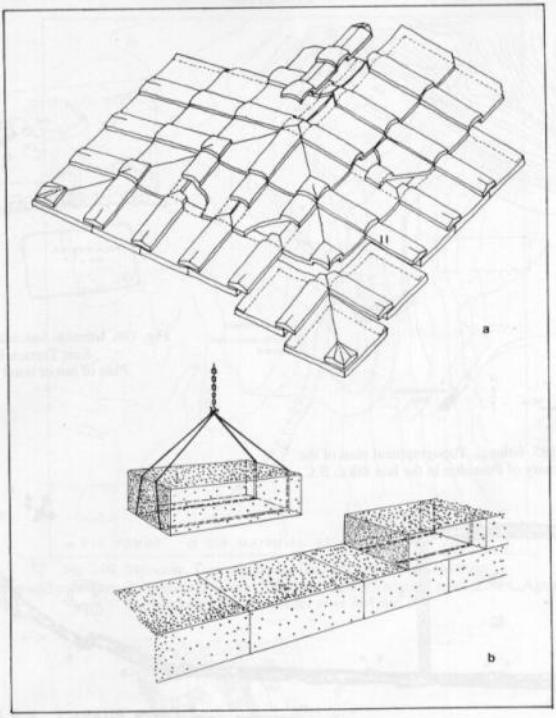


Fig. 193a-b. Corinth (Temple Hill).
a: Partial reconstruction of roof revetment of temple of Apollo (*c.* 680 B.C.).
b: Method of lifting of stone blocks of the temple of Apollo.

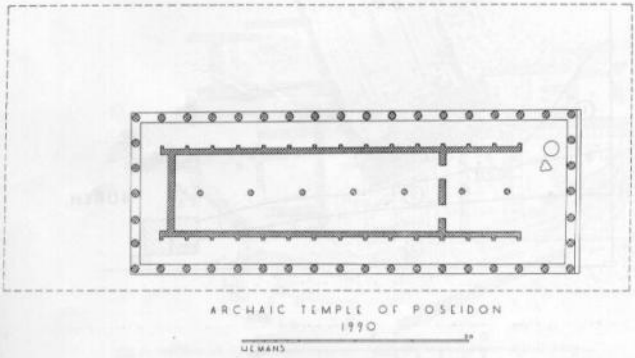


Fig. 194. Isthmia. Restored plan of EA temple of Poseidon by F.P. Hemans.

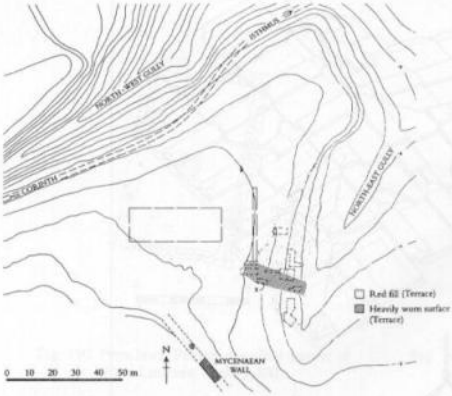


Fig. 195. Isthmia. Topographical plan of the sanctuary of Poseidon in the late 8th c. B.C.

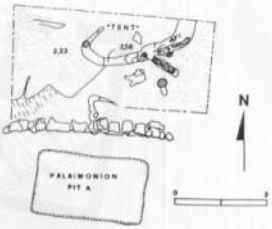


Fig. 196. Isthmia. Sanctuary of Poseidon. East Terrace I, Trench 89-66. Plan of hut or tent (?). Scale 1:100.

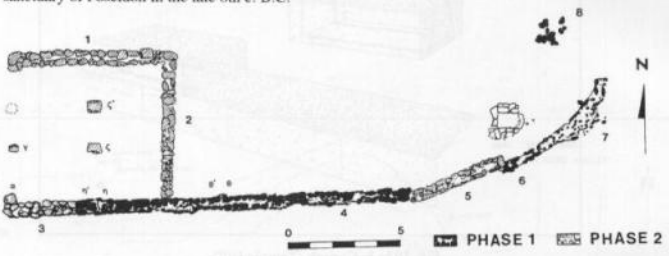


Fig. 197. Solygeia (Galataki). Plan of so-called apsidal temple Phase 1: c. 700 B.C.; phase 2: 6th c. B.C. Scale 1:200.

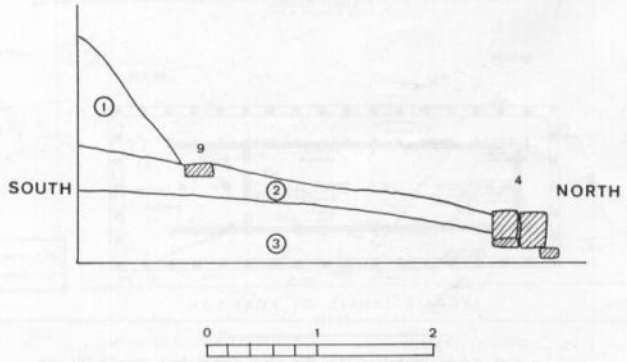


Fig. 198. Solygeia (Galataki). Cross section by N. Verdelis. 1: Surface layer. 2: soft layer. 3: hard layer.

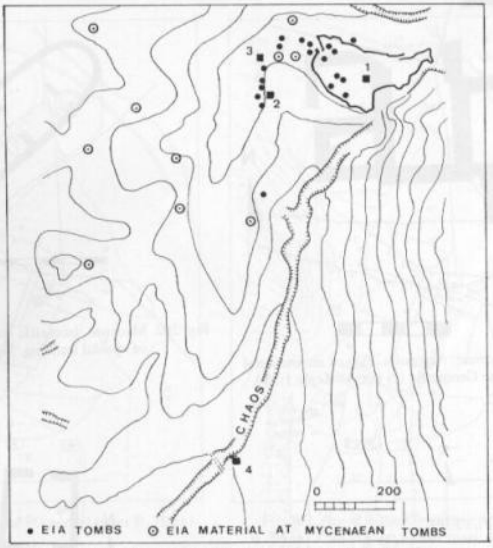


Fig. 199. Mycenae. Topographical plan of acropolis and environs.
1. EIA buildings and sanctuary. 2. Apsidal building. 3. Pavings above chamber tomb 220. 4. Agamemnoneion.
The tombs within the citadel were SM and PG.

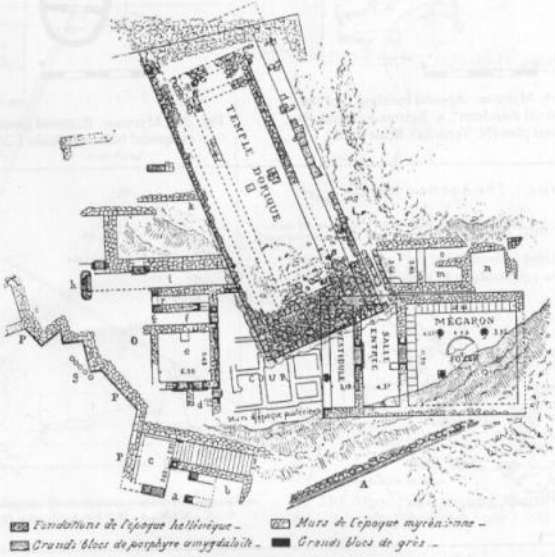


Fig. 200. Mycenae. Acropolis. Sanctuary upon the ruins of the Mycenaean megaron.

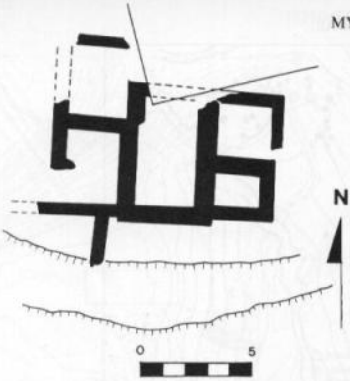


Fig. 201. Mycenae. Acropolis. Plan of architectural remains of the Geometric (?) period. Scale 1:200.

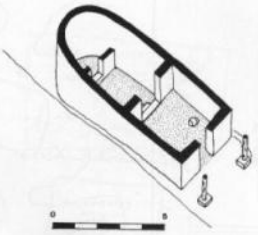


Fig. 202. Mycenae. Isometric restoration (cut-away) of apsidal building. Scale 1:200.

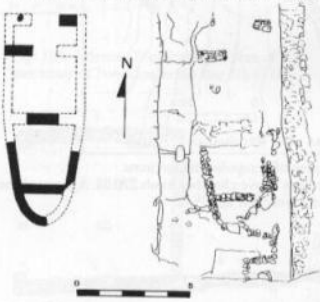


Fig. 203a-b. Mycenae. Apsidal building E of the "House of the oil merchant". a. Restored ground plan. b. ground plan (N. Verdelis). Scale 1:200.

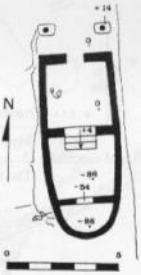


Fig. 204. Mycenae. Restored ground plan of apsidal building. Scale 1:200.

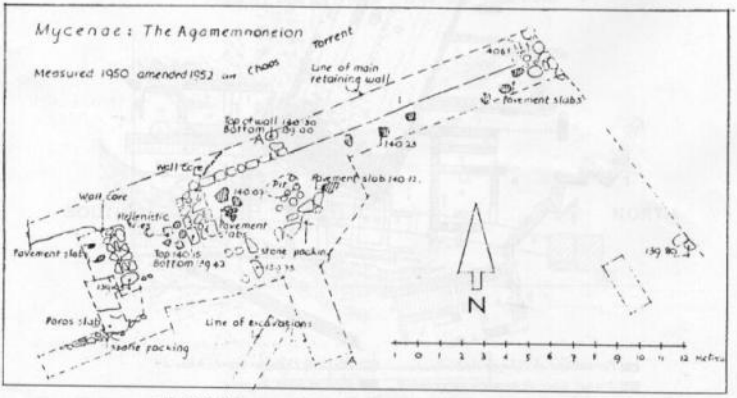


Fig. 205. Mycenae. Plan of the Agamemnoneion. Scale 1:200.

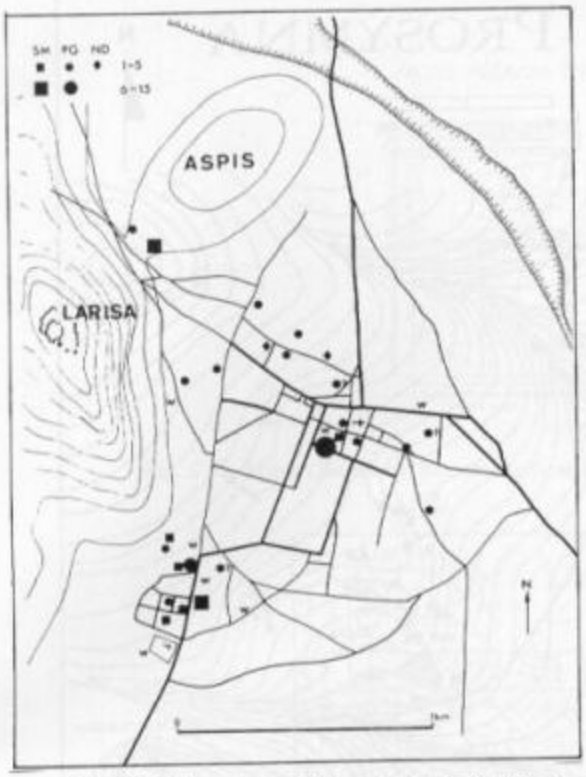


Fig 206. Argos in the PG period (after R. Hägg).

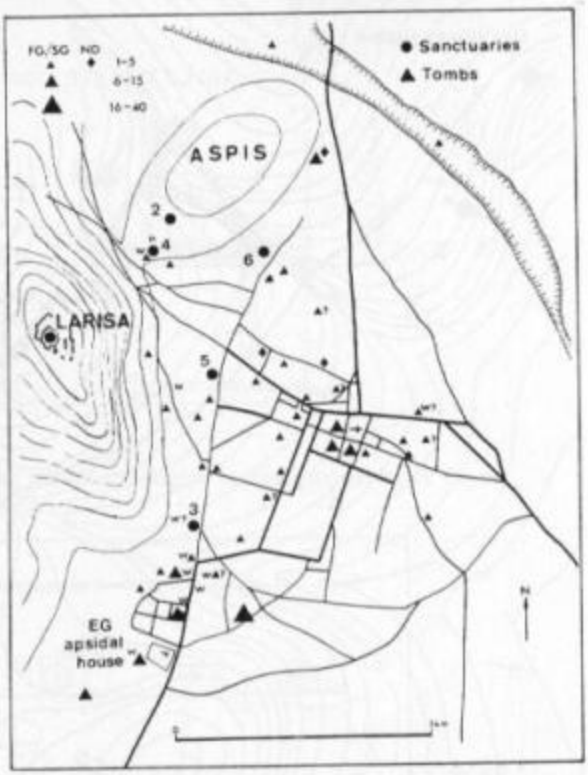


Fig 207. Argos in the Geometric period (after R. Hägg). Cult places: 1. Sanctuary of Athena. 2. Sanctuary of Apollo. 3. Pilios plot. 4. Deiras. 5. Gounaris str. 6. Michalopoulos plot.

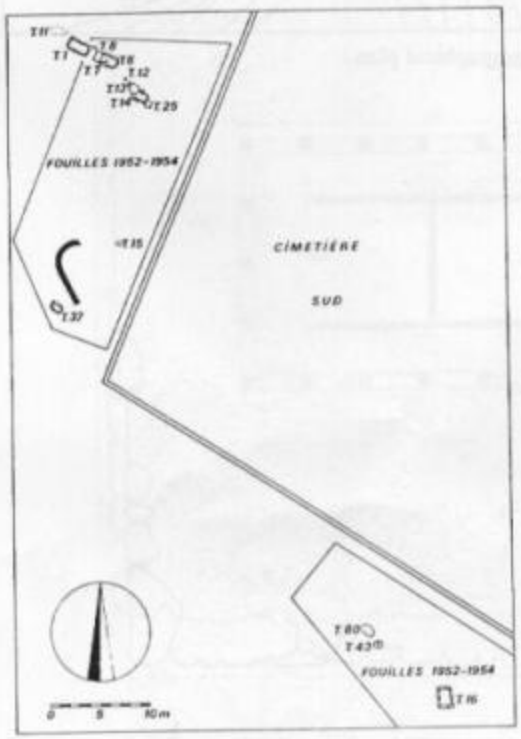


Fig. 208. Argos. Plan showing relationship of Geometric graves to the EG apsidal house.

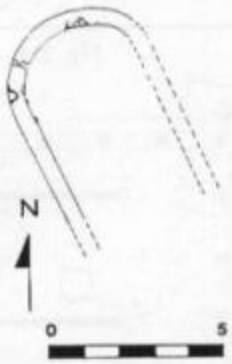


Fig. 209. Argos. Plan of EG apsidal building. Scale 1:200 (French School of Archaeology at Athens).

Fig. 210. Argos. Pilios property. Plan of Geometric cult (?) building. Scale 1:200.

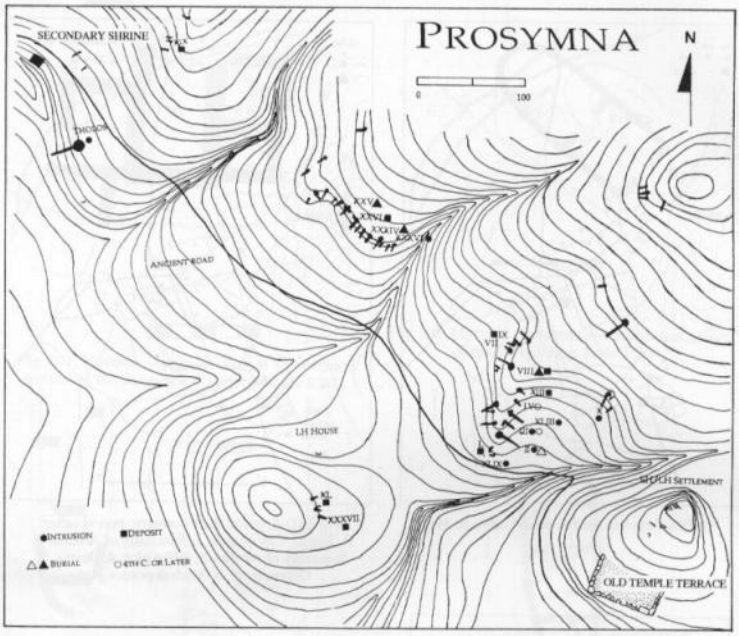


Fig. 211. Argos (Heraion). Topographical plan.

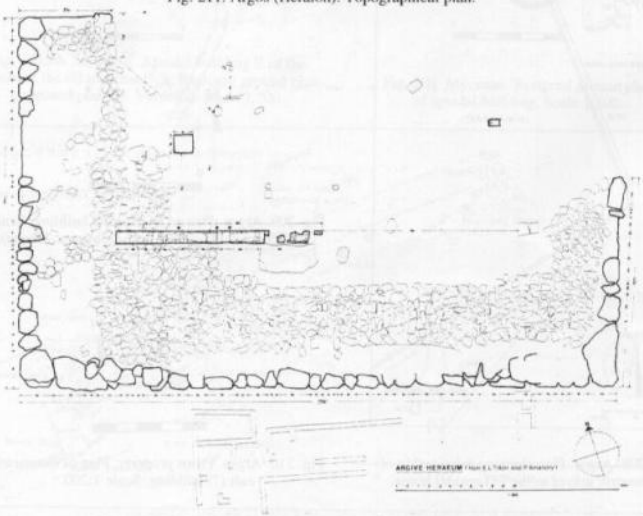


Fig. 212. Argos (Heraion). Plan of Old Temple Terrace and stylopbate of the temple of Hera.

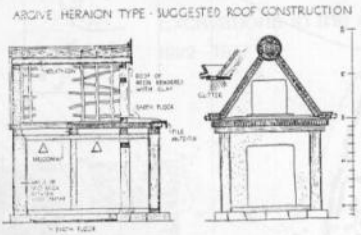


Fig. 213. Argos (Heraion). Reconstruction of the roof of the Argive building model by H. Payne.

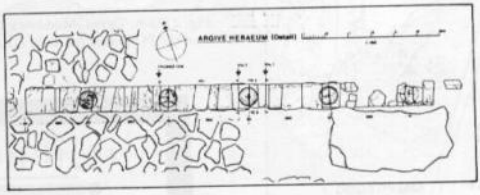


Fig. 214. Argos (Heraion). Plan of the southern stylobate of the EA temple. Scale 1:200.

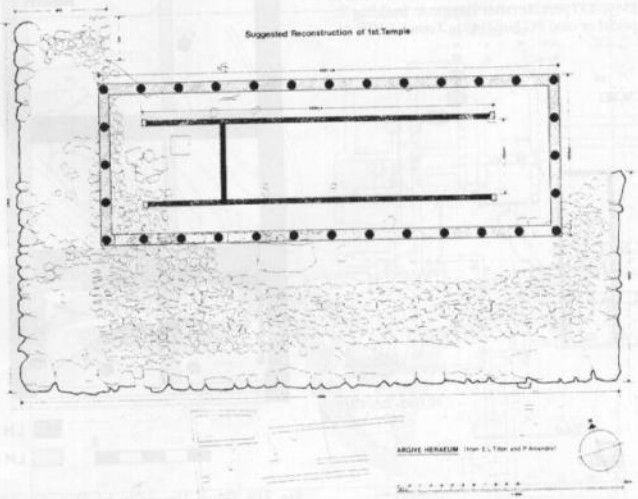


Fig. 215. Argos (Heraion). Suggested reconstruction of the EA temple by I. Strøm.

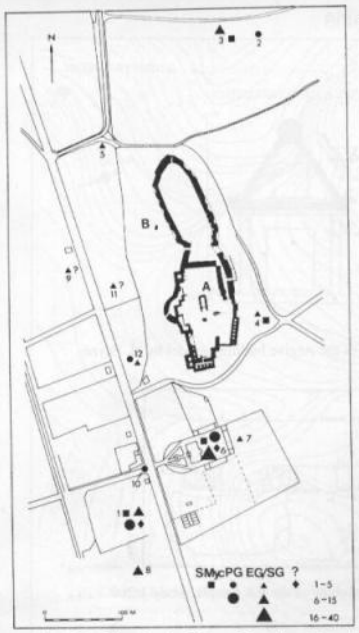


Fig. 216. Tiryns in the EIA and location of tombs of the SMyc-LG periods (after Hägg). A: Building T. B: Apsidal or oval PG building in Trench LVIII 41.

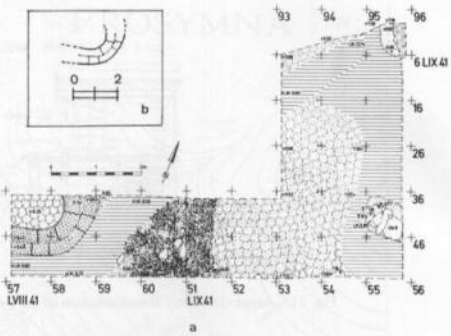


Fig. 217a-b. Tiryns. Mud brick apsidal or oval house of the PG period (a: scale 1:100. b: scale 1:200).

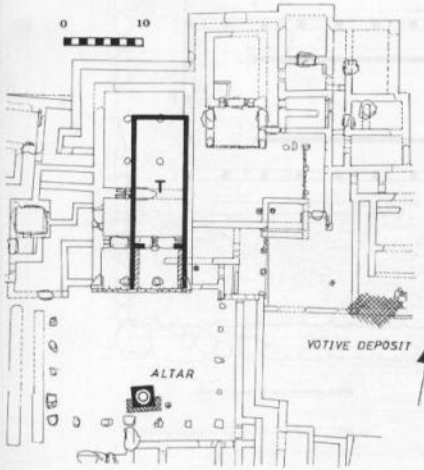


Fig. 218. Tiryns. Upper Citadel. Building T, altar/bothros and location of votive deposit (c. 750-650 B.C.) of Hera.

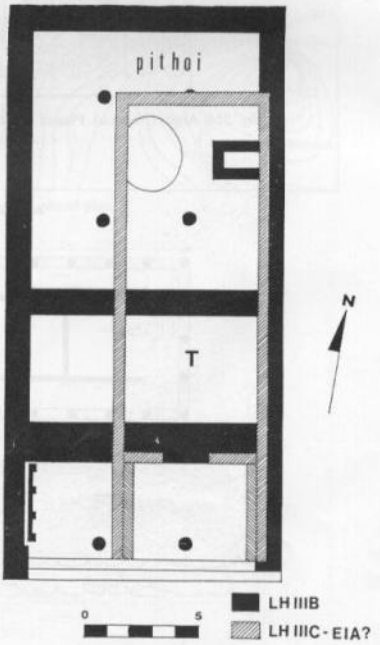


Fig. 219. Tiryns. Upper Citadel. Plan of Building T (LH IIIC) and LH IIIB2 megaron. Scale 1:200.

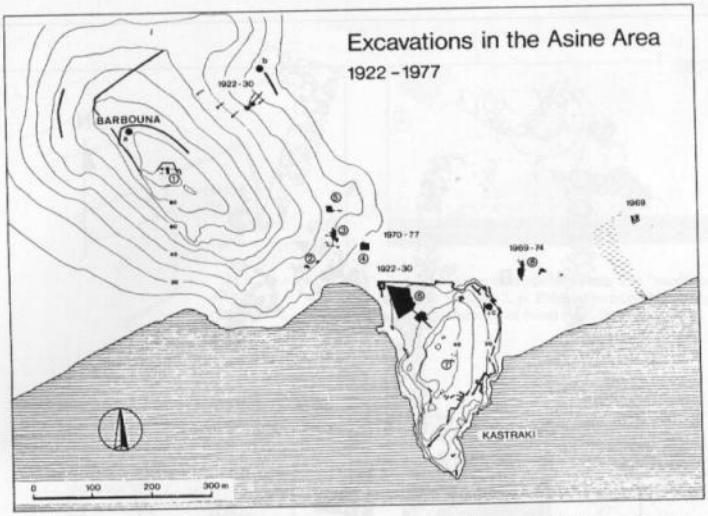


Fig. 220. Asine. Map. 1. Barbouna hill: sanctuary of Apollo. B: 2. Gogonas plot. 3. Kapsorachis plot. 4. Levendis plot. 5. Samaras plot. 6. Lower Town. 7. "Geometric Terrace". 8. Karmaniola area. a-c. Sacrificial deposits by the LG fortification wall.

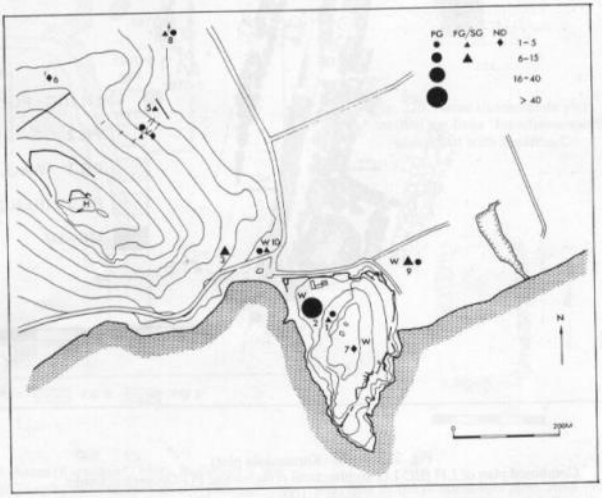


Fig. 221. Asine. Tombs of the PG and Geometric periods (after Hägg).

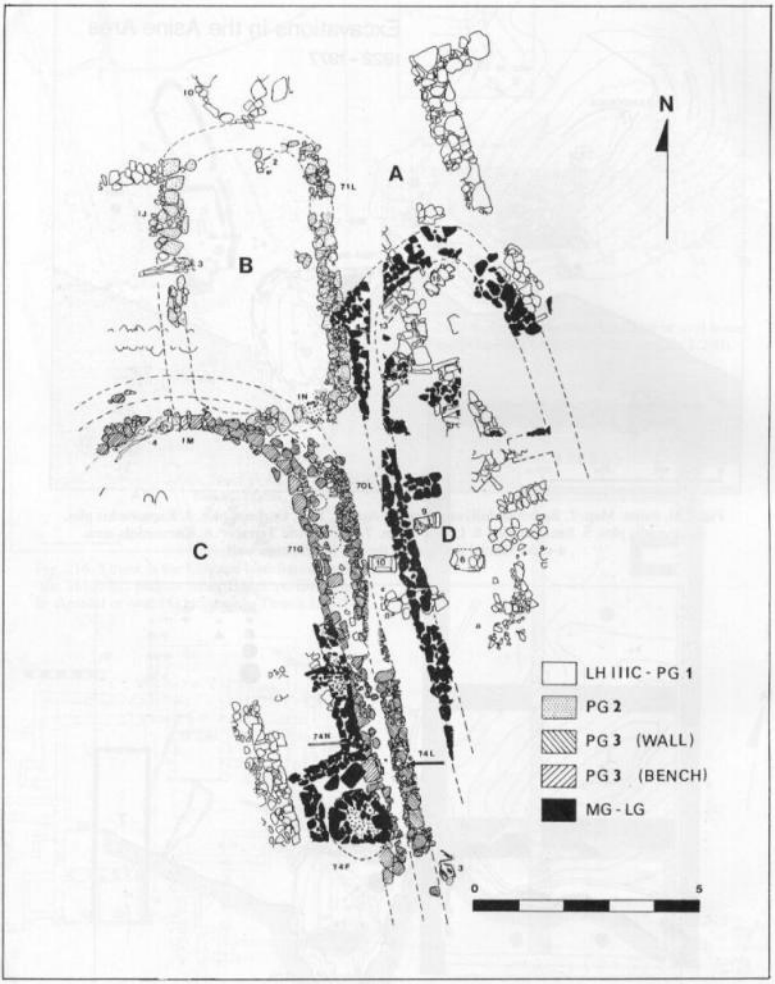


Fig. 222. Asine (Karmaniola plot).
Combined plan of LH IIIC-LG architectural remains and PG-Geometric tombs.
Scale 1:100.

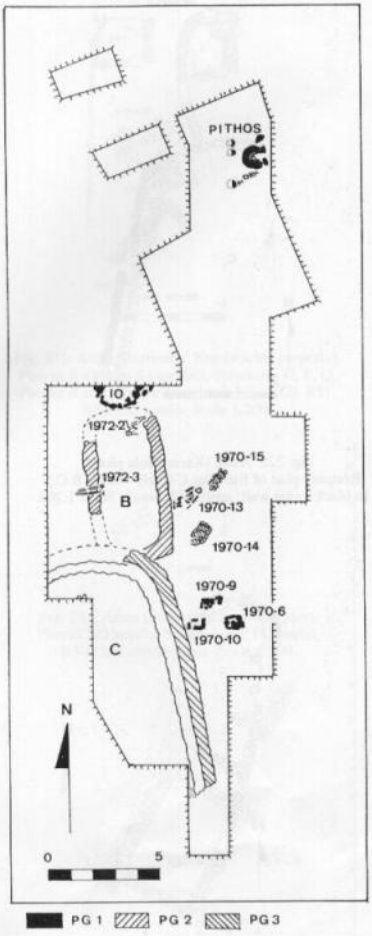


Fig. 223. Asine (Karmaniola plot). Buildings B and C, PG tombs and cult area around pithos. Scale 1:200.

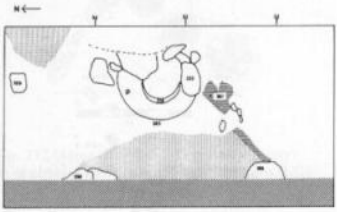


Fig. 224. Asine (Karmaniola plot). The "sacrificial area" in Trench 12. p: Pithos. Horizontal hatching: patch and wall of burnt clay. Dotted: fat soil.

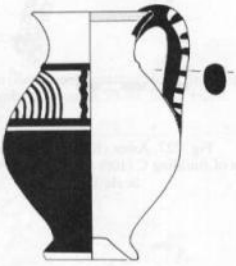


Fig. 225. Asine (Karmaniola plot). One-handled jug from "foundation sacrifice" associated with Building C.

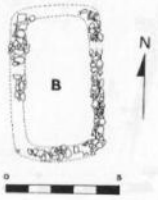


Fig. 226. Asine (Karmaniola plot). Restored plan of Building B (early 10th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

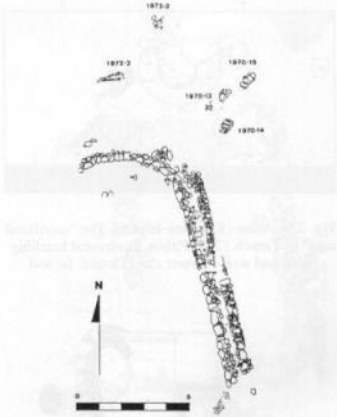


Fig. 227. Asine (Karmaniola plot).
Plan of Building C (10th c. B.C.) and PG graves.
Scale 1:200.

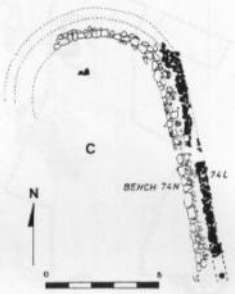


Fig. 228. Asine (Karmaniola plot).
Restored plan of Building C (early 10th c. B.C.).
In black: outer wall; unshaded: bench. Scale 1:200.

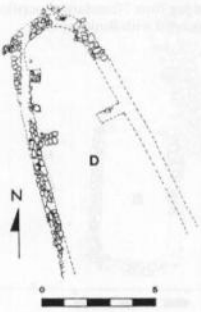


Fig. 229. Asine (Karmaniola plot). Restored plan of Building D by S. Dietz (MG II). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 230. Asine (Karmaniola plot). Restored plan of Building D. Scale 1:200.

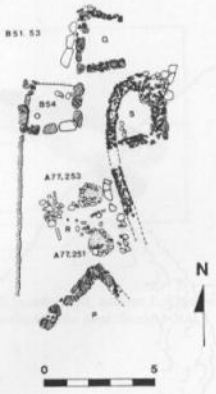


Fig. 231. Asine (Barbouna, Kapsorachis property). Plan of Buildings S (apsidal), Structures O, P, Q, Paving R and circular Structures 1-2. (LG). B51, B54: LG tombs. Scale 1:200.

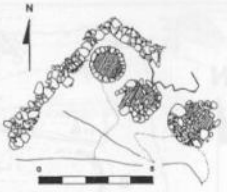


Fig. 232. Asine (Barbouna, Gogonas property). Plan of circular pavings inside the necropolis (LG). Scale 1:200.

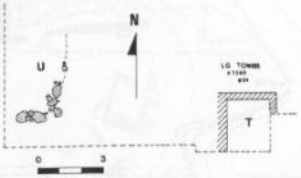


Fig. 233. Asine (Barbouna, Samaras plot). Buildings U and T, Tombs B24 and A 73.93. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 234. Asine (Barbouna, Levendis plot). Plan of LG apsidal building. B2: PG burial; B3-4: LG child burials. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 235. Asine (Kastraki hill). Rectangular house of the LG period. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 236. Asine. "Lower Town". PG burials (1-2, nos. 1-42, 45-46), Mycenaean houses (3) and Geometric walls (4) (after R. Hägg).

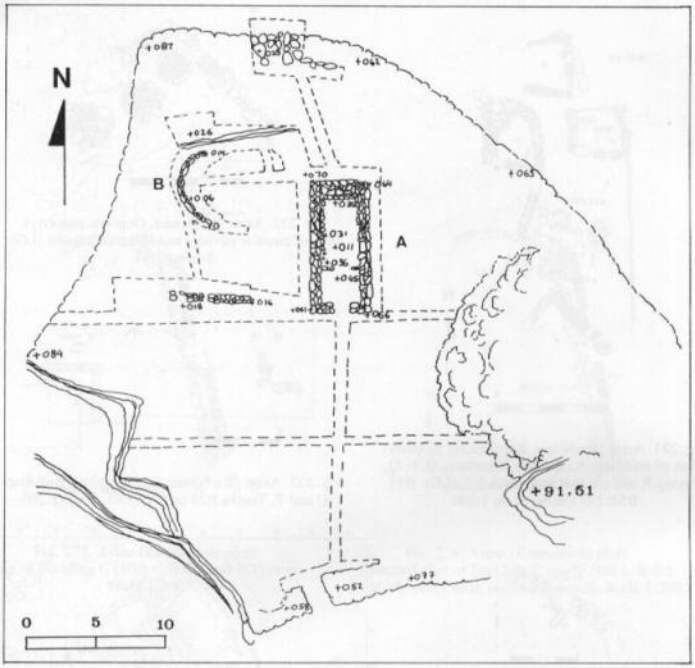


Fig. 237. Asine (Barbouna summit). Plan of sanctuary on the summit of the hill.
A: curved foundation (8th c. B.C.); B: temple of Apollo (late 8th c. B.C.); C: temenos wall (late 8th c. B.C.?).

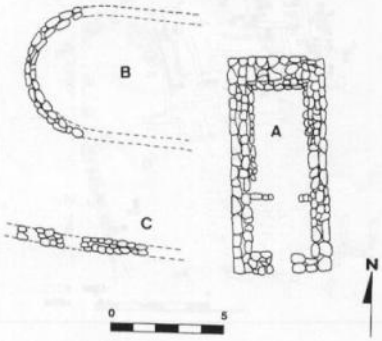


Fig. 238. Asine (Barbouna summit).
Plan of curved foundation (B, middle of the 8th c. B.C.) and of temple of Apollo (A, last quarter of 8th c. B.C.?).
Scale 1:200.

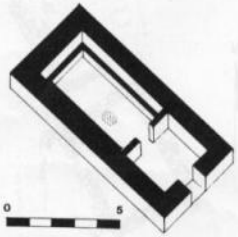


Fig. 239. Asine (Barbouna summit). Isometric reconstruction (cut-away) of temple of Apollo.
Scale 1:200.

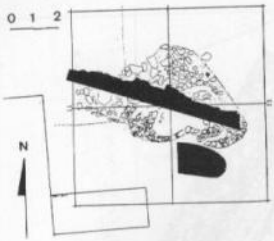


Fig. 240. Kynortion hill, ancient Epidauros. Plan of the Geometric altar. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 241. Kynortion hill, ancient Epidauros. Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo in the prehistoric period. 1: Houses. 2: Altar terrace (shaded: altar of the Geometric period). 3: Great Terrace. 4: Terrace of sacred buildings. Scale 1:200.

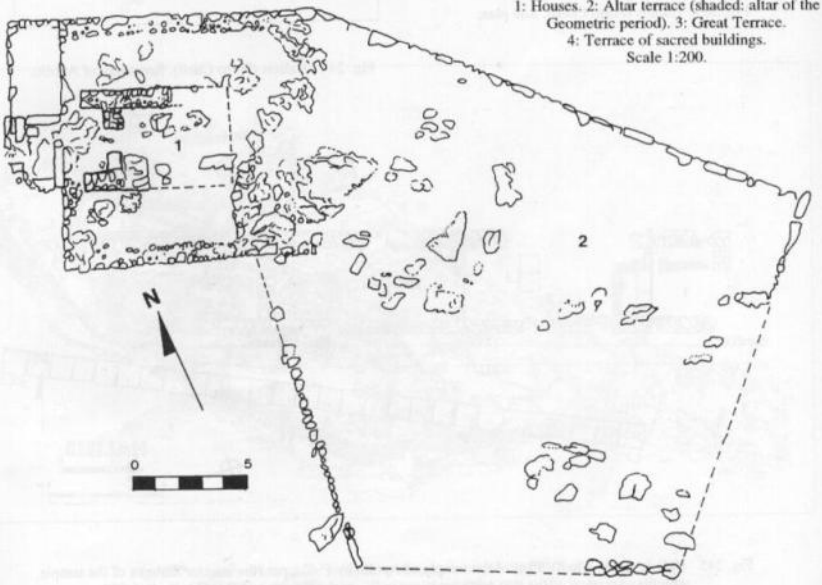


Fig. 242. Troizen. Plan of the sanctuary in the Geometric (?) period (after N. Faraklas). 1: Geometric (?) temple. 2: Temenos. Scale 1:200.

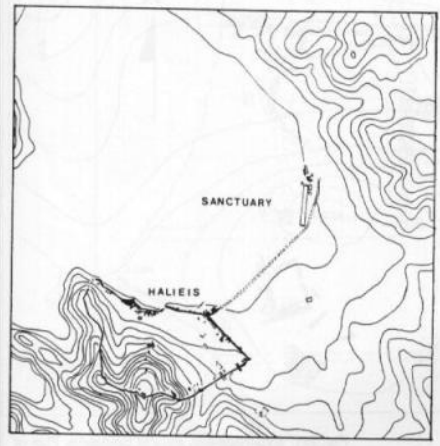


Fig. 243. Halieis (Porto Cheli). Site plan.

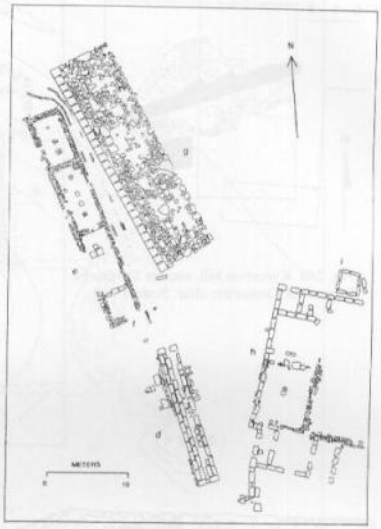


Fig. 244. Halieis (Porto Cheli). Sanctuary of Apollo.

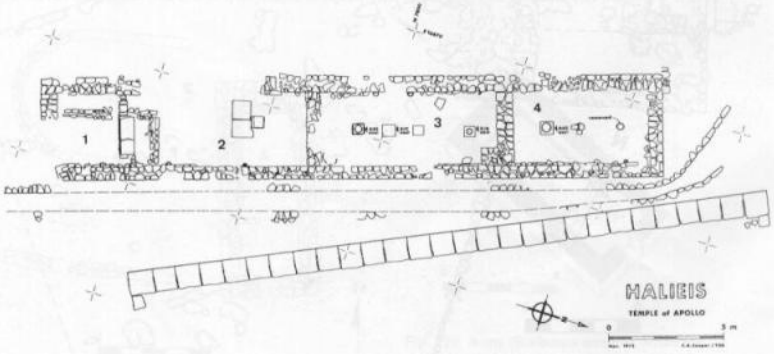


Fig. 245. Halieis (Porto Cheli). Plan of the temple of Apollo by F. Cooper (the interior features of the temple, with the exception of the two northern bases in Room 4 are post-c. 700 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

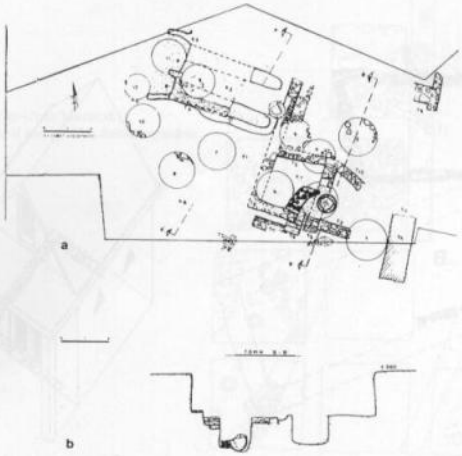


Fig. 246a-b. Aigion. Dodekanison Street 4.
Plan (a) and section (b) of excavated area. Curved wall: T3 (black). Scale 1:200.

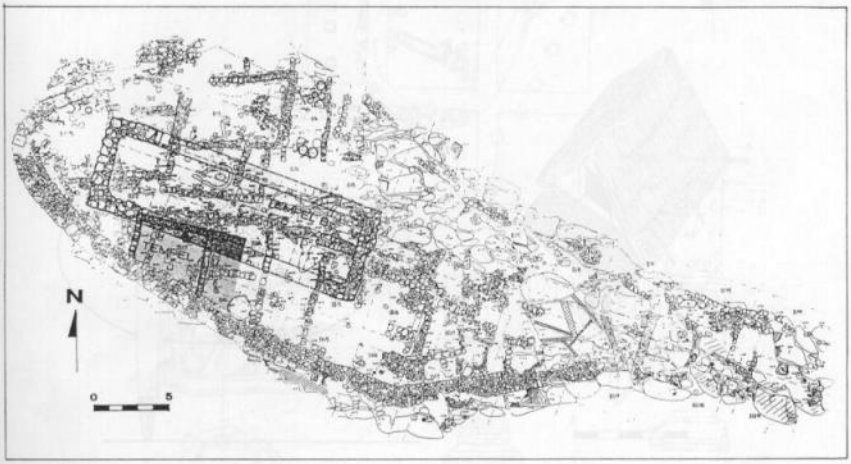


Fig. 247. Aigeira. Plan of the architectural remains of the LH IIIC and EIA periods on the summit of the acropolis. A: ruler's dwelling? (10th-8th c. B.C.); B: EA temple.

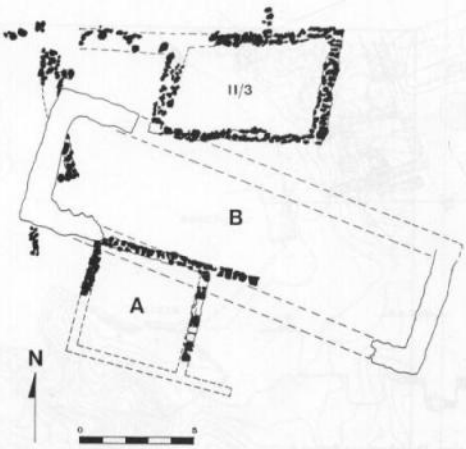


Fig. 248. Aigeira (Acropolis). Plan of the EIA remains. A: Ruler's dwelling? B: Outline of EA temple. II/3: Annex of Building A? Scale 1:200.

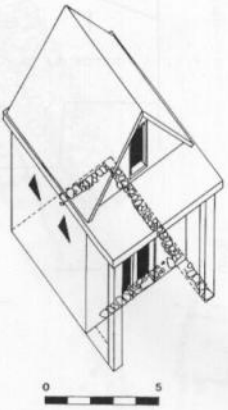


Fig. 249. Aigeira (Acropolis). Isometric reconstruction of Building A by E. Grubits. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 250. Aigeira (Acropolis). Isometric reconstruction of Building A. Scale 1:200.

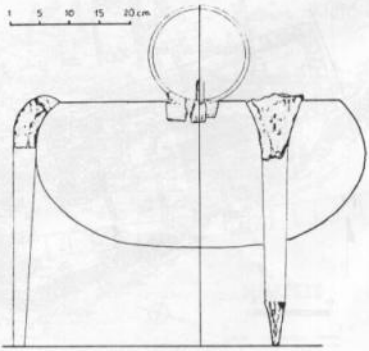


Fig. 251. Aigeira. Graphic restoration of fragmentary bronze tripod of the 9th c. B.C., discovered on a lower terrace of the acropolis.

Fig. 252. Rakita (Ano Mazaraki). Restored plan of the apsidal *hekatompedon*. Scale 1:200.

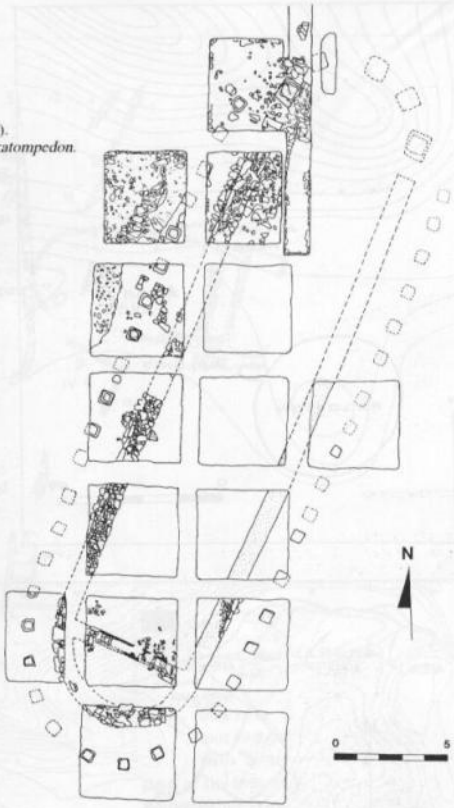


Fig. 253. Rakita (Ano Mazaraki). Apsidal *hekatompedon*. Stone bases of the peristasis.

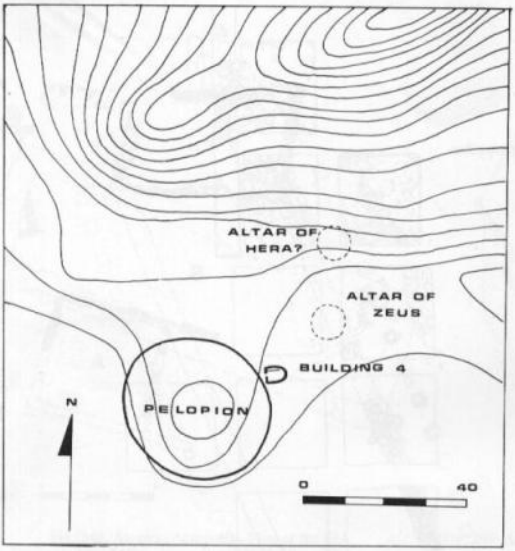


Fig. 254. Olympia. Location of so-called "Pelopion I" and House 4.

Fig. 255. Olympia. Plan of EH Building 4, previously dated in the EIA.

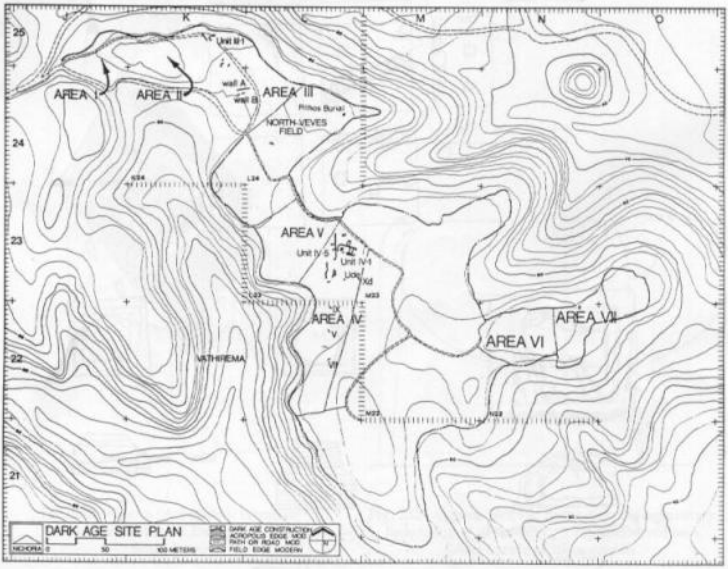


Fig. 256. Nichoria. Map of EIA settlement.

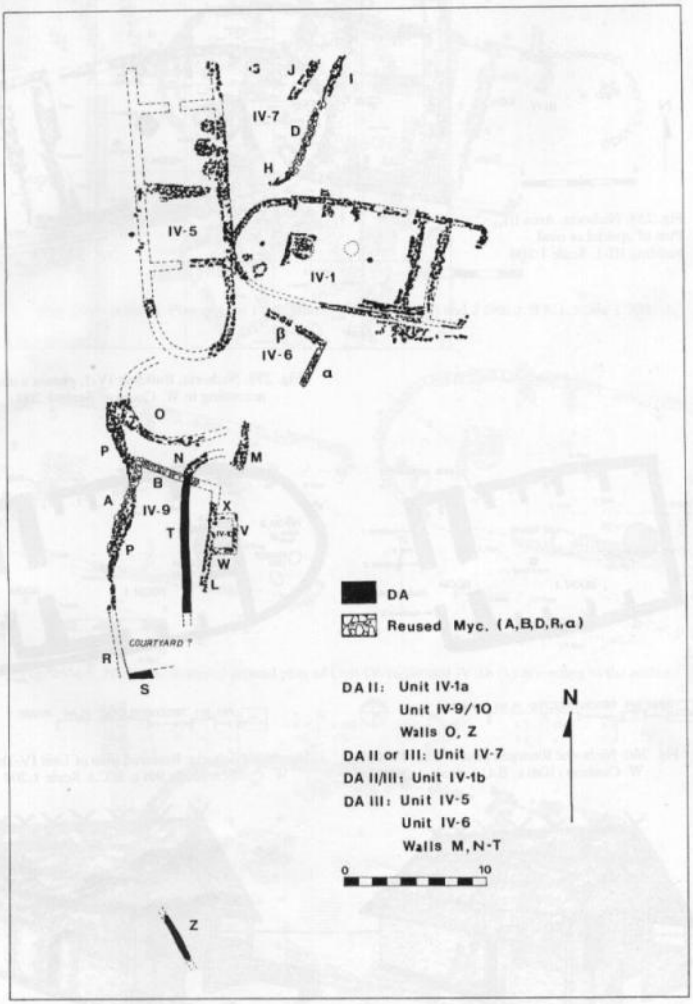


Fig. 257. Nichoria. Area IV.
Combined plan of EIA architectural remains (early 10th c. B.C.- *c.* 750 B.C.).

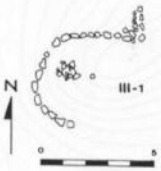


Fig. 258. Nichoria. Area III. Plan of apsidal or oval building III-1. Scale 1:200.

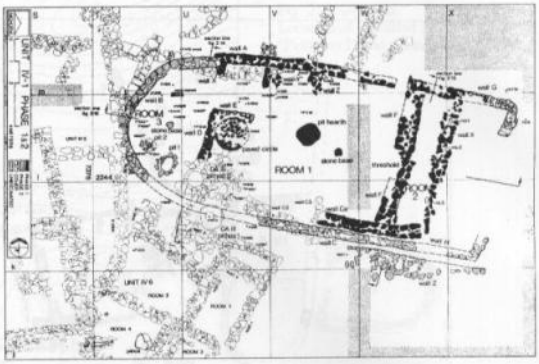


Fig. 259. Nichoria. Building IV-1, phases a and b, according to W. Coulson. Scale 1:200.

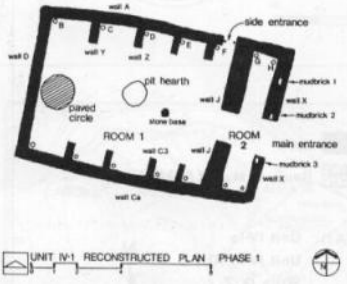


Fig. 260. Nichoria. Restored plan of Unit IV-1a by W. Coulson (10th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

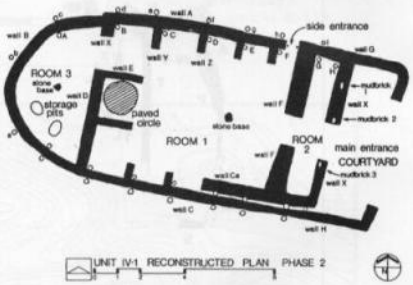


Fig. 261. Nichoria. Restored plan of Unit IV-1b by W. Coulson (early 9th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

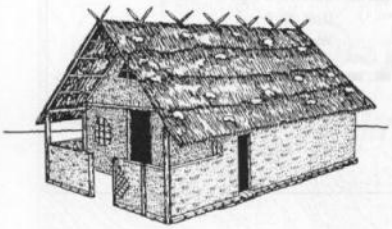


Fig. 262. Nichoria. Graphic reconstruction of Unit IV-1a according to W. Coulson.

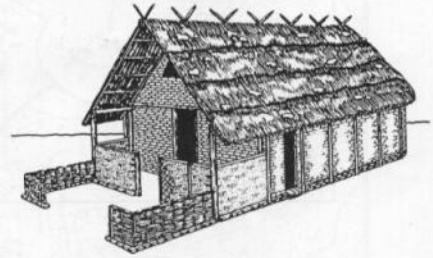


Fig. 263. Nichoria. Graphic reconstruction of Unit IV-1b according to W. Coulson.

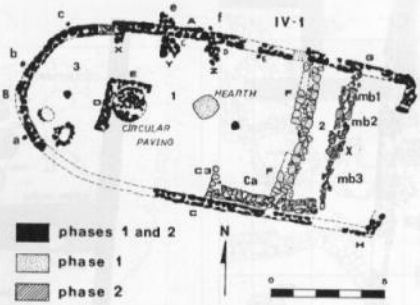


Fig. 264. Nichoria. Plan of Unit IV-1, phases 1 (10th c. B.C.) and 2 (9th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

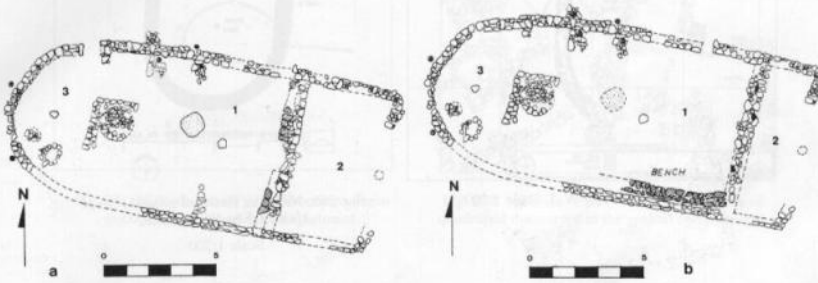


Fig. 265a-b. Nichoria. Restored ground plan of Unit IV-1a (a) and IV-1b (b) according to the author.

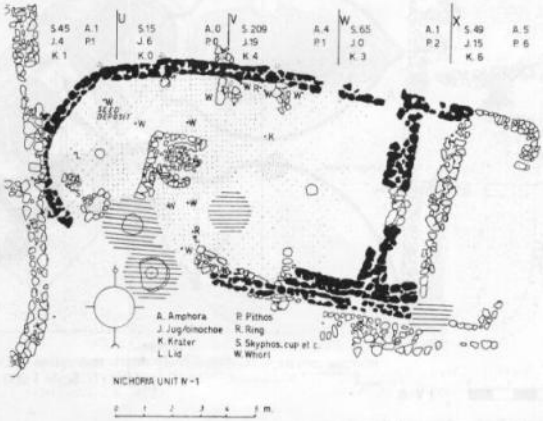


Fig. 266. Nichoria. Distribution of finds in Unit IV-1, according to K. Fagerström

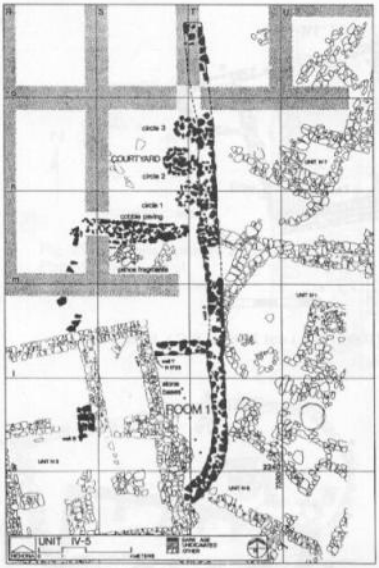


Fig. 267. Plan of Unit IV-5. Scale 1:200.

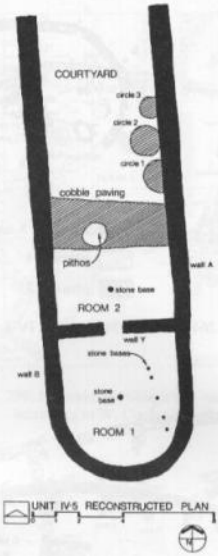


Fig. 268. Nichoria. Restored ground plan of Unit IV-5 by W. Coulson.

Scale 1:200

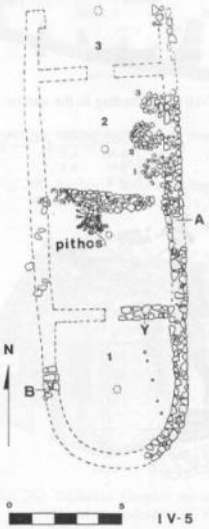


Fig. 269. Nichoria. Restored ground plan of Unit IV-5 (c. 800-750) according to the author.

Scale 1:200.

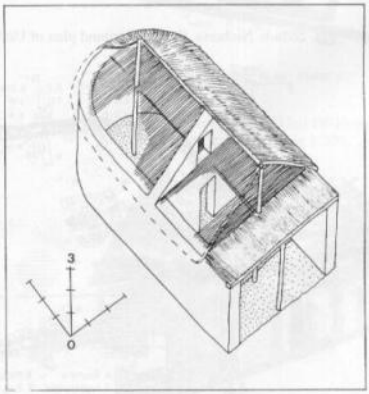


Fig. 270. Isometric restoration of Unit IV-5, first phase (?). Scale 1:200.

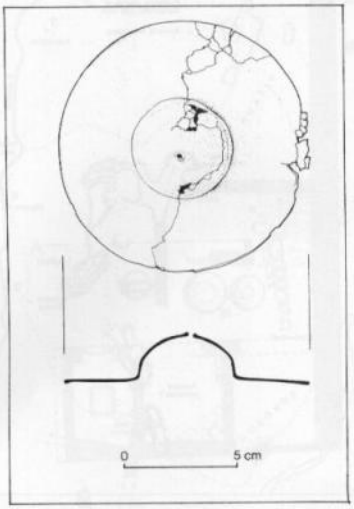


Fig. 271. Nichoria. Unit IV-1b. Bronze phalaron discovered in the apsidal compartment.

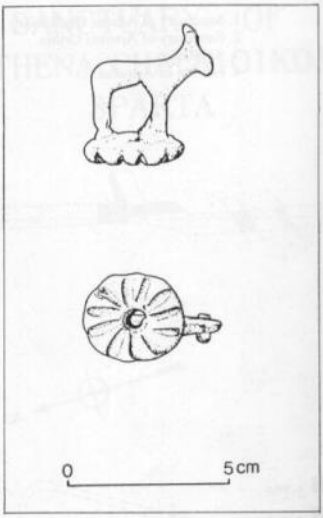


Fig. 272. Nichoria. Unit IV-5. Bronze figurine of quadruped discovered in the apsidal compartment.

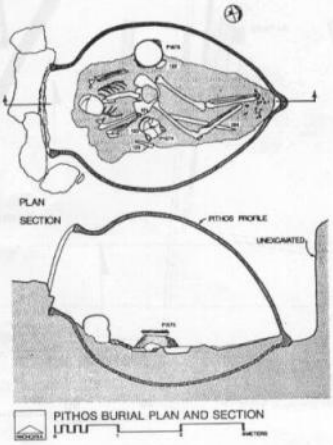
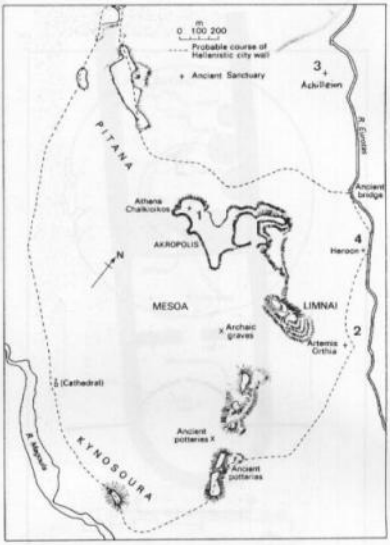


Fig. 273. Nichoria. Plan and section of LG pithos burial.

Fig. 274. Sparta. Map of Sparta.

1. Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos
2. Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
3. Achilleion
4. Heroön of Astrabakos



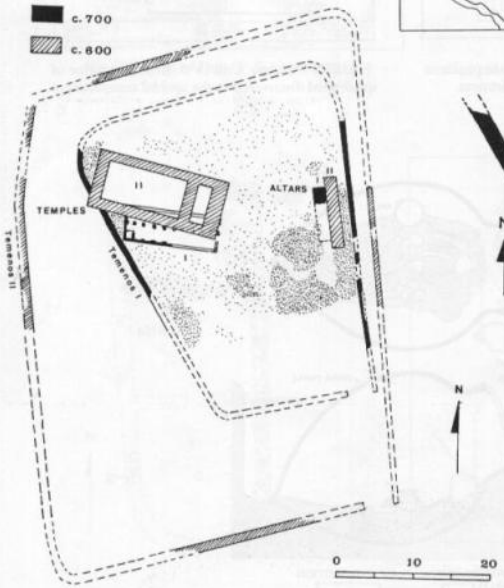


Fig. 275. Sparta. Plan of sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in the 7th and 6th c. B.C., according to B. Bergquist.

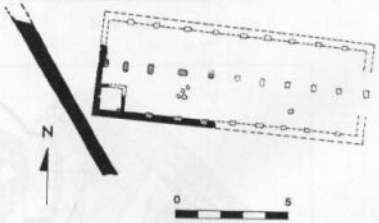


Fig. 276. Sparta.
Restored plan of first temple of Artemis Orthia (c. 700 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

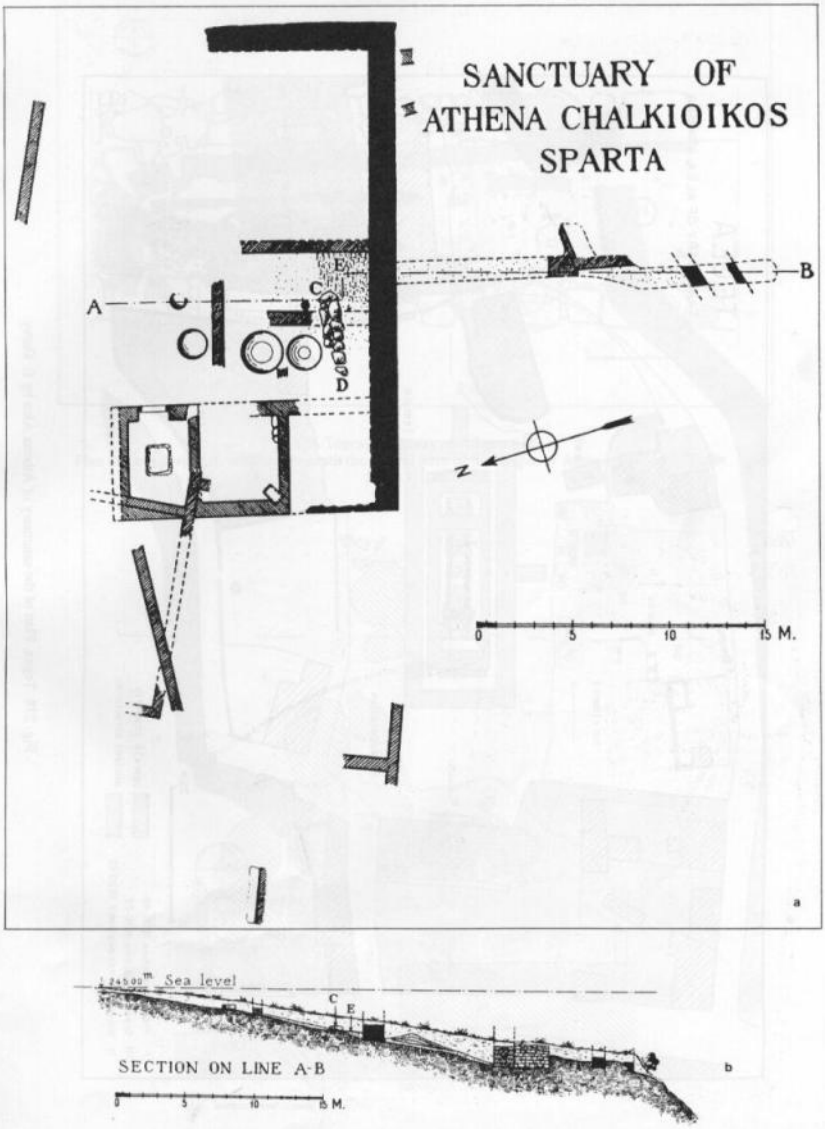


Fig. 277a-b. Sparta. Plan and section of the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the Acropolis. Wall C-D: Geometric. Dotted area: Deposit of Geometric pottery. Scale 1:200.

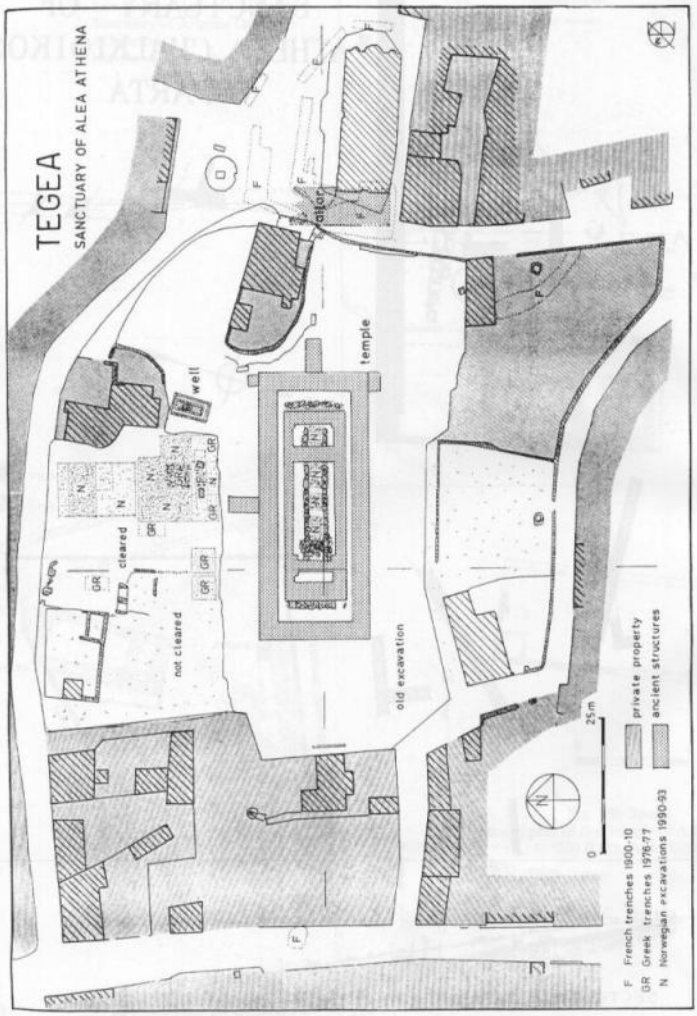


Fig. 278. Tegea. Plan of the sanctuary of Athena Alea by E. Østby.

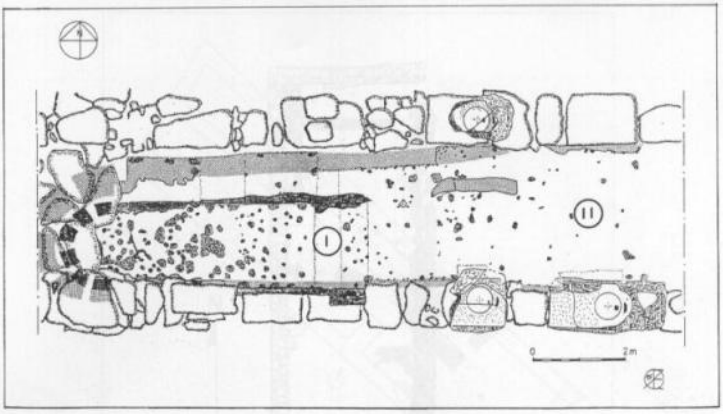


Fig. 279. Tegea. Sanctuary of Athena Alea.
Plan of Geometric cult buildings beneath the central nave of the temple of Athena Alea, by E. Østby.
Scale 1:100.

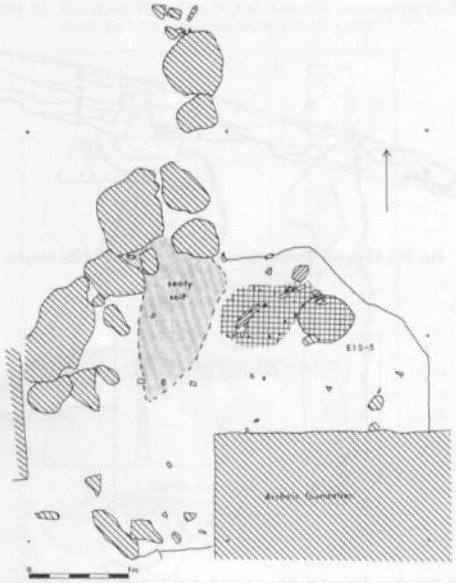


Fig. 280. Tegea. Sanctuary of Athena Alea. Plan of the area of the metal workshop, by G. Nordquist.

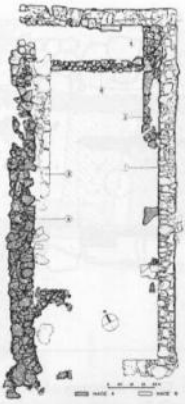


Fig. 281. Gortsouli (Ptolis). Plan of Temples A and B. Scale 1:200.

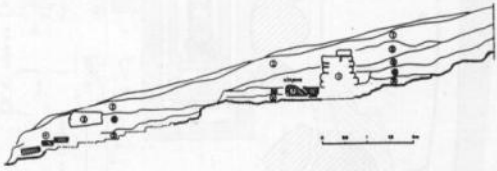


Fig. 282. Gortsouli (Ptolis). Section across the width of the temples.

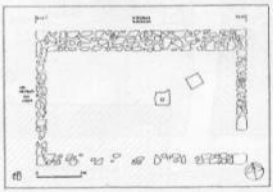


Fig. 283. Pallantion. Plan of Building A (end of 7th c. B.C.) by E. Østby. Scale 1:200.

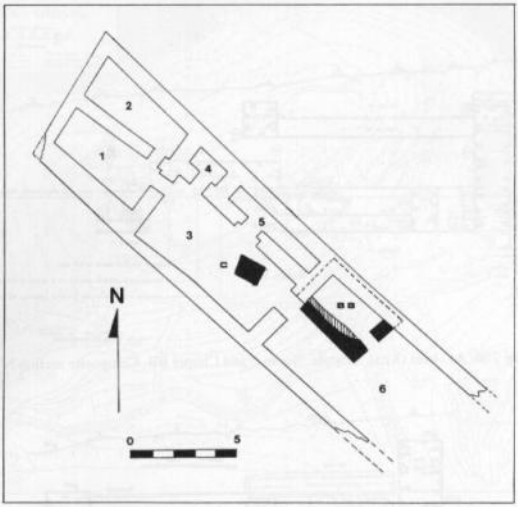


Fig. 284. Ay. Irini (Kea). Plan of the PG and Geometric structures (in black) inside the LBA temple (in outline). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 285. Ay. Irini (Kea). Temple. Room 1. LM IB/LH IIA terracotta statue 1-1. The head was reused in the LG period.

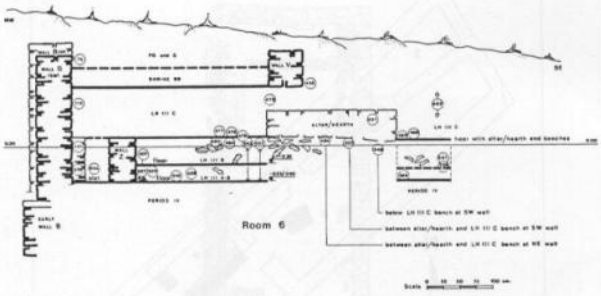


Fig. 286. Ay. Irini (Kea). Temple. Room 6 and Chapel BB. Composite section NW-SE.

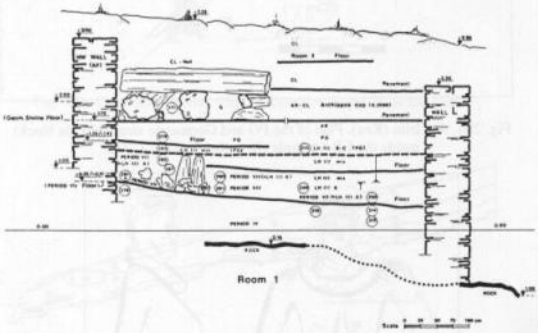


Fig. 287. Ay. Irini (Kea). Temple. Room 1. Composite section NW-SE.

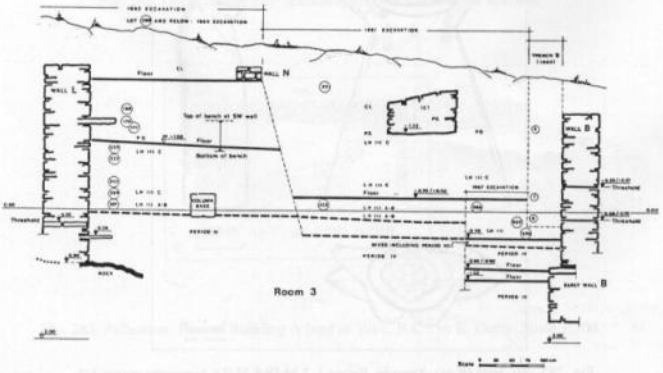


Fig. 288. Ay. Irini (Kea). Temple. Room 3 and Structure C. Composite section NW-SE.

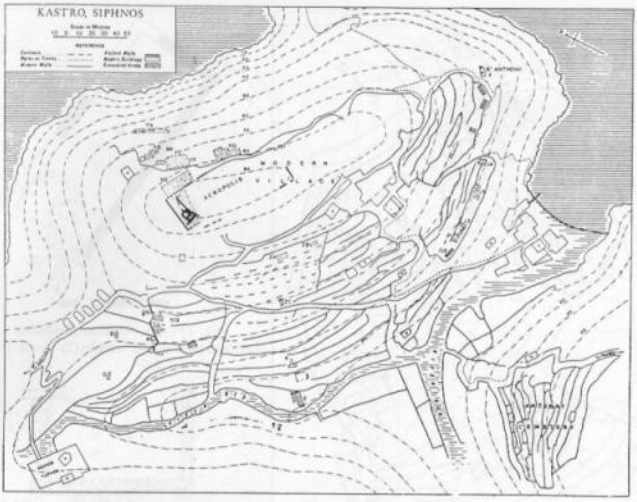


Fig. 289. Kastro (Siphnos). Topographical plan.

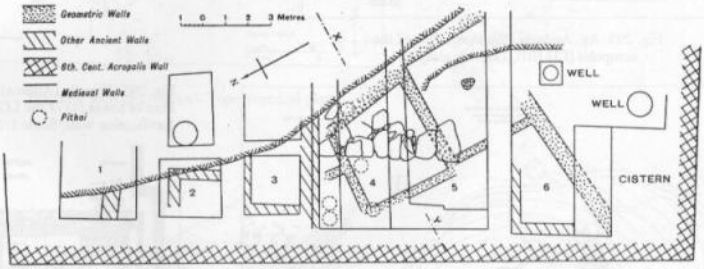


Fig. 290. Kastro (Siphnos). Plan of architectural remains on the acropolis.

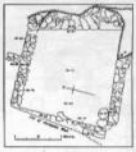


Fig. 291. Kastro (Siphnos). Plan of LG house on the acropolis. Scale 1:200.

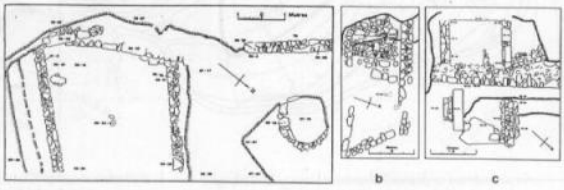


Fig. 292a-c. Kastro (Siphnos). Plan of LG houses on the NE slope of the acropolis. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 293. Ay. Andreas (Siphnos). Plan of the acropolis (LH IIIB, LG). Θ: temple?

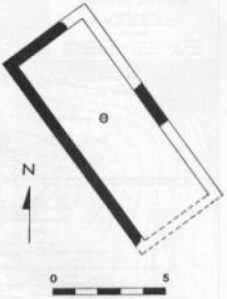


Fig. 294. Ay. Andreas (Siphnos). Restored plan of LG temple (?). Scale 1:200.

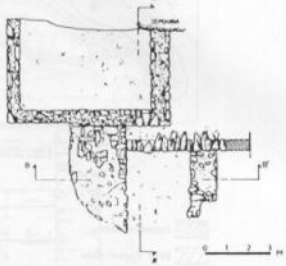


Fig. 295. Hypsile (Andros). Plan of tower (?) of the LG fortification wall. Scale 1:200.

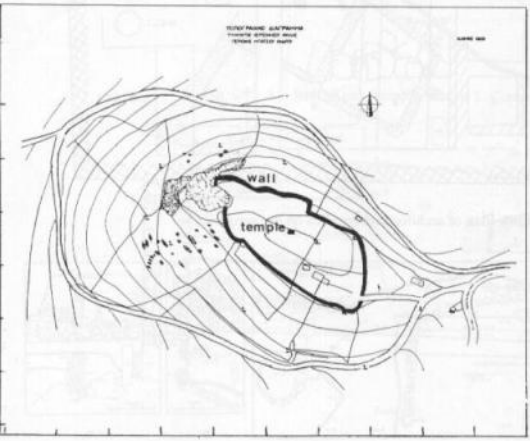


Fig. 296. Hypsile (Andros). Topographical plan.

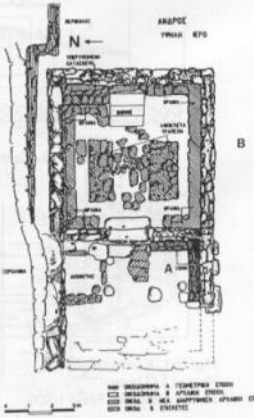


Fig. 297. Hypsile (Andros). Buildings A and B, after C. Televantou. Stippled: Building A. In outline: Building B. Scale 1:200.

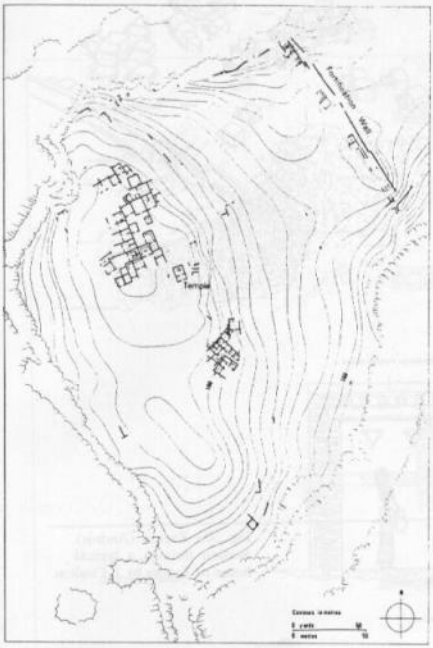


Fig. 298. Zagora (Andros). Topographical plan.

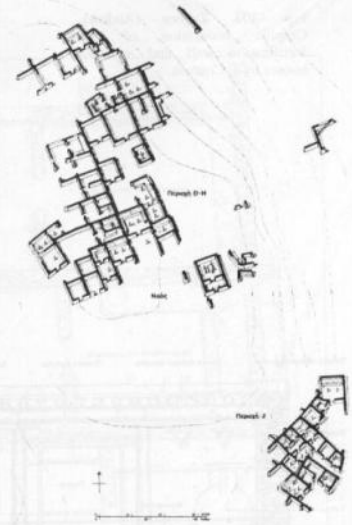


Fig. 299. Zagora (Andros). Isometric reconstruction of the central habitation quarter D-H by J. Coulton.

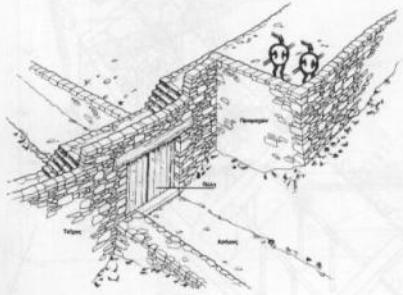


Fig. 300. Zagora (Andros). Graphic restoration of the gate after J. Coulton.

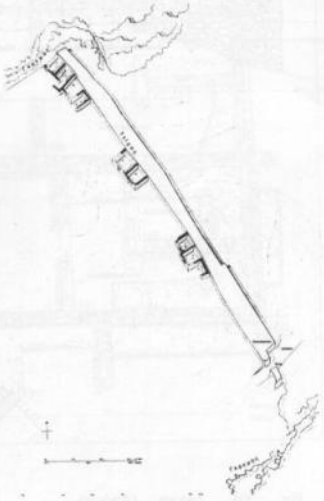


Fig. 301. Zagora (Andros). Isometric reconstruction (cut-away) of the fortification wall by J. Coulton.

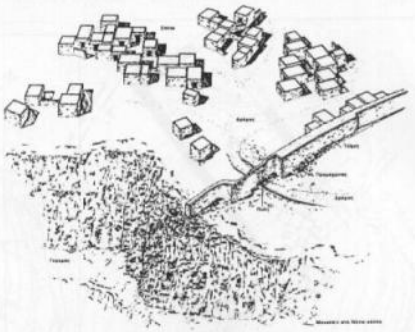


Fig. 302. Zagora (Andros). Graphic restoration of the fortification wall and adjacent houses by J. Coulton.

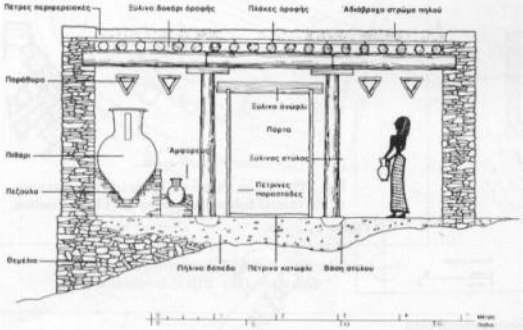


Fig. 303. Zagora (Andros). Section through a typical house of Zagora by J. Coulton.

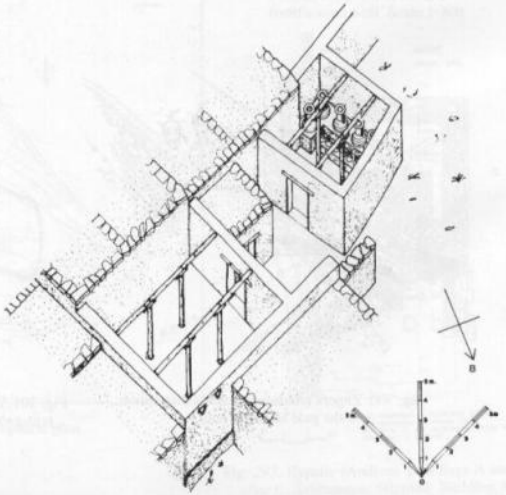


Fig. 304. Zagora (Andros). Isometric reconstruction of House DD6-8/27 by J. Coulton.

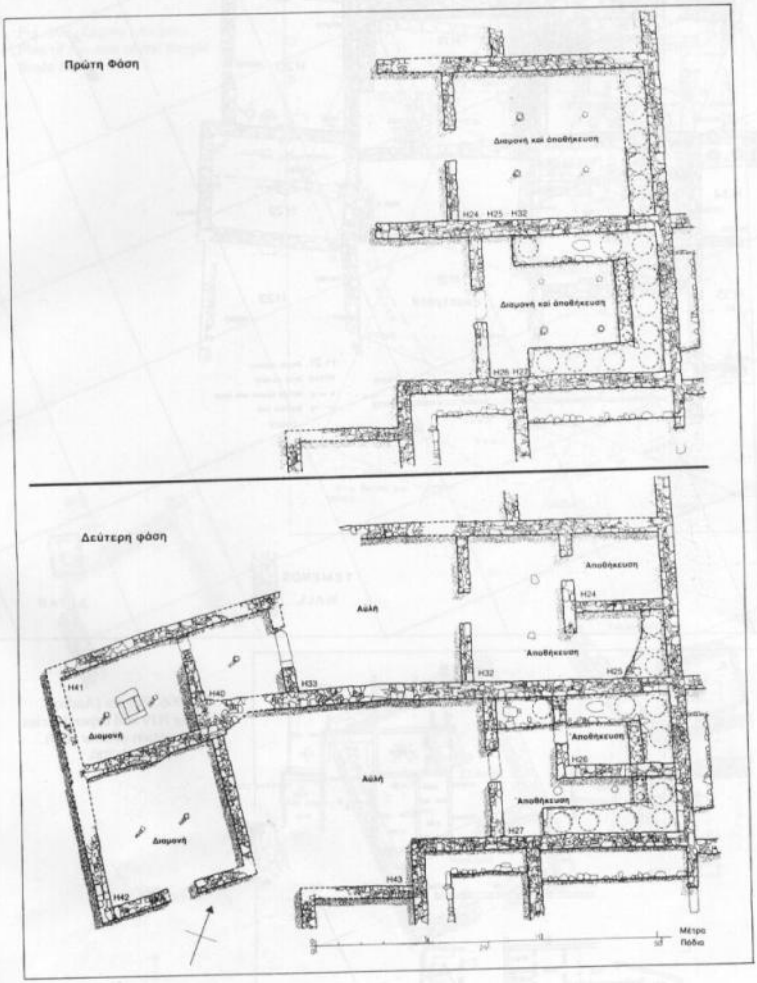


Fig. 305a-b. Zagora (Andros). Plan of the two building phases of the houses at the SW side of the central quarter. Drawing by J. Coulton. Scale 1:200.

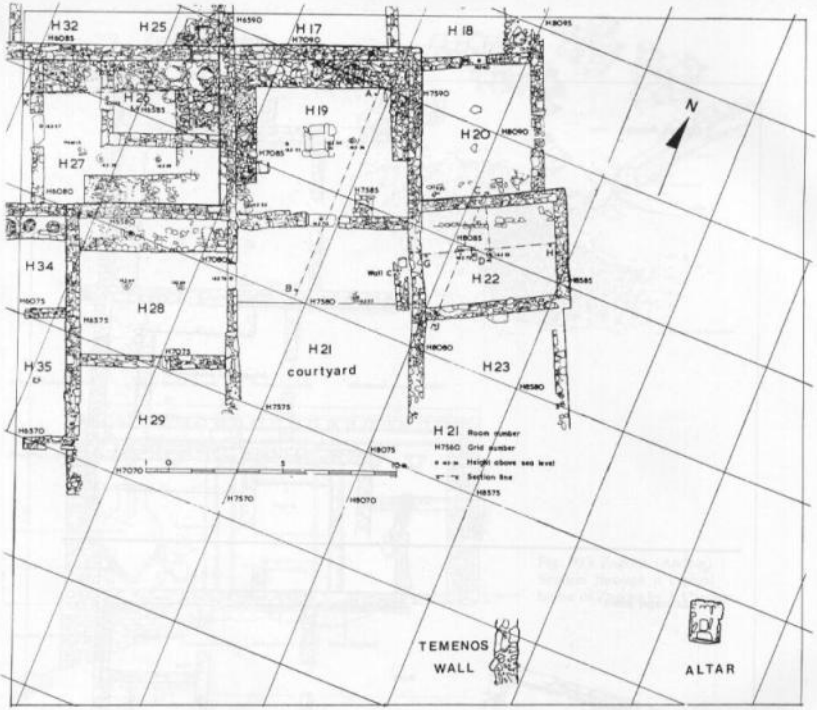


Fig. 306. Zagora (Andros). Building H19 and dependencies and location of altar (LG). Scale 1:200.

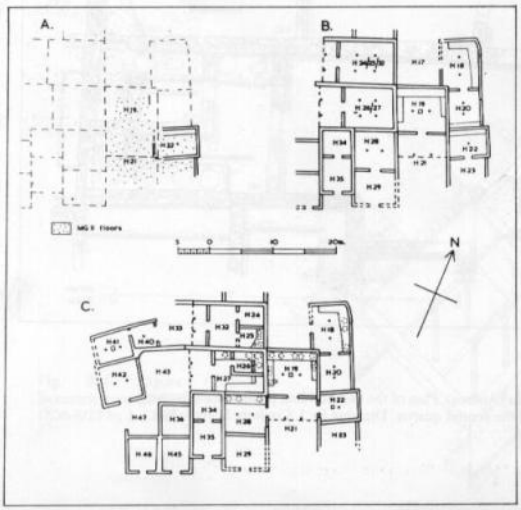
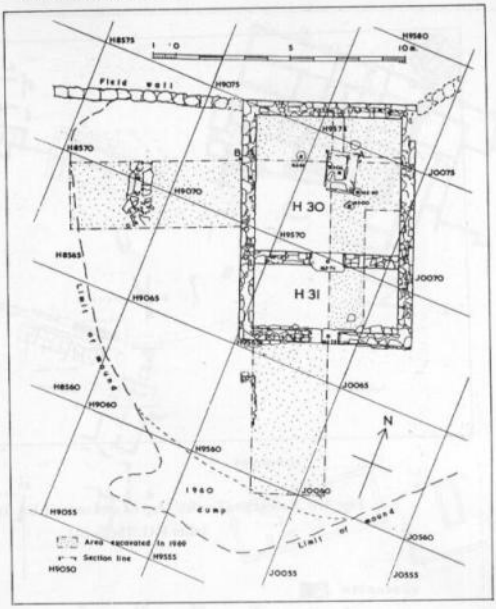


Fig. 307a-c. Zagora (Andros). Architectural phases of Building H19 and dependencies, according to A. Cambitoglou.



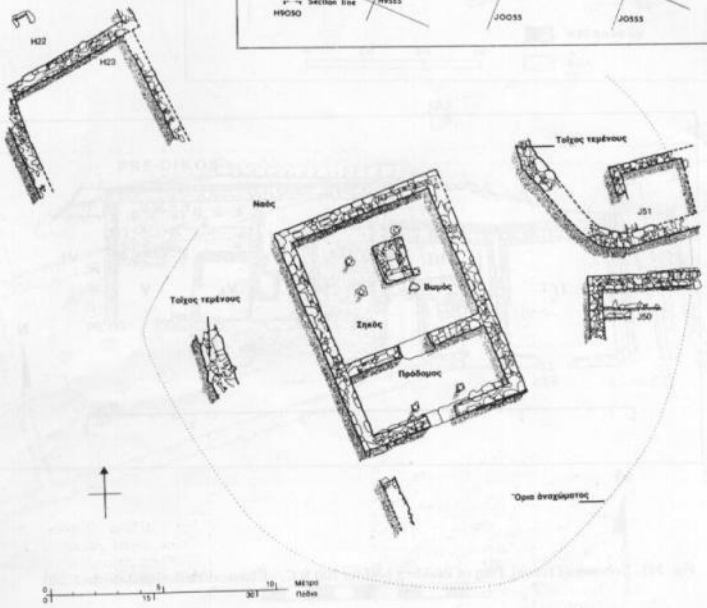


Fig. 309. Zagora (Andros). Plan of the area of the temple. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 308. Zagora (Andros). Plan of the area of the temple. Scale 1:200.

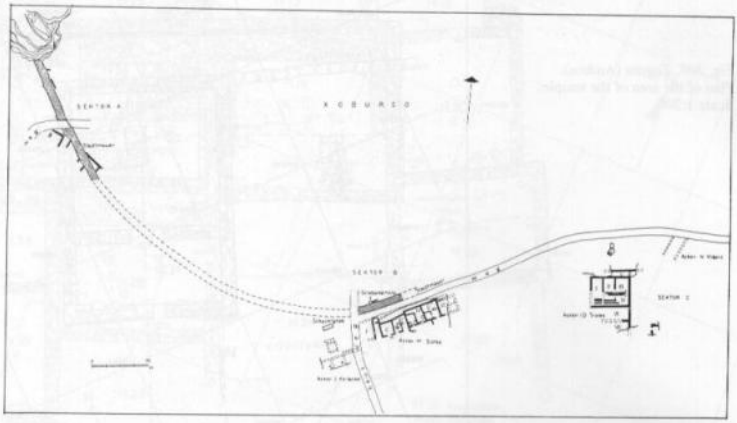


Fig. 310. Xobourgo (Tenos). Map of area outside EA fortification wall.
(after P.G. Themelis)

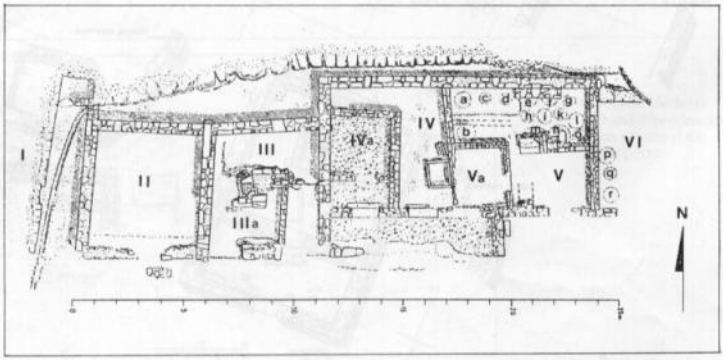
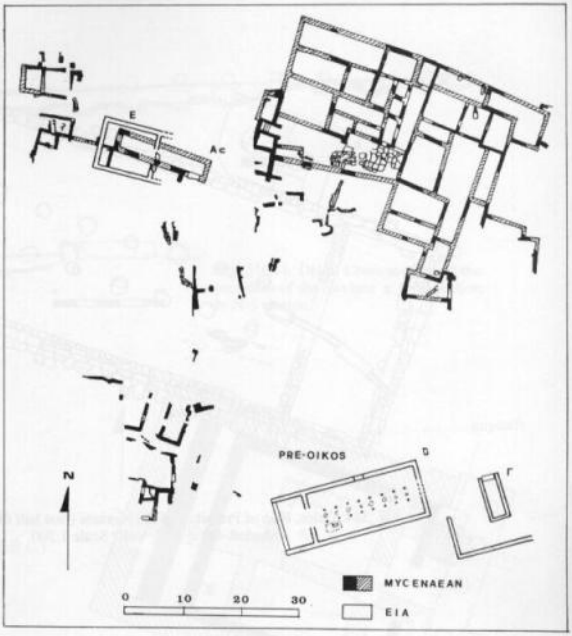


Fig. 311. Xobourgo (Tenos). Plan of Building I-VI (c. 700 B.C. - Classical/Hellenistic). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 312. Delos. Plan of the Mycenaean and EIA remains in the central area of the sanctuary.



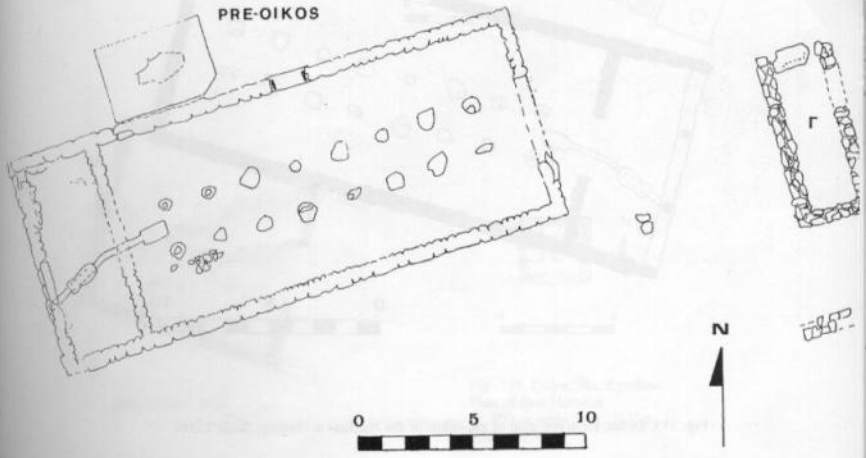


Fig. 313. Delos. Temple Γ (8th c. B.C.?) and its relationship with the Pre-oikos of the Naxians. Scale 1:200.

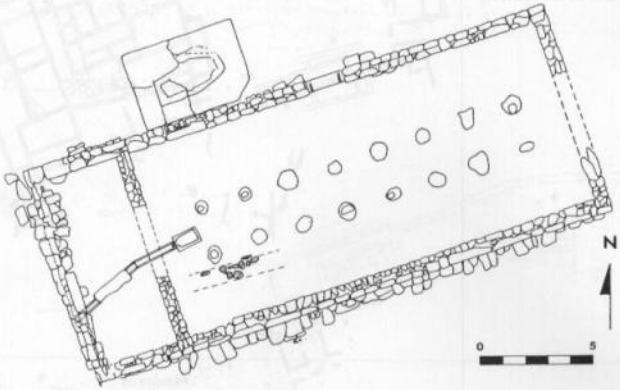


Fig. 314. Delos. Plan of Pre-oikos of the Naxians (first half of 7th c. B.C.?). Shaded: 8th c. B.C. wall? Scale 1:200.

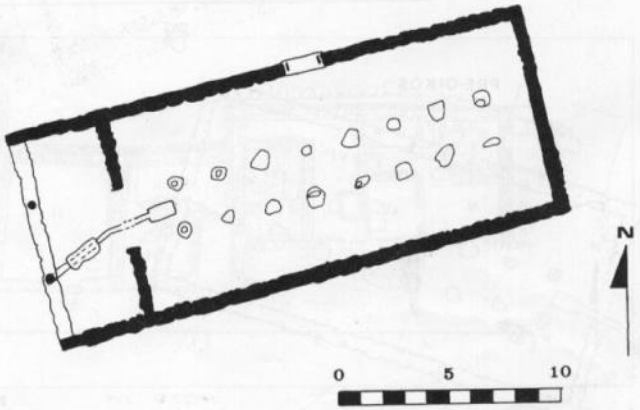


Fig. 315. Delos. Restored plan of pre-oikos of the Naxians according. Scale 1:200.

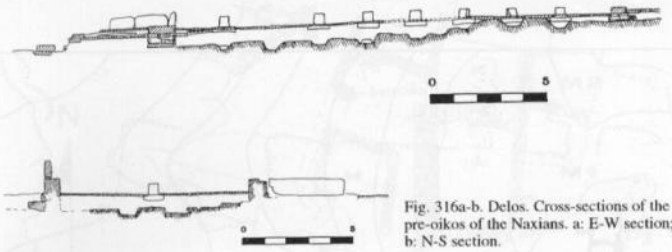


Fig. 316a-b. Delos. Cross-sections of the pre-oikos of the Naxians. a: E-W section; b: N-S section.

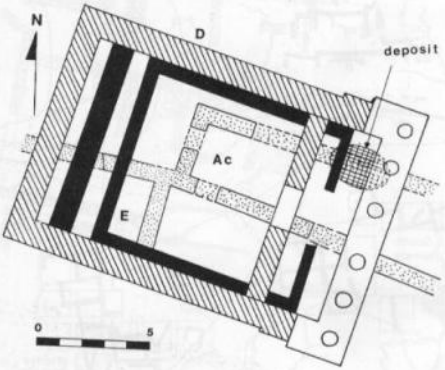


Fig. 317. Delos. Artemision.
Plan of successive building phases.
Stippled: ArtC (LH III).
Black: ArtE (c. 700 or early 7th c. B.C.).
Shaded: ArtD (Hellenistic).
Scale 1:200.

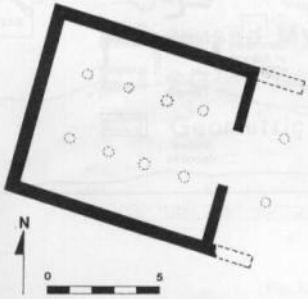


Fig. 318. Delos. Restored plan of temple of Artemis (ArtE). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 319. Delos. Mt. Kynthos.
Plan of first Heraion
(c. 700 or early 7th c. B.C.).
Scale 1:200.

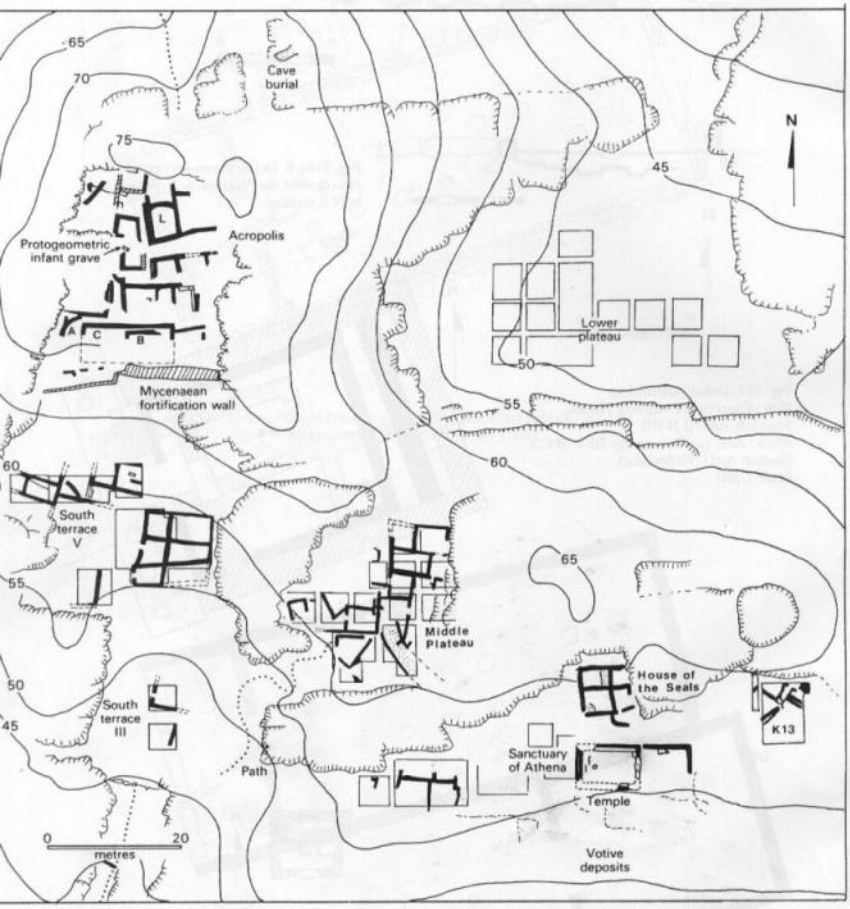


Fig. 320. Koukounaries (Paros). Topographical plan of the site during the EIA, as excavated up to 1994 (D. Schilardi, combined with I. Morris).

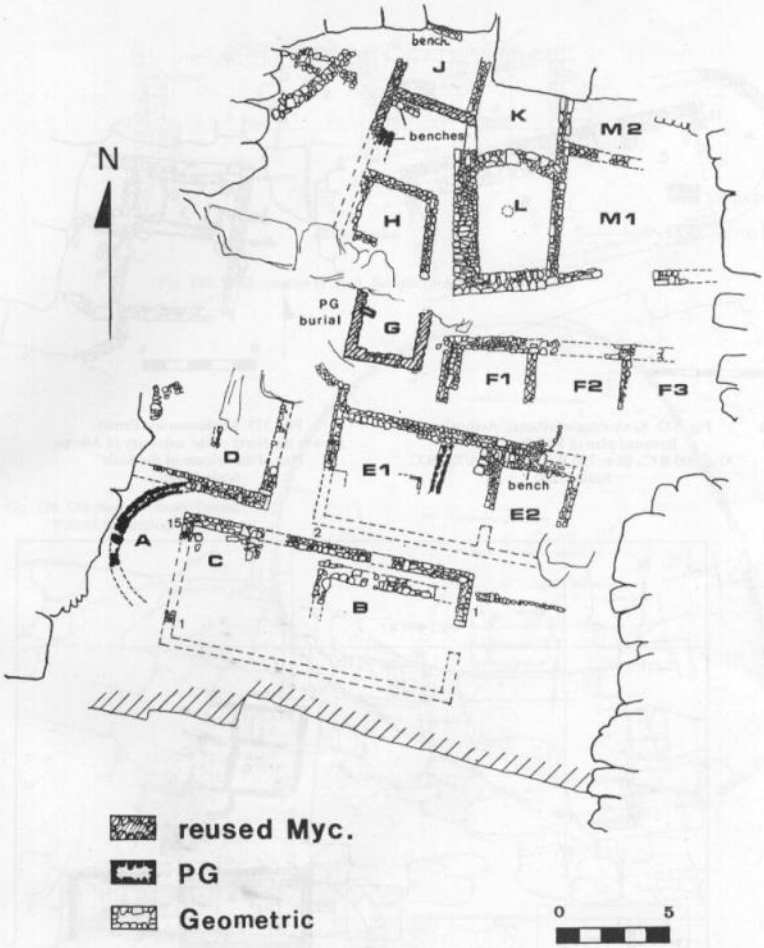


Fig. 321. Koukounaries (Paros).
Tentative restored plan of the EIA buildings on the summit of the acropolis.
Scale 1:200.

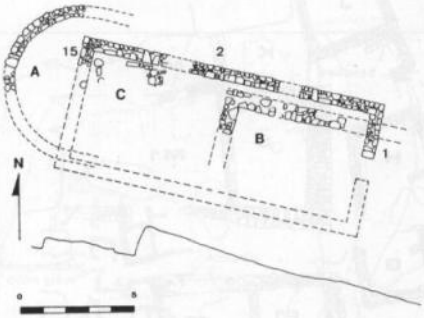


Fig. 322. Koukounaries (Paros). Acropolis.
Restored plan of Buildings A-C.
A: *c.* 900 B.C.; B: *c.* 750 B.C.; C: *c.* 725/720 B.C.
Scale 1:200.

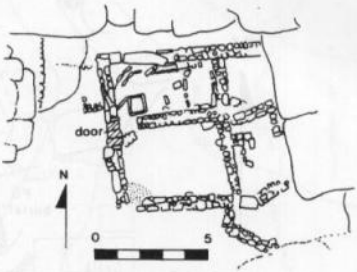


Fig. 323. Koukounaries (Paros).
Area to the North of the sanctuary of Athena.
Plan of the "House of the Seals".
Scale 1:200.

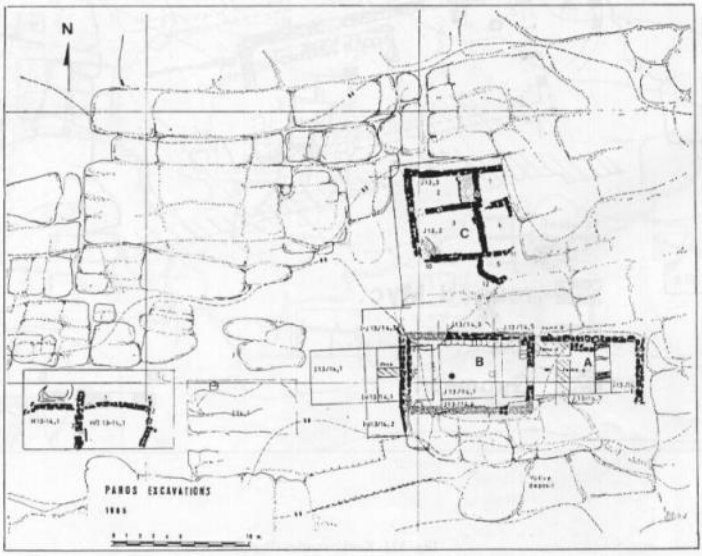


Fig. 324. Koukounaries (Paros). Area of sanctuary of Athena.
A: Temenos and altar. B: Temple. C: "House of the Seals".

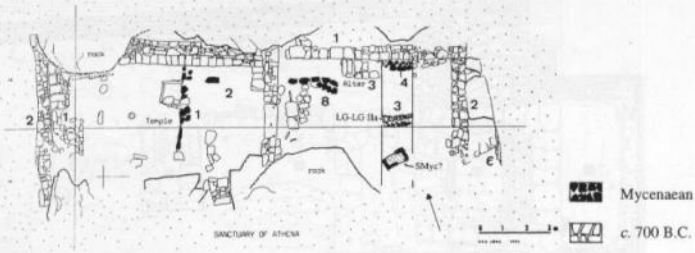


Fig. 325. Koukounaries (Paros). Temple of Athena. Scale 1:200.

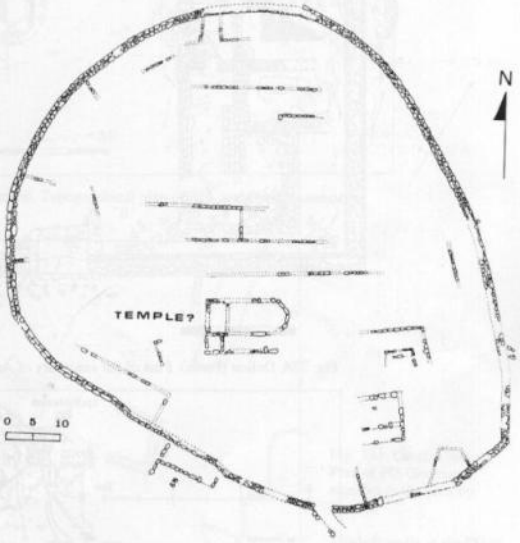


Fig. 326. Oikonomos Island (Paros). Plan of the settlement.

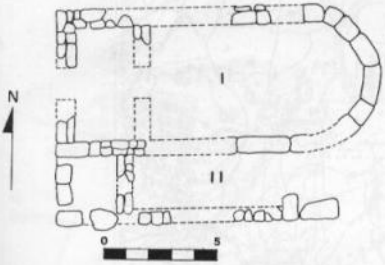


Fig. 327. Oikonomos Island (Paros). Plan of possible temple (*c.* 700 or 7th c. B.C.?). Scale 1:200.

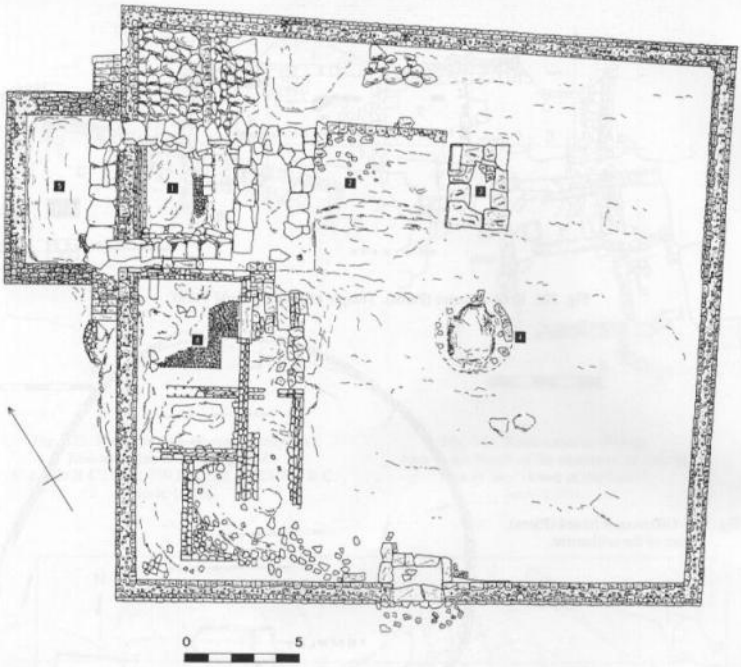


Fig. 328. Delion (Paros). Plan of the sanctuary of Artemis. Scale 1:200.

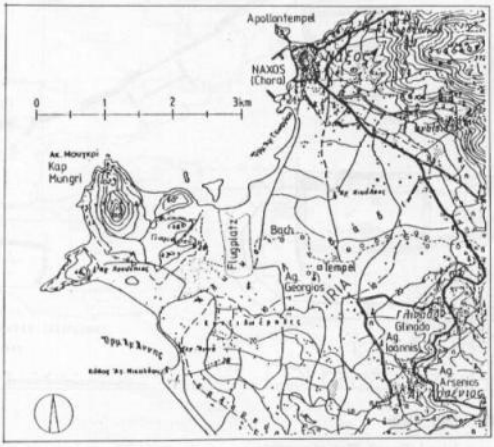


Fig. 329. Naxos. Map of the city of Naxos and surroundings.

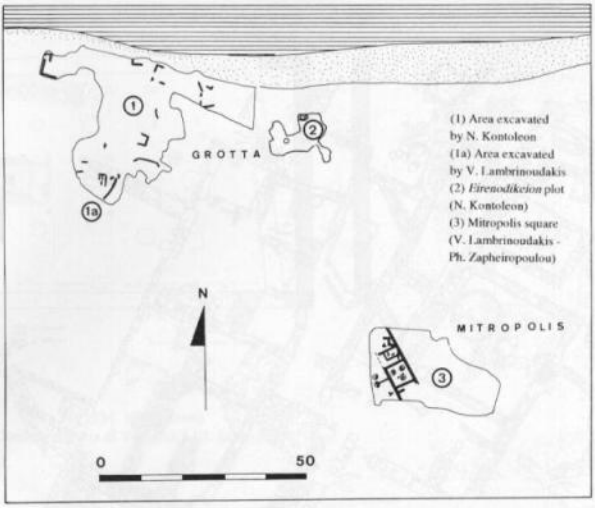


Fig. 330. Grotta (Naxos). Topographical plan of EIA architectural remains.

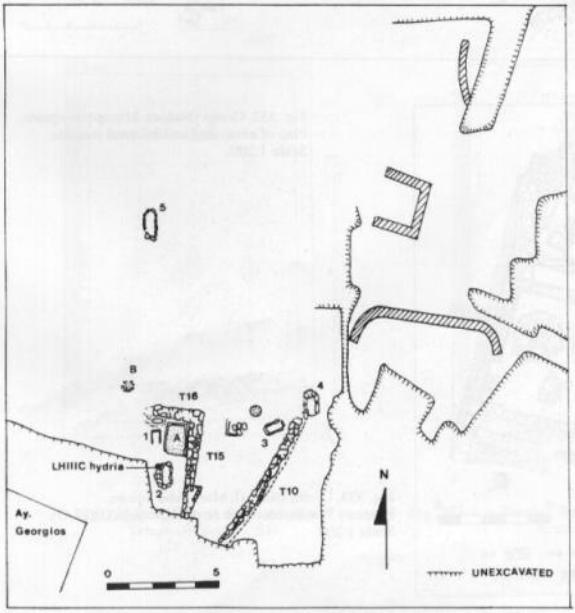


Fig. 331. Grotta (Naxos). Plan of PG-Geometric remains in the area by the sea.

Shaded: walls of the PG or Geometric period excavated by N. Kontoleon.
T10: Curved peribolos wall of the PG period;
T15-T16: Funerary enclosure of the EG period (V. Lambrinoudakis).
1-5: PG tombs (1-4: Lambrinoudakis; 5: Kontoleon).
A: "Paving".
B: Pyre lined with stones.

Scale 1:200.

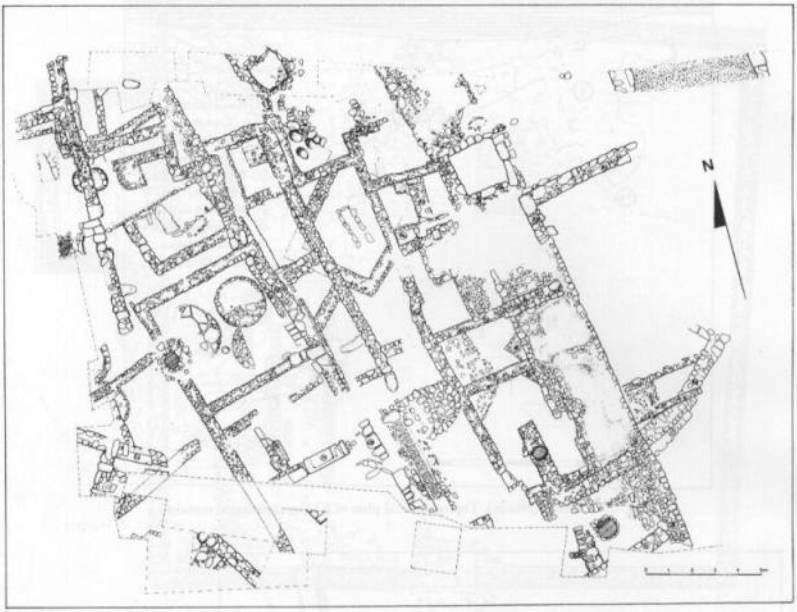


Fig. 332. Grotta (Naxos). Mitropolis square. Plan of excavated architectural remains. Scale 1:200.

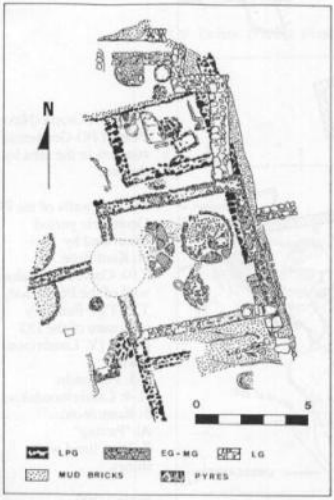


Fig. 333. Grotta (Naxos). Mitropolis Square. Funerary "enclosures" and circular pavings (EG-LG). Scale 1:200.

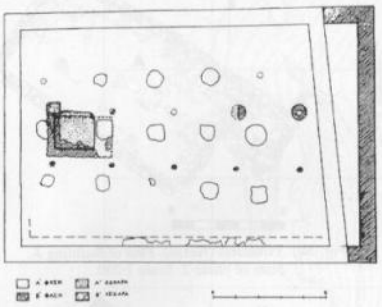


Fig. 334. Iria (Naxos).
Combined plans of Temples I-III. Scale 1:200.

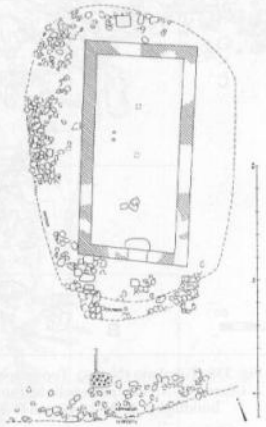


Fig. 335. Iria (Naxos). Restored plan of Temple I.
Scale 1:200.

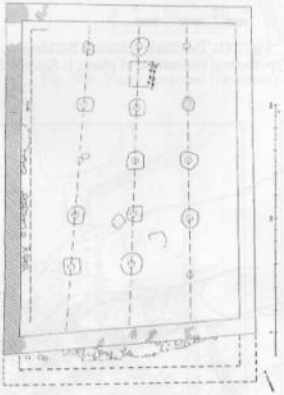


Fig. 336. Iria (Naxos). Restored plan of
Temple II. Scale 1:200.

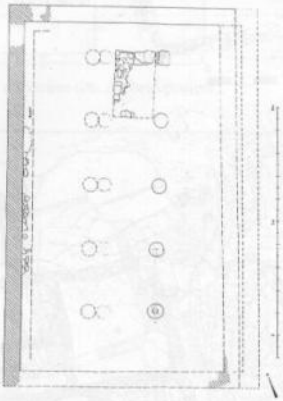


Fig. 337. Iria (Naxos). Restored plan of Temple III.
Scale 1:200.

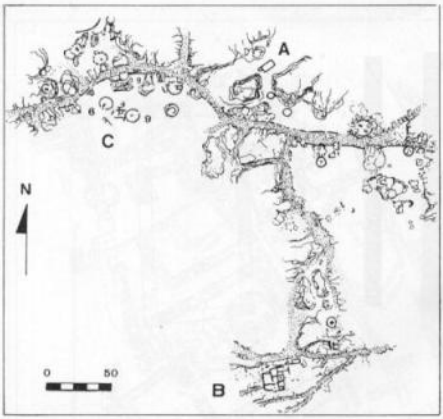


Fig. 338. Tsikalario (Naxos). Topographical plan of Geometric-Archaic necropolis and situation of Buildings A-B (MG-LG) and C (EA?).

Fig. 339. Tsikalario (Naxos). Plan of Building C. Scale 1:200.

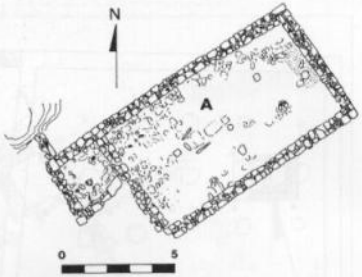


Fig. 340. Tsikalario (Naxos). Plan of Building A. State of phase 2. Scale 1:200.

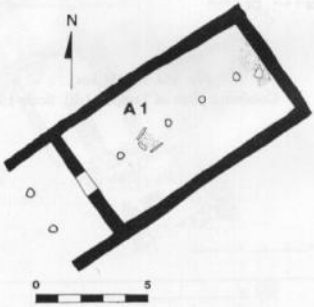


Fig. 341. Tsikalario (Naxos). Building A. Hypothetical restoration of phase 1. Scale 1:200.

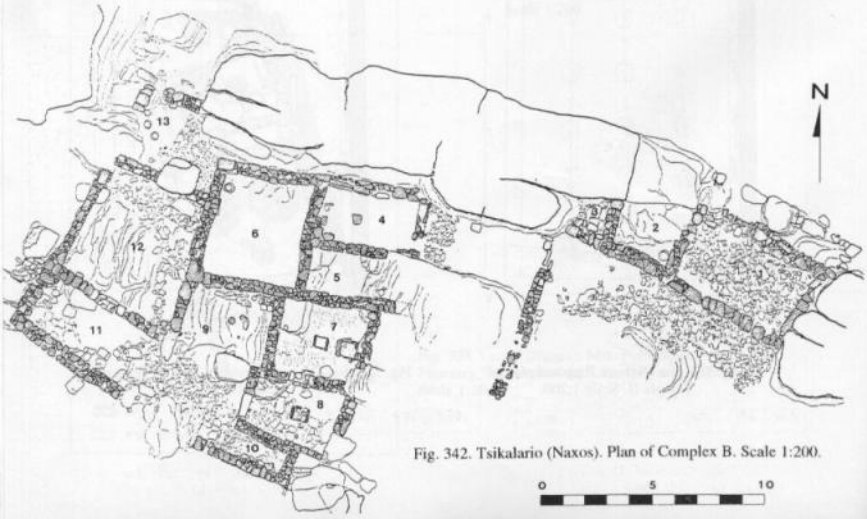


Fig. 342. Tsikalario (Naxos). Plan of Complex B. Scale 1:200.

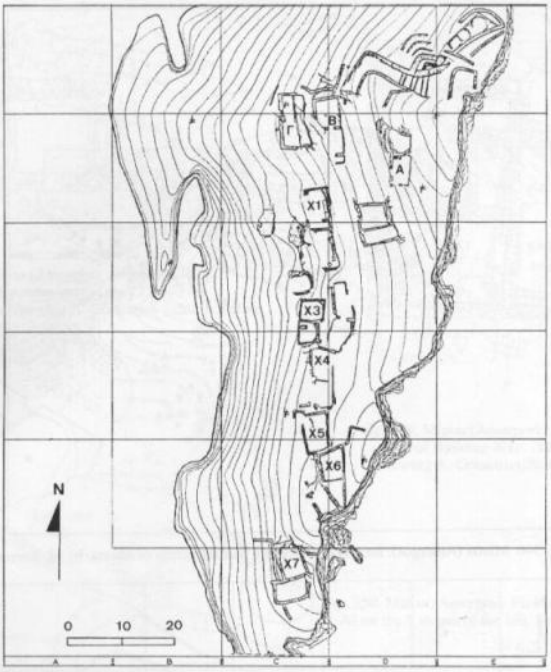


Fig. 343. Vathy Limenari (Donousa). Plan of the MG settlement (Ph. Zapheiropoulou).

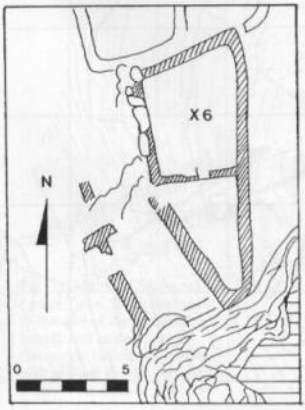


Fig. 344. Vathy Limenari (Donousa). Plan of House X6. Scale 1:200.

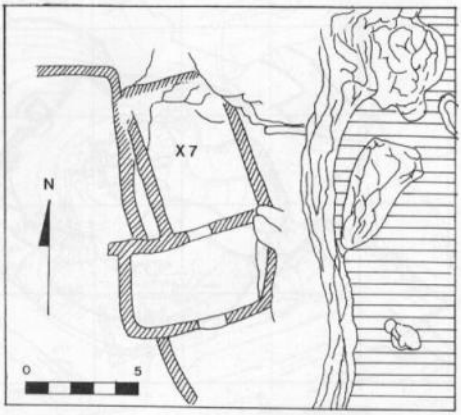


Fig. 345. Vathy Limenari (Donousa). Plan of House X7. Scale 1:200.

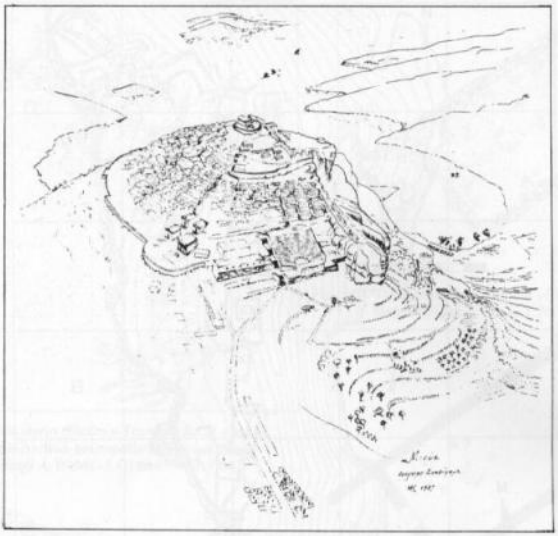


Fig. 346. Minoa (Amorgos). Imaginative graphic reconstruction of Minoa, by M. Korres.

Fig. 347. Minoa (Amorgos). Topographical plan of acropolis (plan by M. Chalkoutsakis).

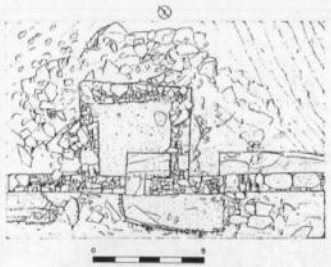


Fig. 348. Minoa (Amorgos). Acropolis. Plan of tower and postern gate of the LG wall on the acropolis (drawing A. Gounaris). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 349. Minoa (Amorgos). Acropolis. Plan of Building K (*c.* 700 B.C.) (drawing A. Gounaris). Scale 1:200.

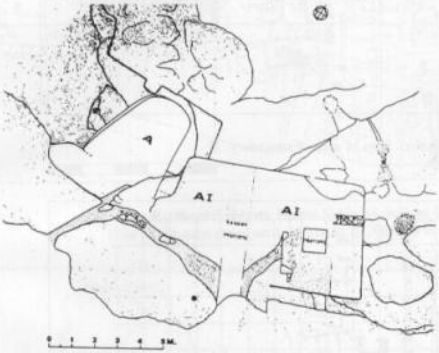


Fig. 350. Minoa (Amorgos). Plan of SPG House A-AI on the S slopes of the hill. Scale 1:200.

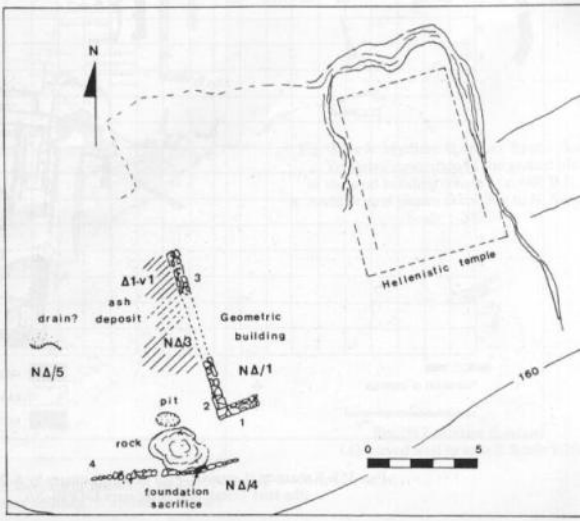


Fig. 351. Minoa (Amorgos). Lower Town. Rock cuttings in the spot of the Hellenistic temple and cult area with Geometric building, peribolos wall and ash deposit further to the West. Scale 1:200.

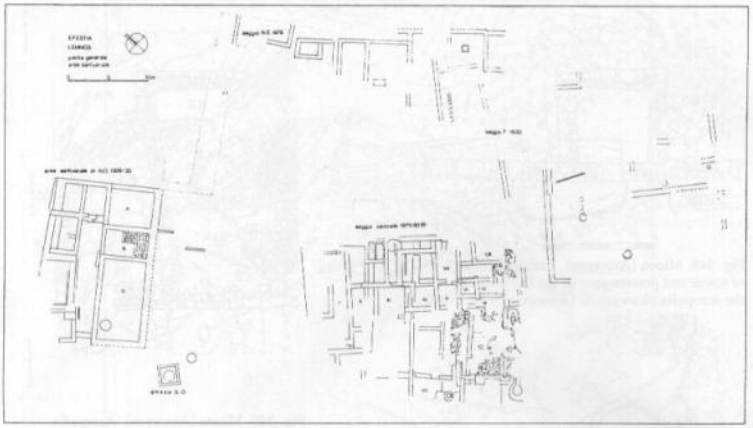


Fig. 352. Hephaistia (Lemnos). Plan of area of sanctuary.

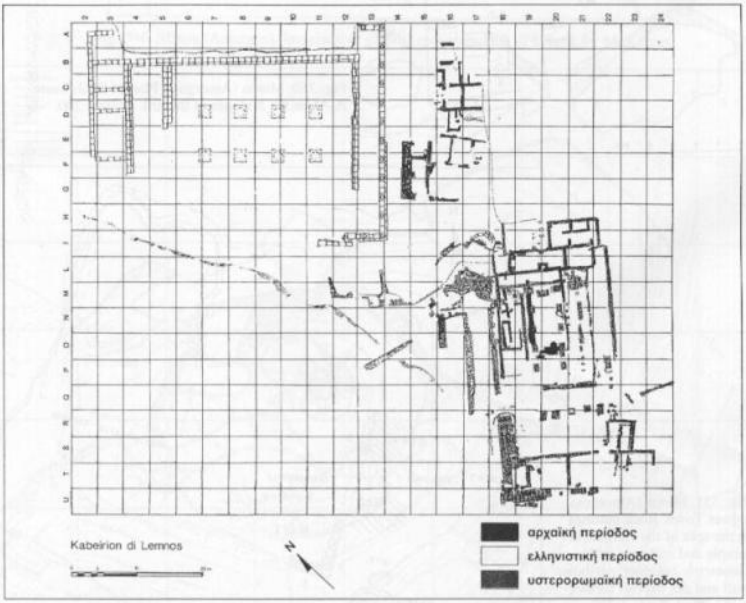


Fig. 353. Kabeirion (Lemnos). Plan of the sanctuary by S. Martelli.
(the first Telesterion in Squares L-O/19-20)

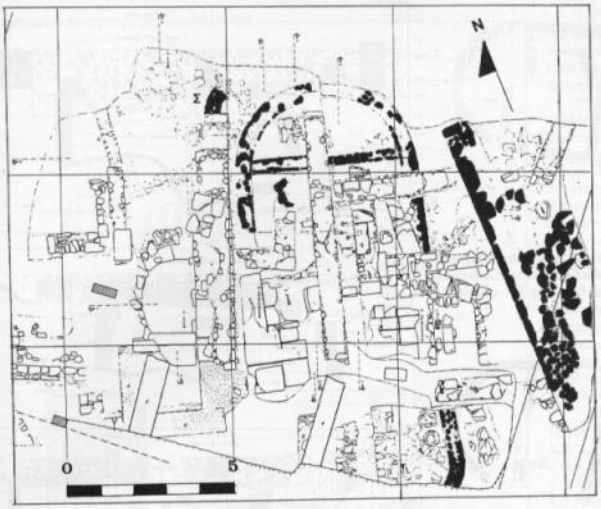


Fig. 354. Mytilene (Lesbos). Epano Skala. Achilleos Street.
Plan of the area excavated. In black: *c.* 700-500 B.C.

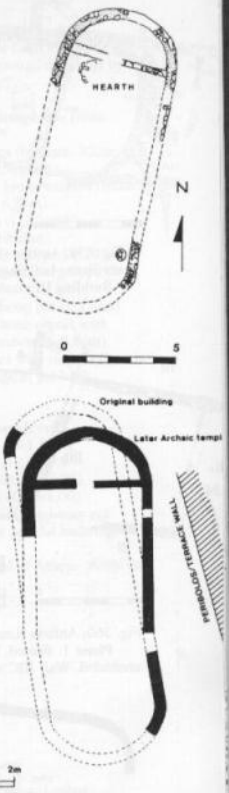


Fig. 355a-b. Mytilene (Lesbos). Epano Skala
a. Tentative restoration of the ground plan of the oval building (phase 2: *c.* 600 B.C.).
b. Architectural phases according to N. Spenc
Scale 1:200.

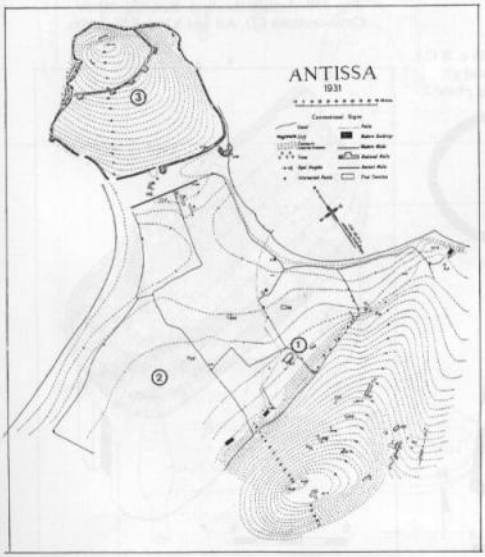


Fig. 356. Antissa (Lesbos). Map. 1: location of Buildings III-IV.
2: approximate location of LG curvilinear building. 3: apsidal building?

Fig. 357. Antissa (Lesbos).
LG curved wall in area 2. Scale 1:200.

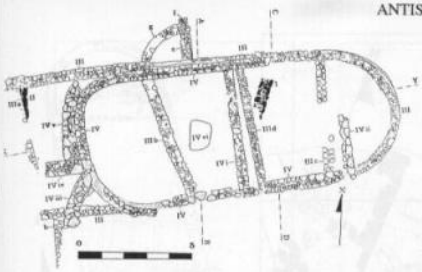


Fig. 358. Antissa (Lesbos). Plan of superimposed curvilinear buildings of the Geometric-EA periods. Building III: unshaded. Building IV: stippled. Scale 1:200

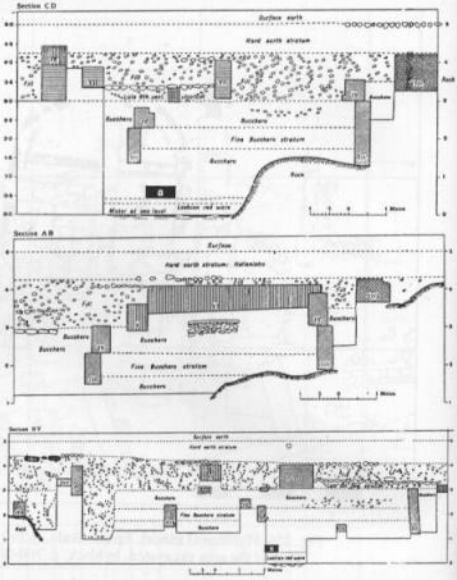


Fig. 359. Antissa (Lesbos). Buildings III-IV. Cross-sections CD, AB and XV (*cf.* Fig. 358).

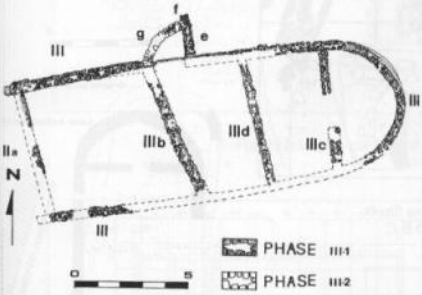


Fig. 360. Antissa (Lesbos). Building III (8th c. B.C.). Phase 1: shaded. Phase 2 (Walls IIId and g): unshaded. Wall IIIC was suppressed during phase 2.

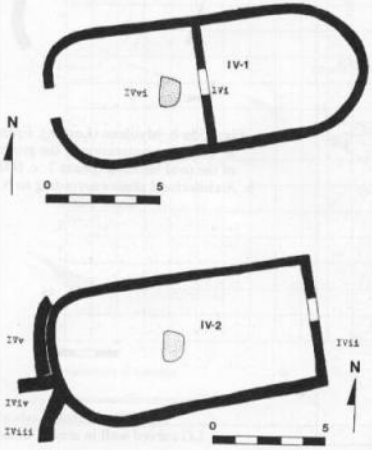


Fig. 361a-b. Antissa (Lesbos). Building IV. (a) phase 1 (*c.* 700 B.C.). (b) phase 2 (7th c. B.C.).

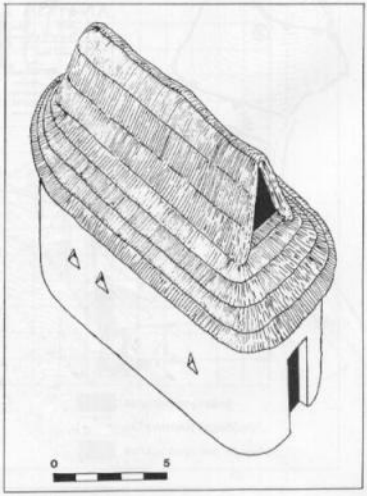


Fig. 362. Antissa (Lesbos). Isometric reconstruction of Building IV-1.

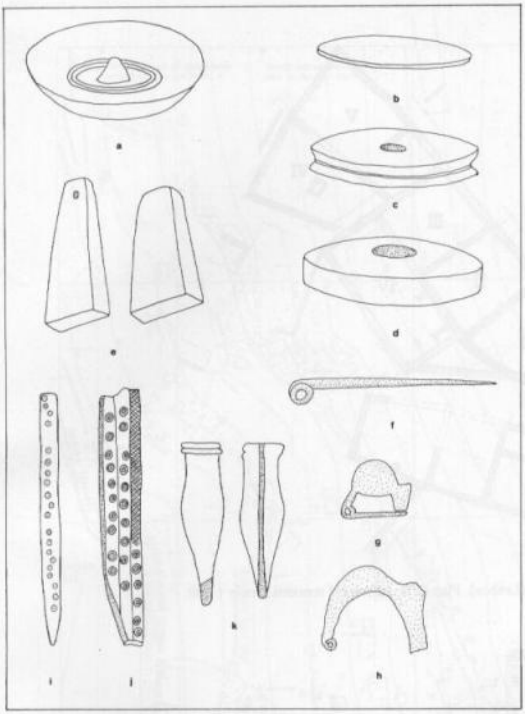


Fig. 363. Antissa (Lesbos).
A selection of finds from Building III (rough drawings by the excavator?).

a: phiale mesomphalos (diam. 13,3cm).
b-d: clay discs (b: diam. 32cm, c: 7,3cm, d: 22,5cm).
e: pyramidal loom weights (left h. 8,1cm, right 6,8cm).
f: bronze pin (l. 7,2cm).
g-h: bronze fibulae (g: Blinkenberg Type IV:10, w. 2,5cm. h: Blinkenberg Type IV:3, w. 3,7cm).
i: decorated bone pin (l. 13cm).
j: octagonal bone object with incised decoration (l. 8,8cm).
k: bone object with incised lines in front and ridge at the back (l. 5,3cm).

Depth from sea level:
a, b, f, g (+1,75-1,50m),
c (+1,25), d (+2,25),
e (+1,25-1,50), h (+2,25),
i (+1,75), k (+0,75-1,00).
j from the dump and may not belong to the apsidal building.

British School at Athens Archives.

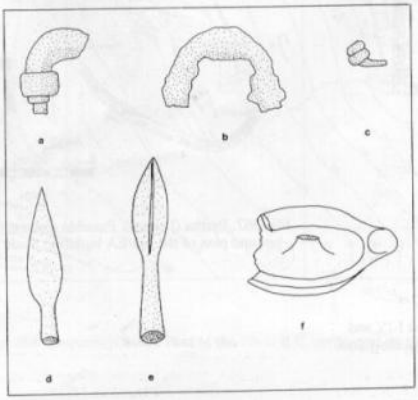


Fig. 364. Antissa (Lesbos).
A selection of finds associated with Building IV (rough drawings by the excavator?).

a-c: bronze fibulae, w. 3,0, 4,2 and 1,5cm, respectively (a-b: Blinkenberg Types XII:5).
d: iron spearhead with hollow shaft, l. 15cm, from the fill above Building IV (+3,25m).
e: iron spearhead from above the paving, l. 16,00cm (+3,75-3,50).
f. Rhodian (?) lamp of the 6th c. B.C. from the fill (+3,50m), diam. 9,5cm.

British School at Athens Archives.

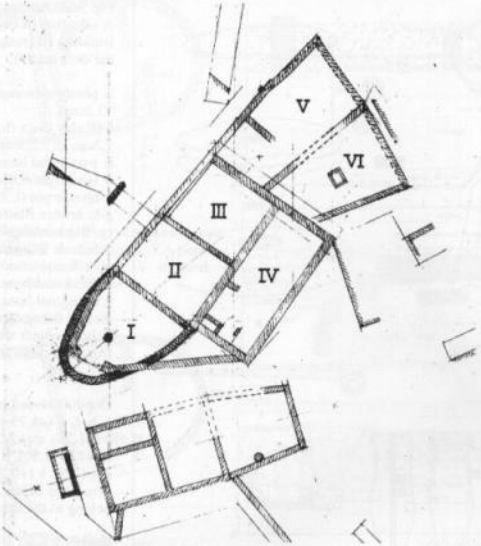


Fig. 365. Pyrrha (Lesbos). Plan of architectural remains. Scale 1:300.

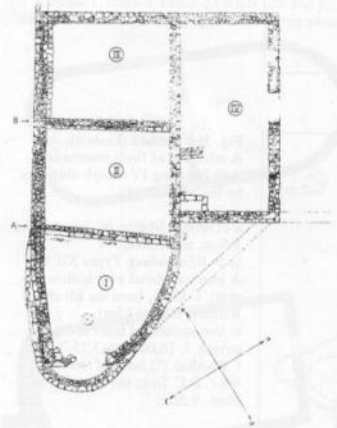


Fig. 366. Pyrrha (Lesbos). Plan of Unit I-IV and curvilinear building beneath Room I. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 367. Pyrrha (Lesbos). Possible restoration of the ground plan of the LG/EA building. Scale 1:200.

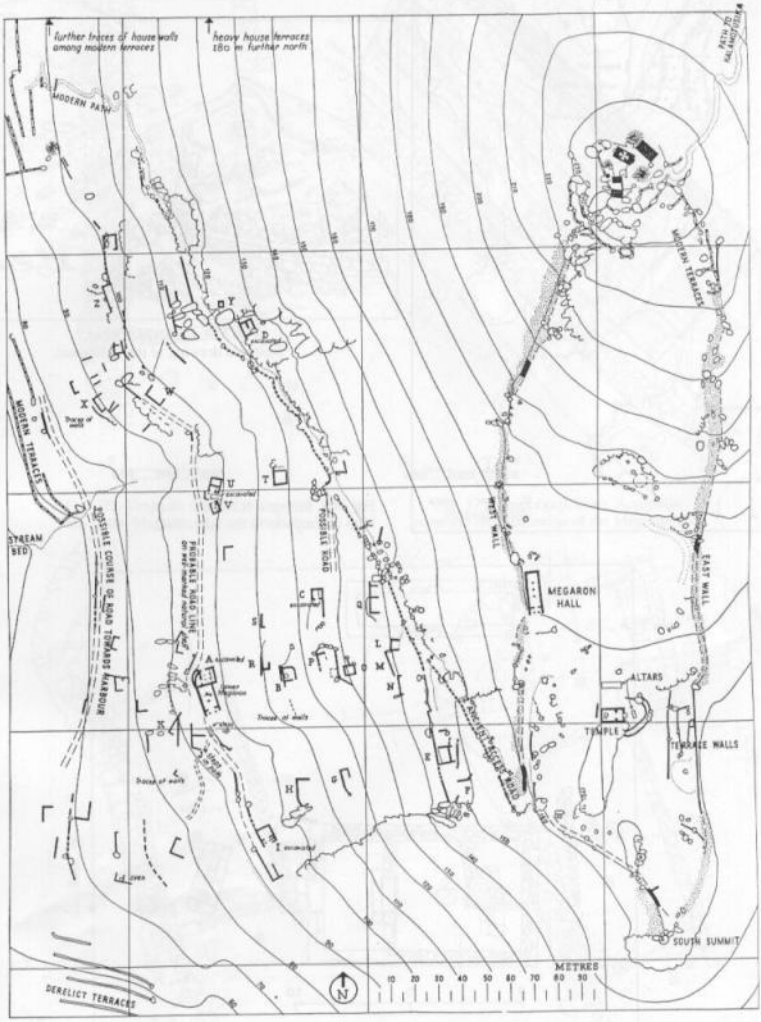


Fig. 368. Emporio (Chios). Plan of the 7th c. B.C. settlement on the W slopes of Prophetes Elias.

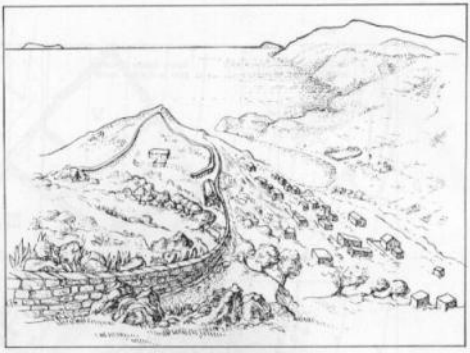


Fig. 370. Emporio (Chios).
Restored drawing of the settlement.

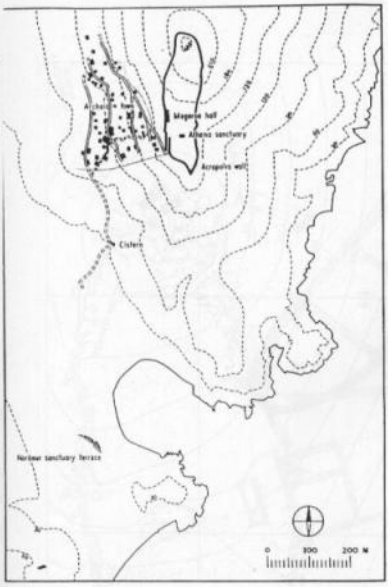


Fig. 369. Emporio (Chios).
Map of Emporio in the 7th c. B.C.

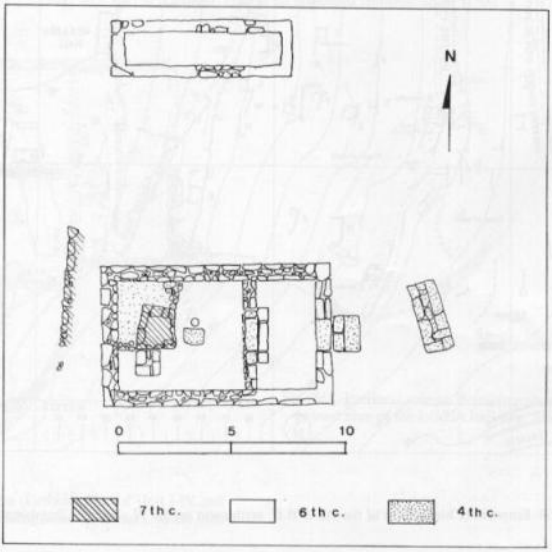


Fig. 371. Emporio (Chios). Acropolis. Plan of the temple of Athena. Scale 1:200.

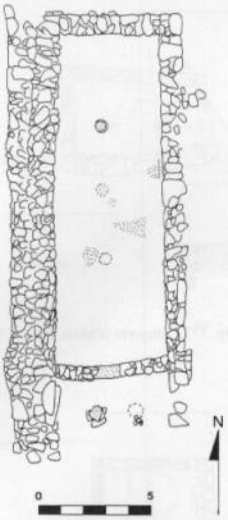


Fig. 372. Emporio (Chios). Acropolis. Plan of the Megaron Hall (*c.* 700 B.C.).

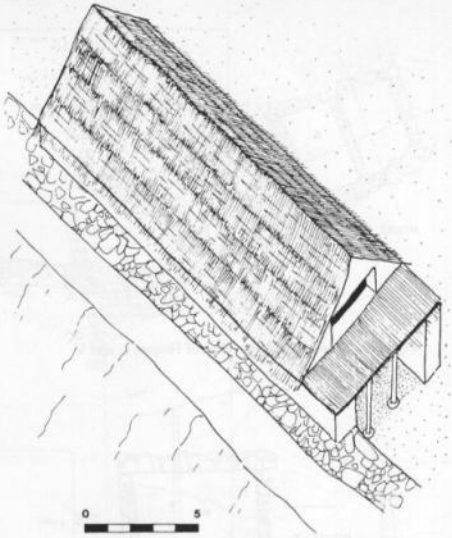
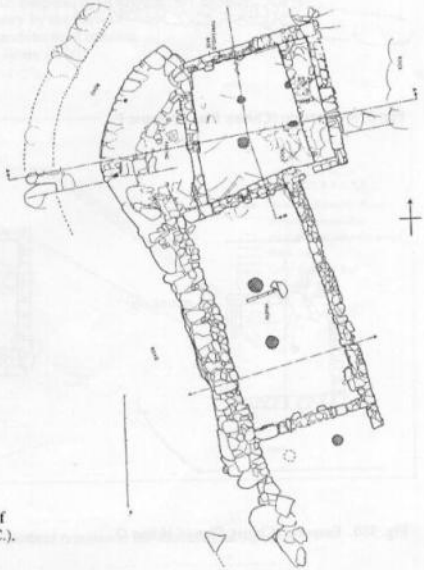


Fig. 373. Emporio (Chios). Acropolis. Isometric reconstruction of the Megaron Hall.

Fig. 374. Emporio (Chios). Possible restoration of plan of first phase of Lower Megaron (*c.* 700 B.C.).



Scale 1:200

Fig. 375. Emporio. Plan of House A and Lower Megaron.

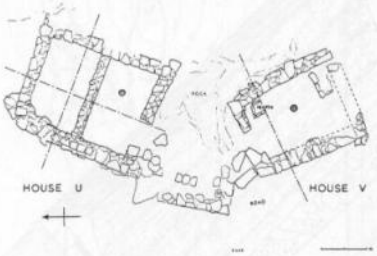


Fig. 376. Emporio (Chios). Plan of Houses U and V.

Fig. 377. Emporio (Chios). Plan of House G.

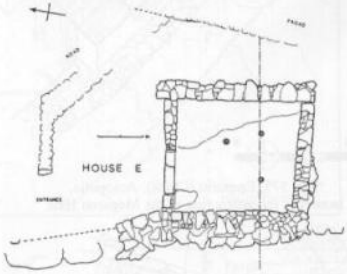


Fig. 378. Emporio (Chios). Plan of House E.

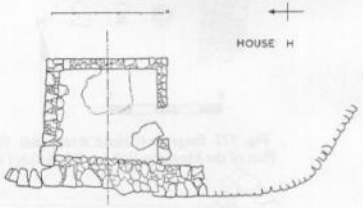


Fig. 379. Emporio (Chios). Plan of House H.

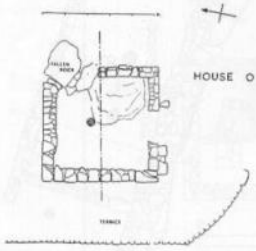


Fig. 380. Emporio (Chios). Plan of House O.

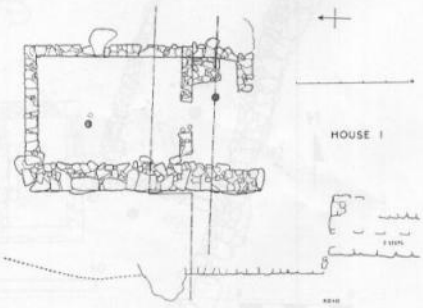


Fig. 381. Emporio (Chios) Plan of House I.

Scale 1:200

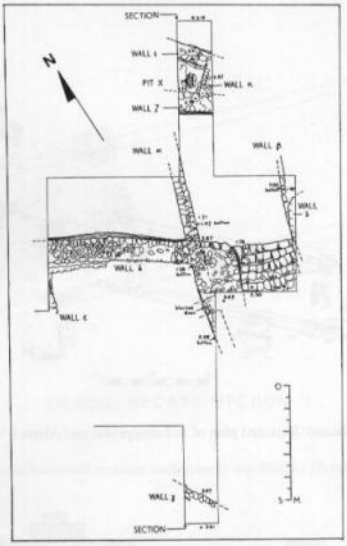


Fig. 382. Emporio (Chios).
Sanctuary by the harbour.
Plan of architectural remains.
Scale 1:200.

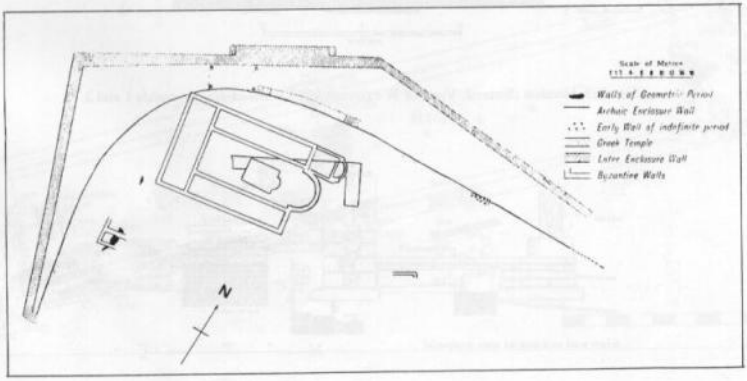


Fig. 383. Phanai (Chios). Architectural remains in the sanctuary of Apollo.

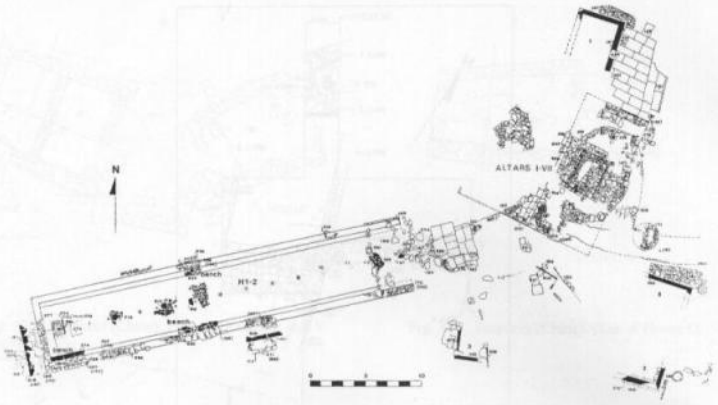


Fig. 384. Heraion (Samos). Restored plan of *hekatompedon* and Altars I-VII (10th-7th c. B.C.).

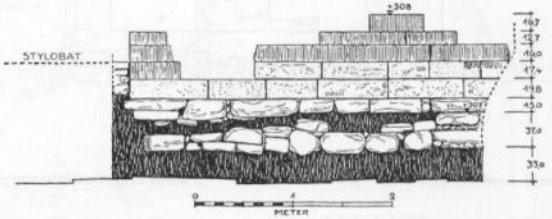


Fig. 385. Heraion (Samos). View of W extremity of S walls of *Hekatompeda* 1 and 2.

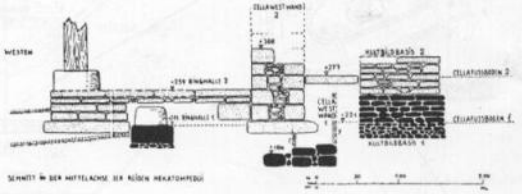


Fig. 386. Heraion (Samos). Cross section of the W end of *Hekatompeda* 1 and 2.
In black: the remains traditionally attributed to H1; stippled: the remains attributed to H2.

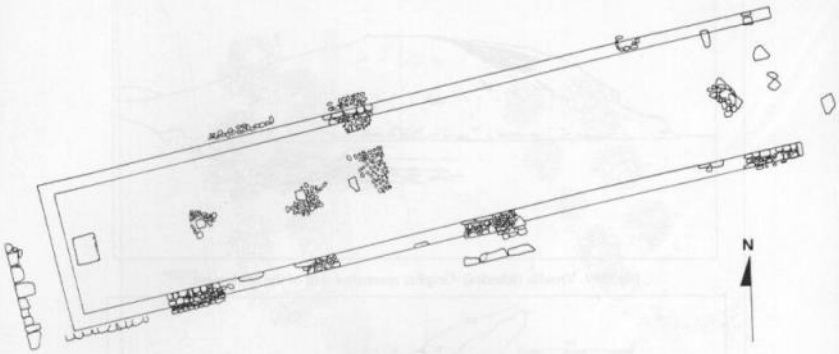


Fig. 387. Heraion (Samos). Architectural remains traditionally ascribed to *Hekatompedon* 1. Scale 1:200.

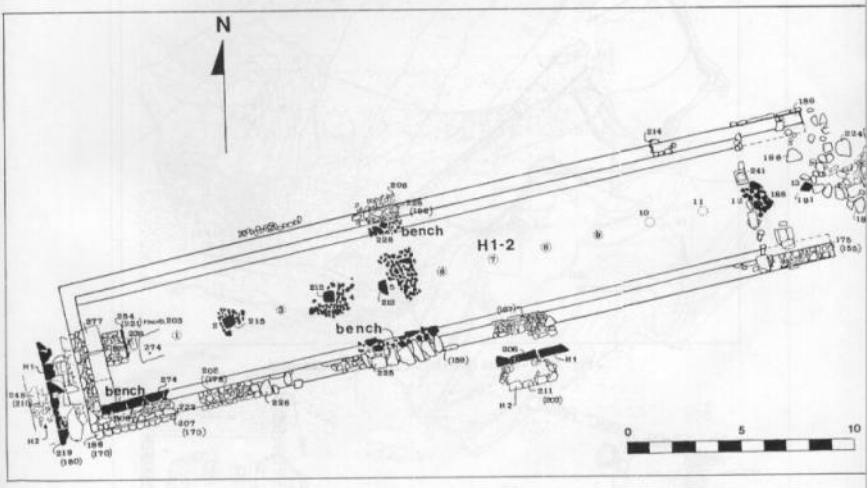


Fig. 388. Heraion (Samos). Plans showing architectural remains attributed to *Hekatompeda* 1 and 2. Scale 1:200.

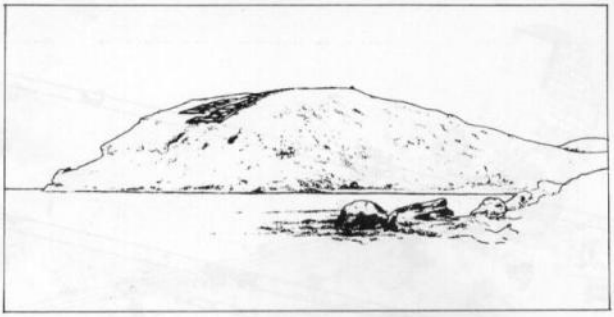


Fig. 389. Vroulia (Rhodes). Graphic reconstruction of the settlement.

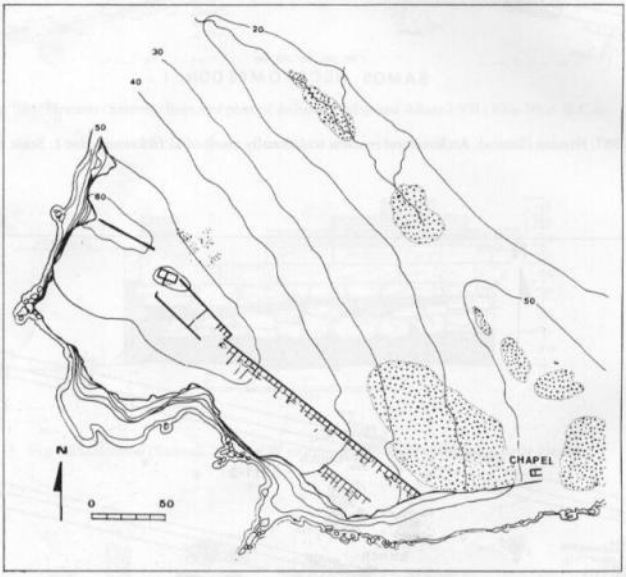


Fig. 390. Vroulia (Rhodes). Plan of the settlement.

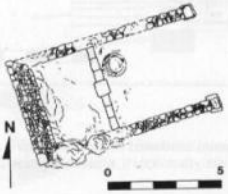


Fig. 391. Vroulia (Rhodes). Chapel (late 7th c. B.C.).
Scale 1:200.

Fig. 392. Lindos (Rhodes). Plan of PG house.
Scale 1:200.

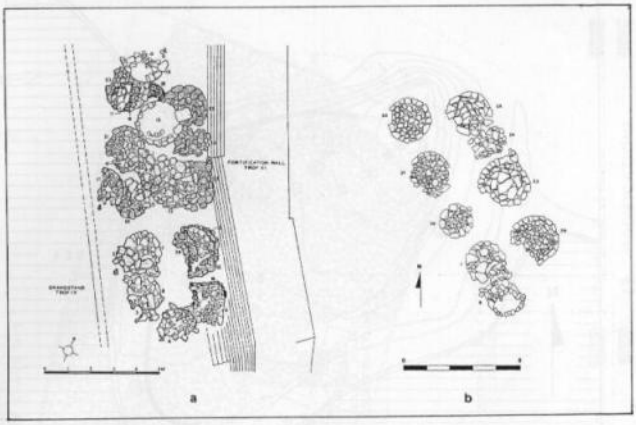


Fig. 393a-b. Troy. Plan of circular pavings. Scale 1:200.

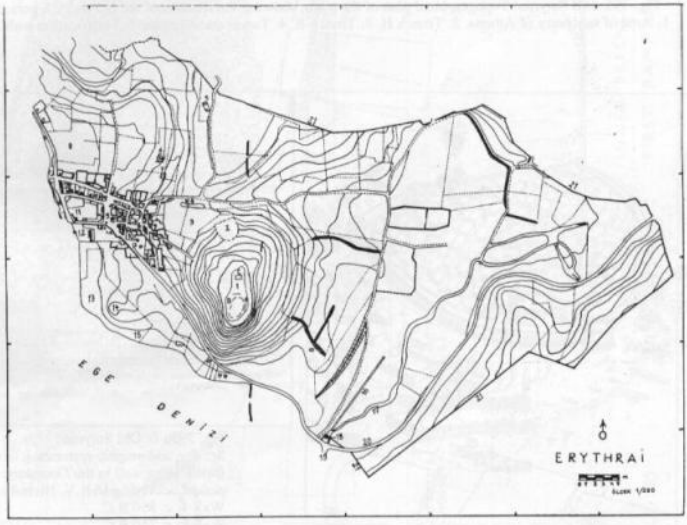


Fig. 394. Erythrai. Topographical plan. 1A: Podium of Athena temple (?). 1B: "Megaron Hall".

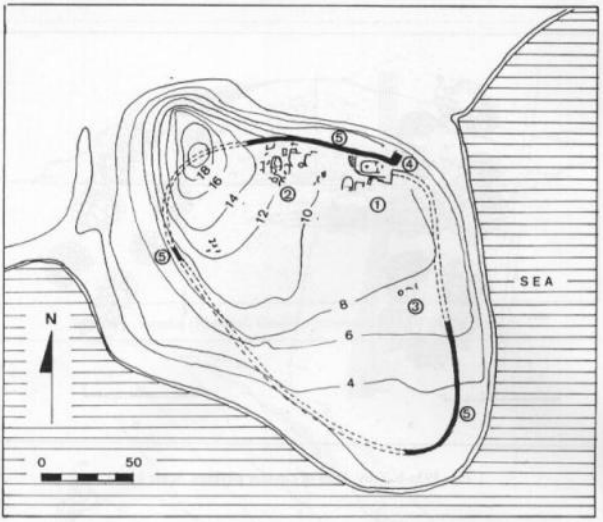


Fig. 395. Old Smyrna. Topographical plan of the town, showing the remains of the LG and EA periods. 1: Area of sanctuary of Athena. 2: Trench H. 3: Trench B. 4: Tower and NE gate. 5: Fortification wall 2/3.

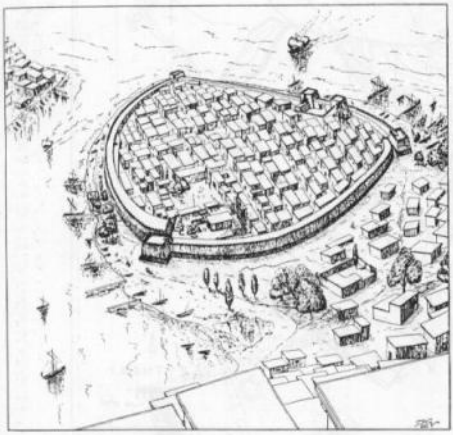


Fig. 396. Old Smyrna. Imaginative reconstruction of the city in the late 7th c. B.C., according to R.V. Nicholls.

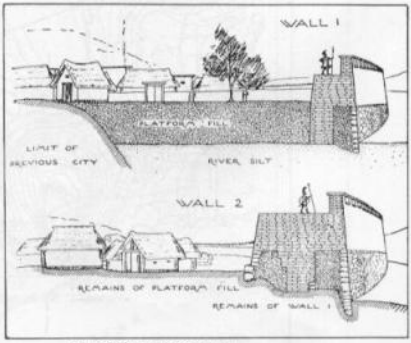


Fig. 397a-b: Old Smyrna.
Section and graphic restoration of the fortification wall in the Geometric period, according to R.V. Nicholls.
Wall 1: *c.* 850 B.C.
Wall 2: *c.* 750 B.C.

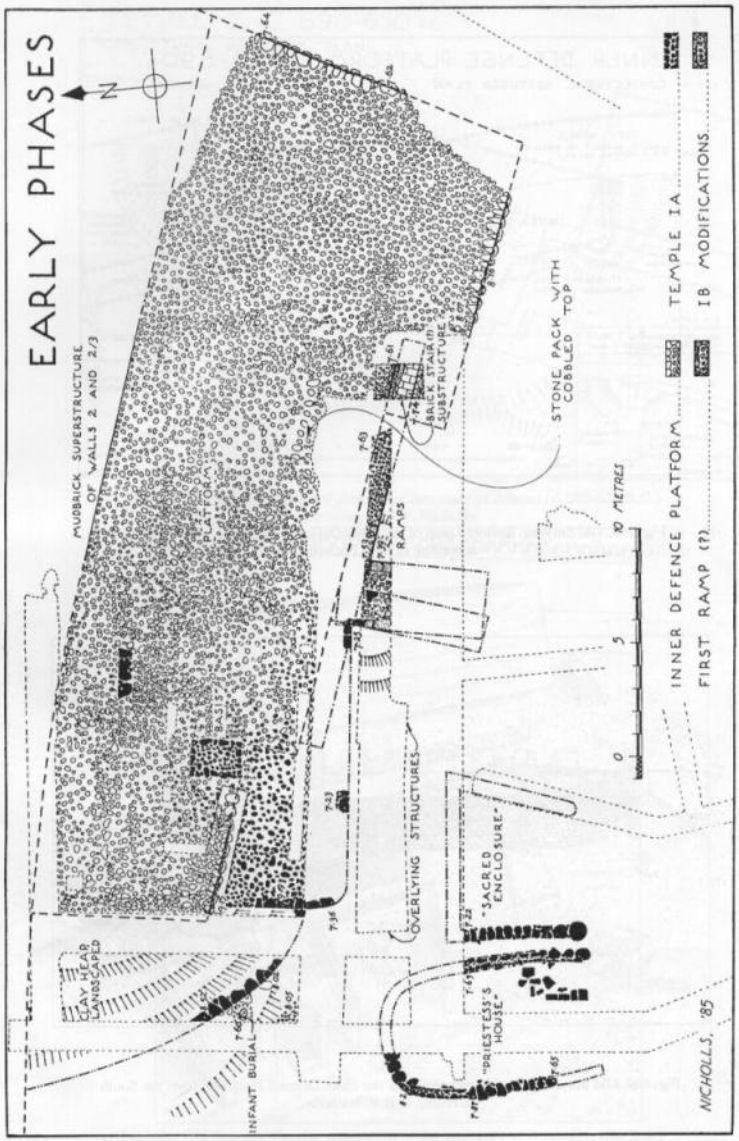


Fig. 398. Old Smyrna. Plan of the area of the sanctuary of Athena according to R.V. Nicholls (c. 740-650 B.C.). Scale 1:200.
Inner Defence Platform: *c.* 740 B.C. First Ramp: end of 8th c. B.C.; Temple IA period: *c.* 690 B.C.; IB period modifications: first half of 7th c. B.C.

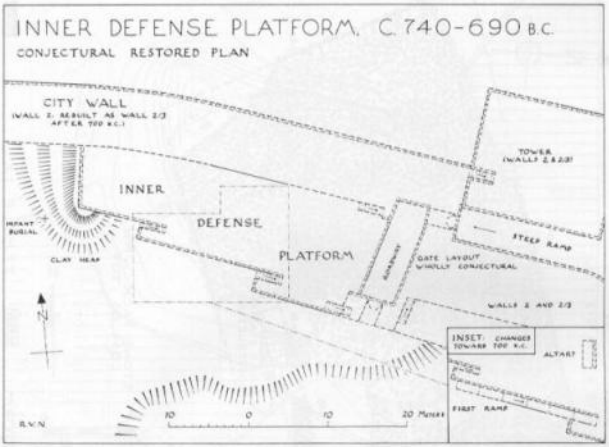


Fig. 399. Old Smyrna. Restored plan of the Inner Defense Platform (c. 740-690 B.C.) according to R.V. Nicholls.

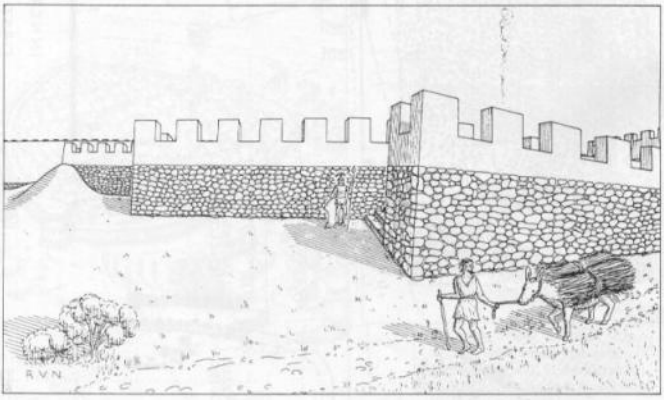


Fig. 400. Old Smyrna. Graphic restoration of the Inner Defense Platform, from the South according to R.V. Nicholls.

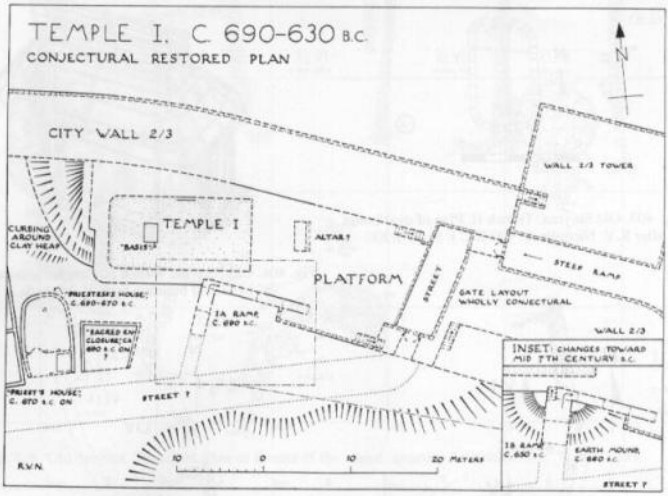


Fig. 401. Old Smyrna. Restored plan of the sanctuary of Athena (c. 690-630 B.C.) according to R.V. Nicholls.

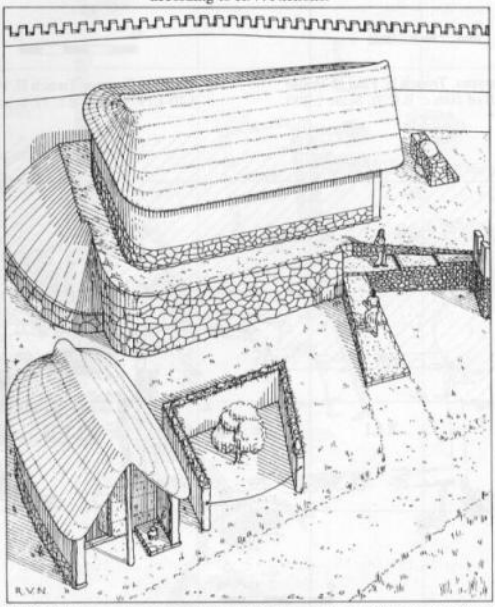


Fig. 402. Old Smyrna. Graphic restoration of the sanctuary of Athena (c. 690 B.C.) according to R.V. Nicholls.

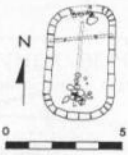


Fig. 403. Old Smyrna. Trench H. Plan of oval house after R.V. Nicholls (*c.* 900 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

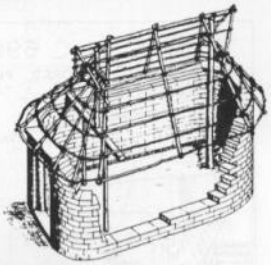


Fig. 404. Old Smyrna. Trench H. Graphic restoration of LPG oval building by R.V. Nicholls.

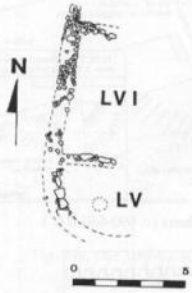


Fig. 405. Old Smyrna. Trench H. Plan of House LV-LVI (first half of 10th c. B.C.?). Scale 1:200.

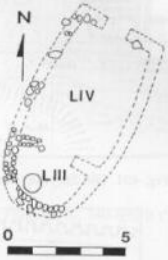


Fig. 406. Old Smyrna. Trench H. Plan of House LIII-LIV (*c.* 900 B.C.?). Scale 1:200.

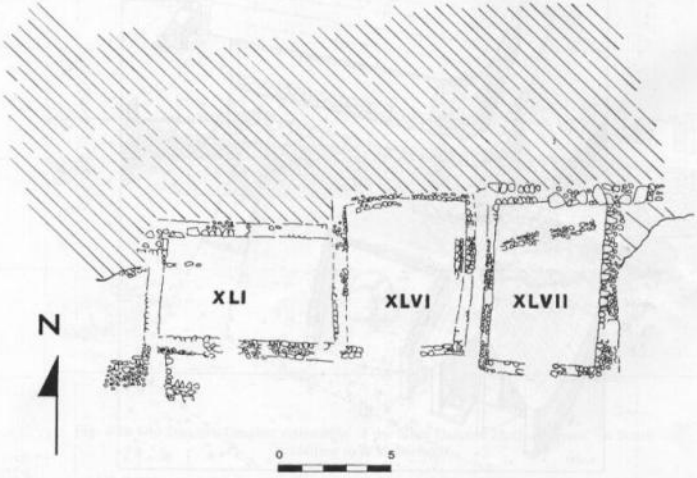


Fig. 407. Old Smyrna. Trench H. Plan of Houses XLI, XLVI & XLVII (EG-MG). Scale 1:200.

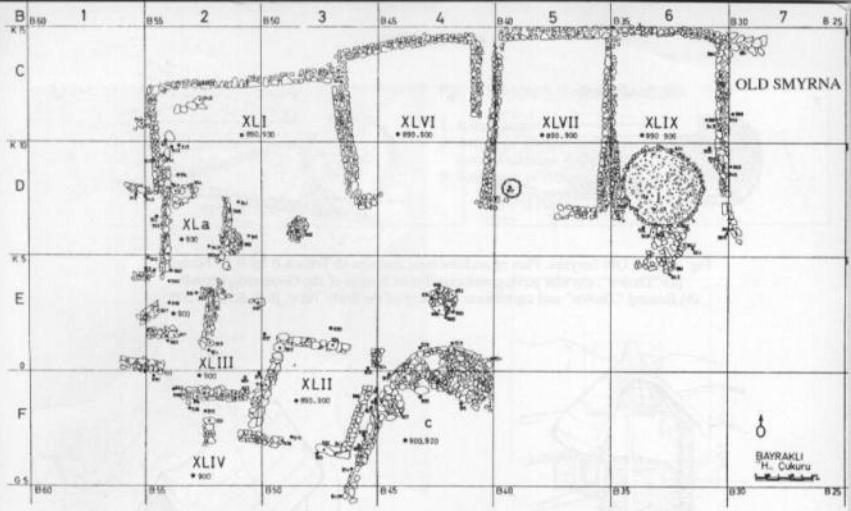


Fig. 408. Old Smyrna. Trench H. Plan of houses of the third quarter of the 8th c. B.C. Scale 1:200.

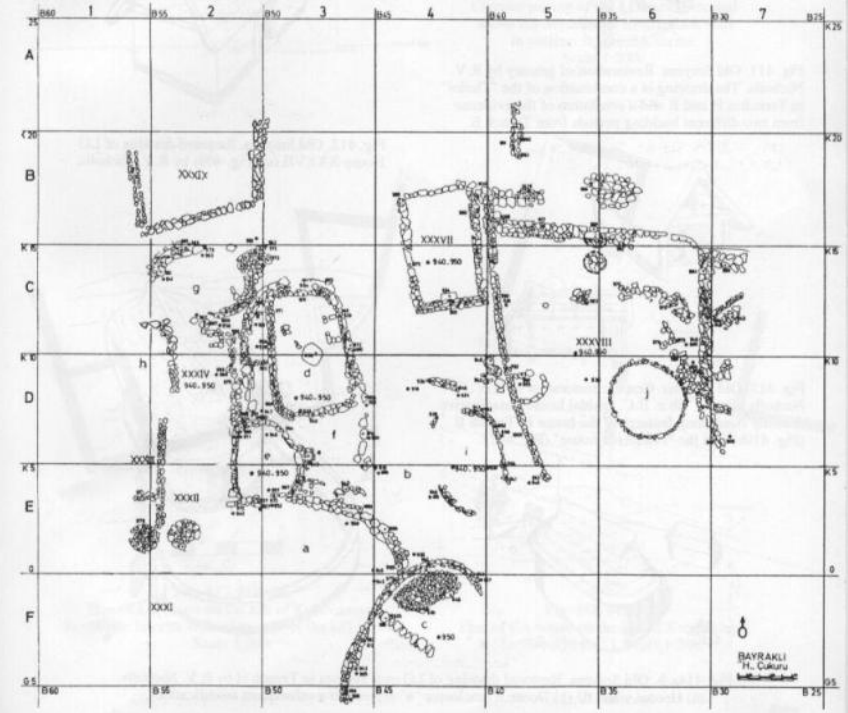


Fig. 409. Old Smyrna. Trench H. Plan of houses of the last quarter of the 8th c. B.C. Scale 1:200.

(the two circular pavings in Squares E1-2 date in the 7th c. B.C.)

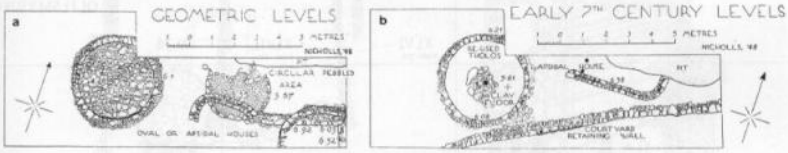


Fig. 410a-b. Old Smyrna. Plan of architectural remains in Trench B by R.V. Nicholls.
(a) "Tholos", circular paving and curvilinear houses of the Geometric period.
(b) Reused "Tholos" and curvilinear building of the early 7th c. B.C. Scale 1:200.

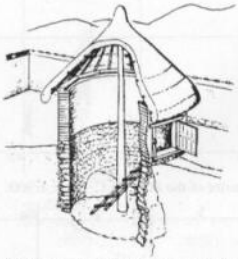


Fig. 411. Old Smyrna. Restoration of granary by R.V. Nicholls. The drawing is a combination of the "Tholoi" in Trenches H and B and a conflation of the evidence from two different building periods from Trench B.

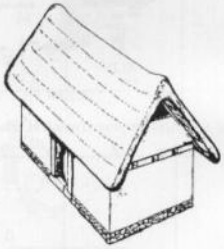


Fig. 412. Old Smyrna. Restored drawing of LG House XXXVII (*cf.* Fig. 409) by R.V. Nicholls.

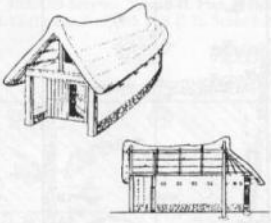
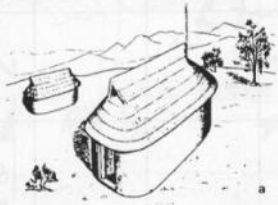


Fig. 413. Old Smyrna. Graphic restoration by R.V. Nicholls of early 7th c. B.C. apsidal house. Imaginative drawing combining features of the house in Trench B (Fig. 410b) and the "Priestess's house" (Fig. 402).



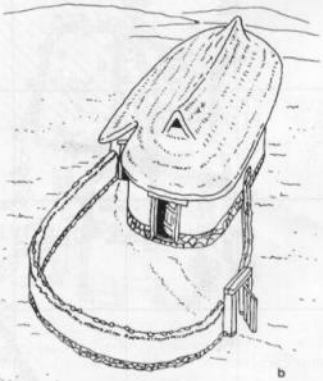


Fig. 414a-b. Old Smyrna. Restored drawing of LG oval Houses in Trench H by R.V. Nicholls.
(a) Houses c and d? (b) House d (enclosure "e" represents a subsequent modification).

Fig. 415. Miletos. Topographical plan.

1: Kalabaktepe.
2: Area S of Hellenistic fortification wall (oval Buildings A-C).
5: Sanctuary of Athena.

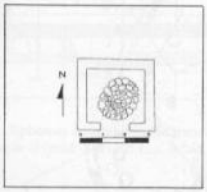


Fig. 416. Miletos. Area of temple of Athena. Circular paving of the LG period located above the Mycenaean fortification wall. In outline: square EA shrine. Scale 1:200.

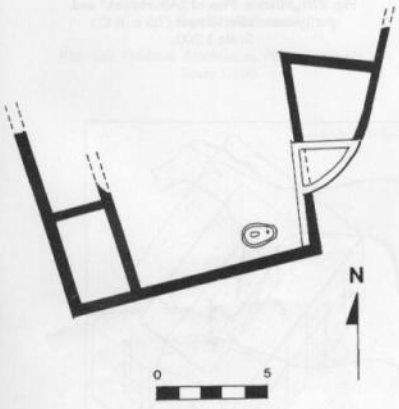


Fig. 417. Miletos.
Plan of LG house on the hill of Kalabaktepe.
In outline: later modification, still of the LG period.
Scale 1:200.

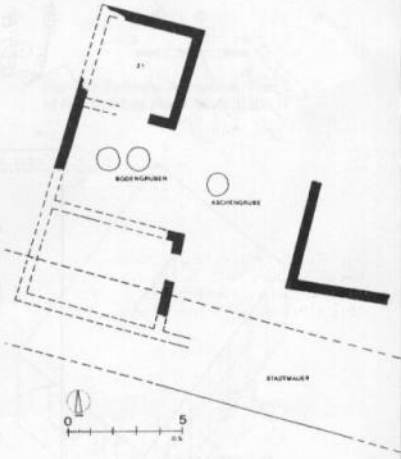


Fig. 418. Miletos.
Plan of EA house on the hill of Kalabaktepe (c. 700-650 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

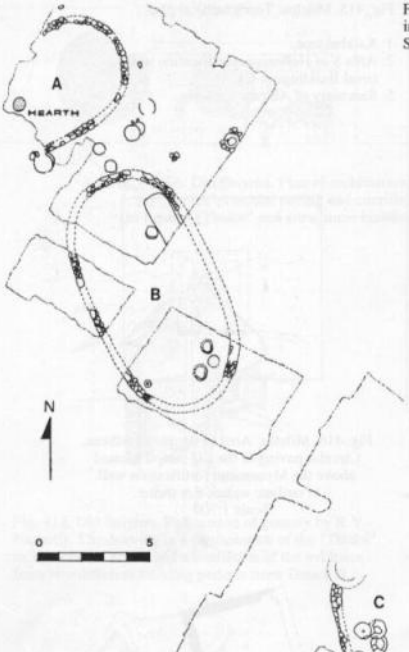


Fig. 419. Miletos. Plan of LG oval houses (A-C) in the area South of the Hellenistic fortification wall. Scale 1:200.

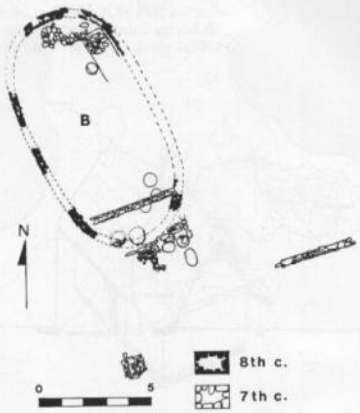


Fig. 420. Miletos. Plan of "Altarbezirk" and partly reused Building B (7th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

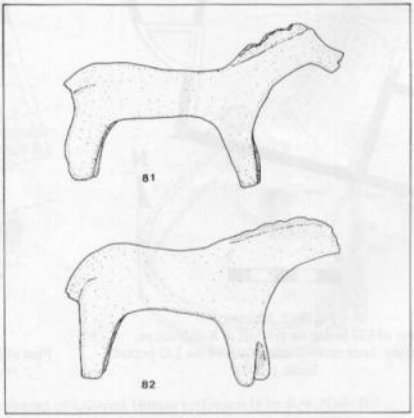


Fig. 421. Miletos.
Two terracotta horses from House B.
a: No. 81. L. 0,14m.
b: No. 82. L. 0,12m.

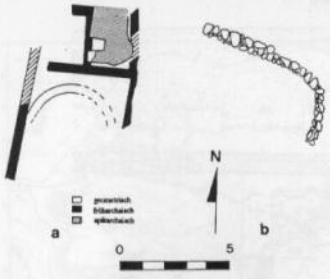


Fig. 422a-b. Ephesos. a: Curved wall in the Agora. b: Artemision. Apsidal building. Scale 1:200.

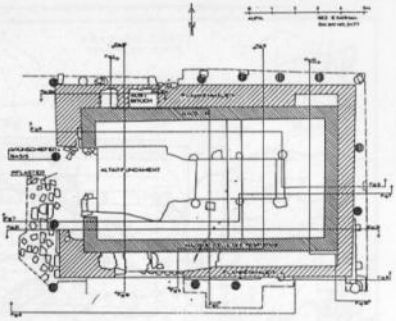


Fig. 423. Ephesos. Artemision. Schematic plan of Temple B (mid.-8th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

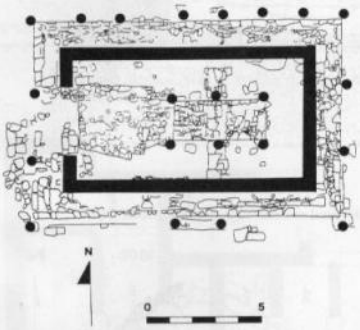


Fig. 424. Ephesos. Artemision. Plan of Temple B. Scale 1:200.

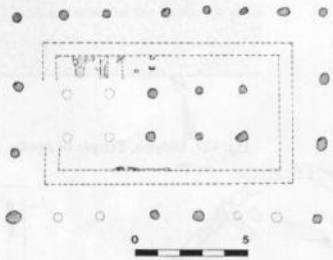


Fig. 425. Ephesos. Artemision. Plan of first building phase. Scale 1:200.

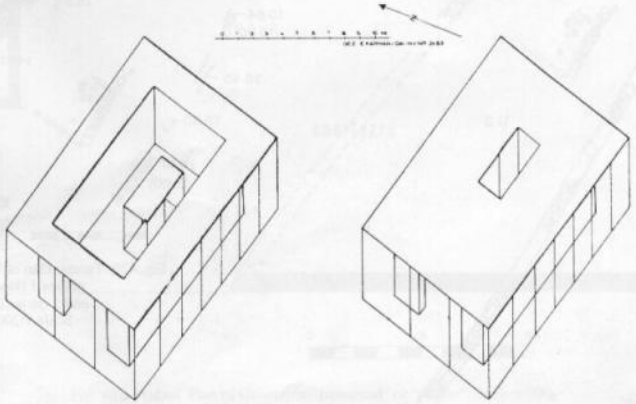


Fig. 426a-b. Ephesos. Artemision. Possible solutions for the roof of the peripteros by A. Bammer. a: sekos and baldachin. b: the hypaethral solution.

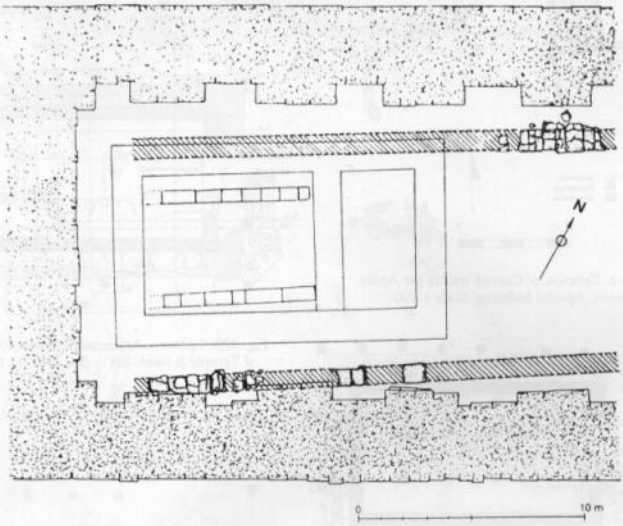


Fig. 427. Didyma. Temple of Apollo. Architectural remains of c. 700 B.C. Scale 1:200.

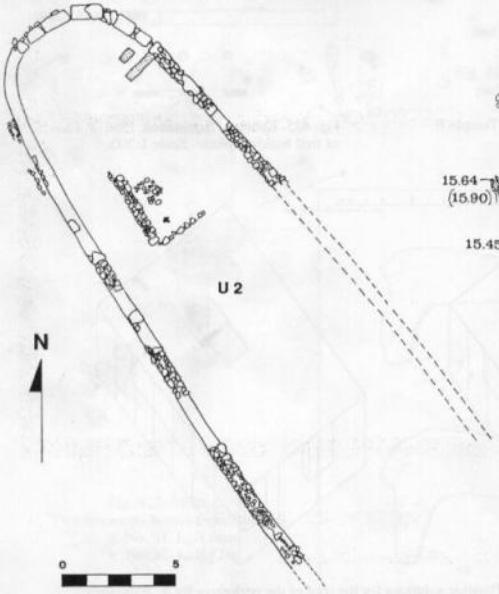


Fig. 428. Tarsus. Plan of Unit U, phase 2 (10th-9th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

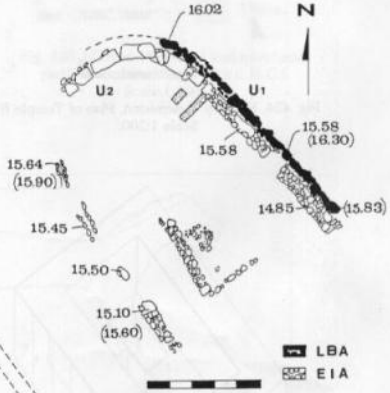


Fig. 429. Tarsus. Plan of Unit U, phases 1 (black) and 2 (in outline). Scale 1:200.

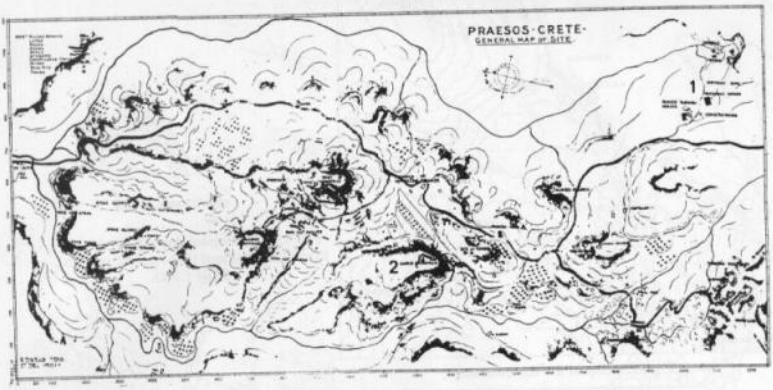


Fig. 430. Praisos. Map of the site. 1: "Farmstead". 2: EIA sanctuary on the Third Acropolis.

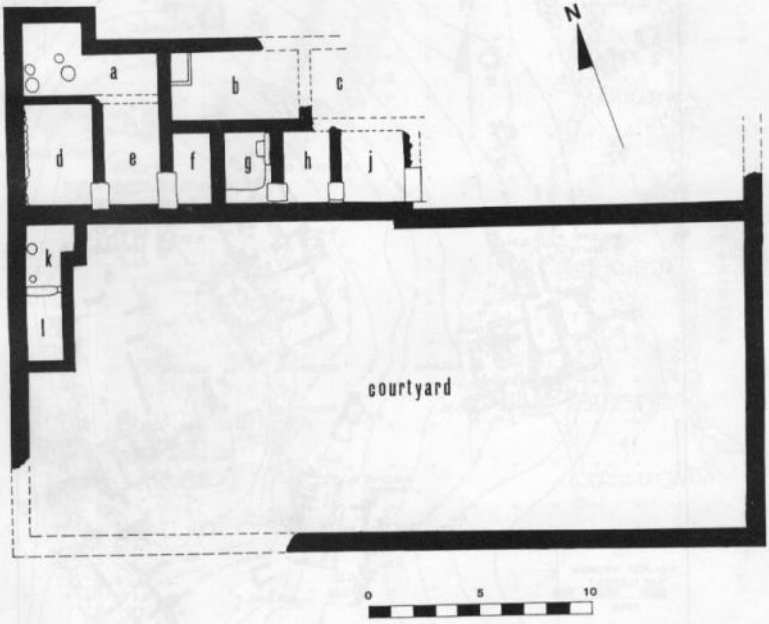


Fig. 431. Praisos. Plan of Geometric "farmstead" or "palace". Scale 1:200.

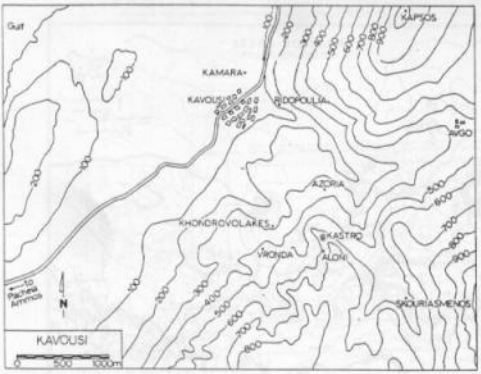


Fig 432. Map of the Kavousi area.

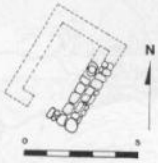


Fig. 433. Pachlitsani Agriada (Kavousi). Plan of rural chapel (PG-Archaic periods). Scale 1:200.

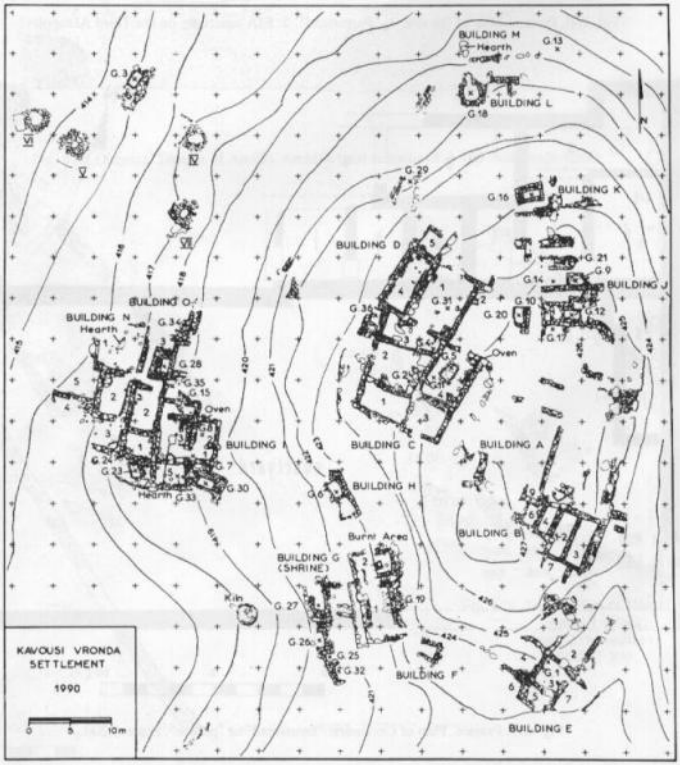


Fig. 434. Vronda (Kavousi). Plan of the settlement.

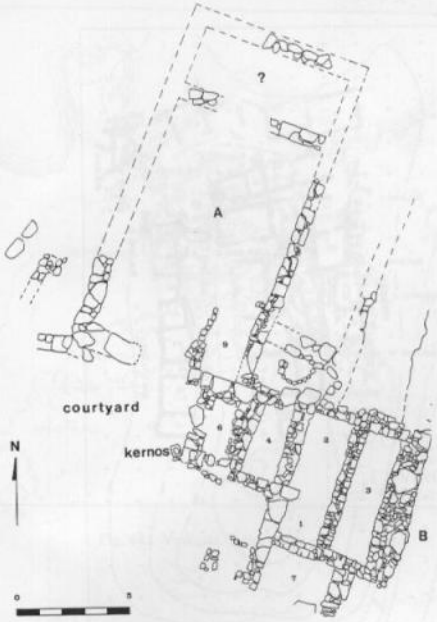


Fig. 435. Vronda (Kavousi).
Restored plan of Building A-B. Scale 1:200.

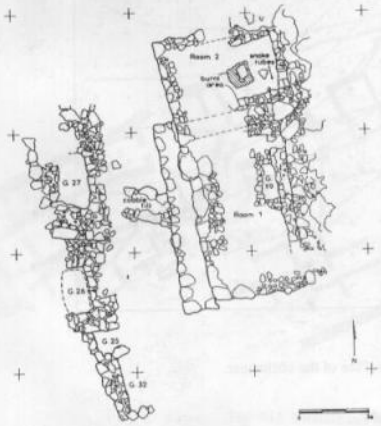


Fig. 436. Vronda (Kavousi).
Plan of Building G. Scale 1:200.

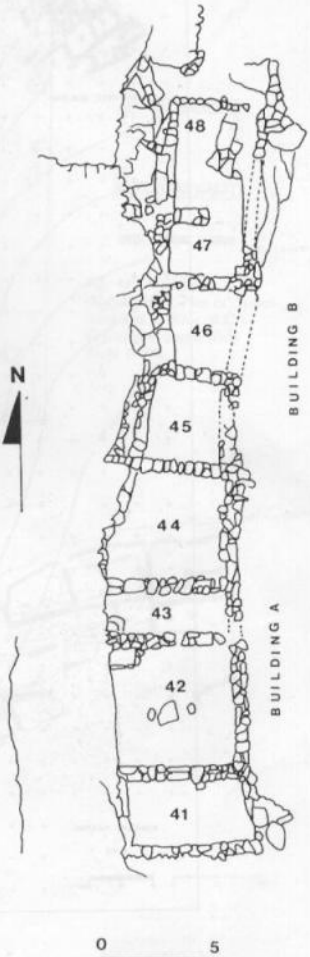


Fig. 437. Kastro (Kavousi). Plan of Buildings A (Rooms 41-44) and B (Rooms 45-48)]. Scale 1:200.

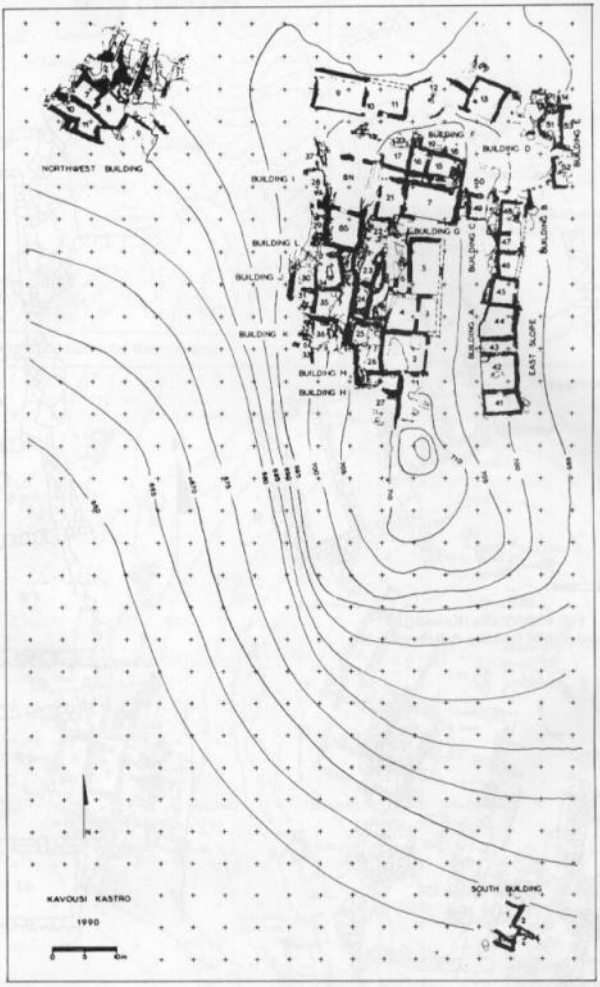


Fig. 438. Kastro (Kavousi). Plan of the settlement.

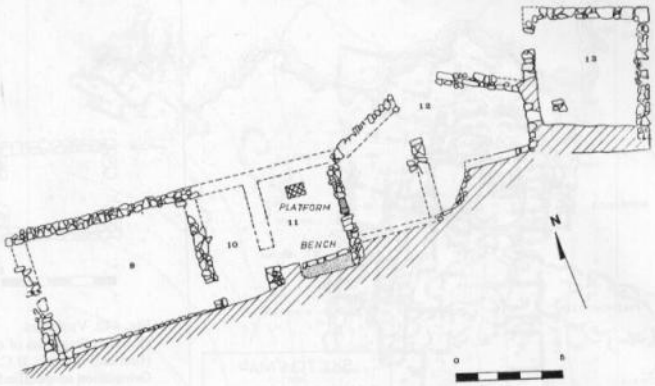


Fig. 439. Kastro (Kavousi). Restored plan of Building 9-11/12-13. Scale 1:200.

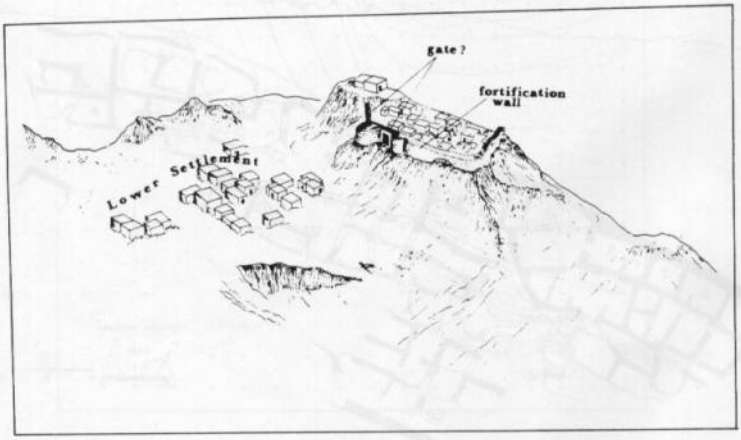


Fig. 440. Oreino Kastri. Imaginative restoration of LM IIIC-PG settlement by K. Nowicki.

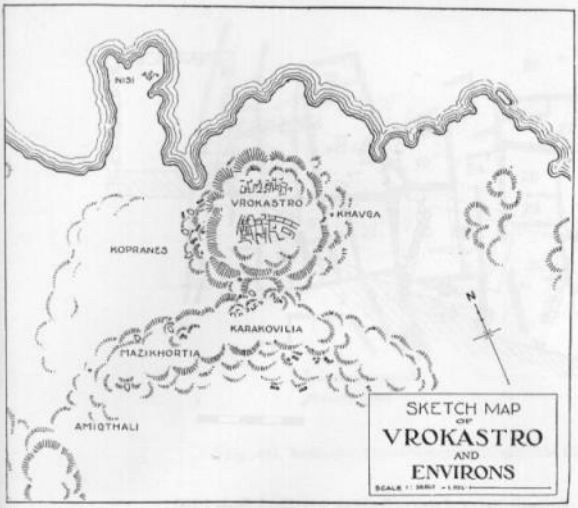


Fig. 441. Vrokastro. Map of the site.

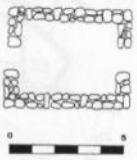


Fig. 442. Vrokastro (Karakovilia). Plan of chapel (first half of 8th c. B.C.). Orientation unspecified. Scale 1:200.

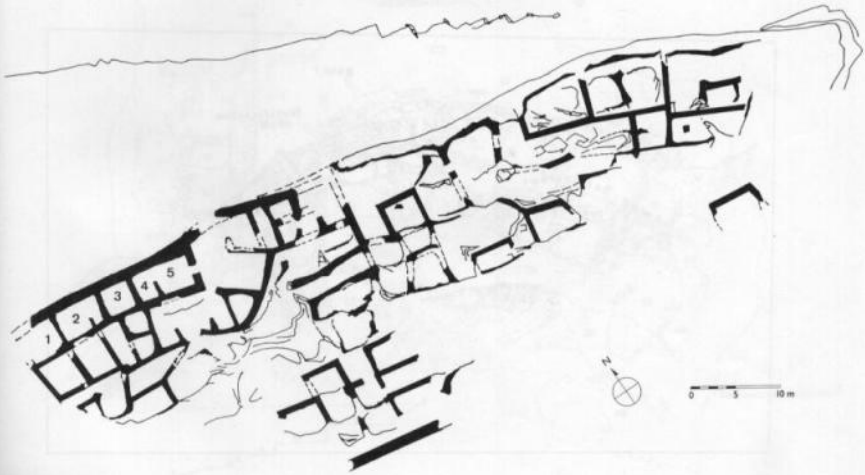


Fig. 443. Vrokastro. Plan of Lower Settlement.

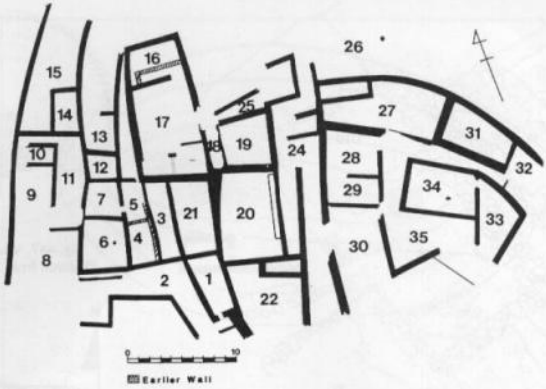


Fig. 444. Vrokastro. Plan of Upper Settlement (LM IIIC-LG) by E. Hall.

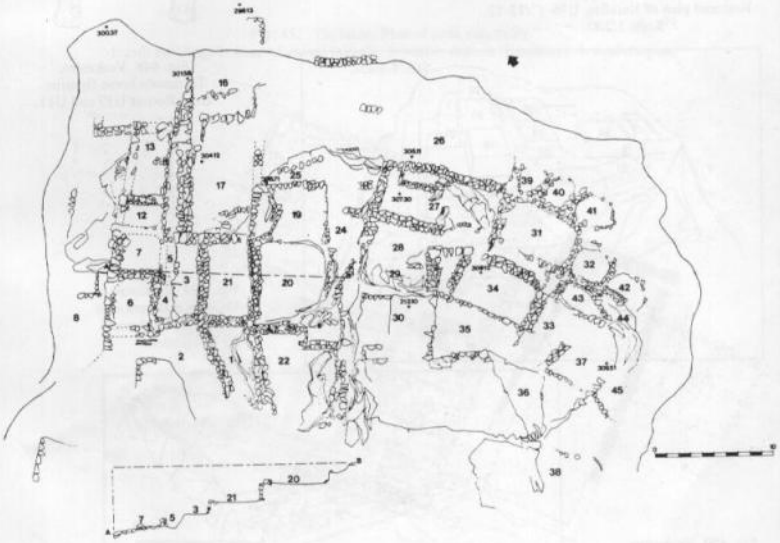


Fig. 445. Vrokastro. Plan of Upper Settlement (LM IIIC-LG) by B. Hayden.

Fig. 446. Vrokastro. Upper Settlement. Restored plan of Building U16-17/12-13. Scale 1:200.

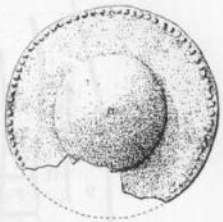


Fig. 447. Vrokastro. Phalaron from Room 11.

Fig. 448. Vrokastro. Terracotta horse figurine from Rooms U17 and U11.

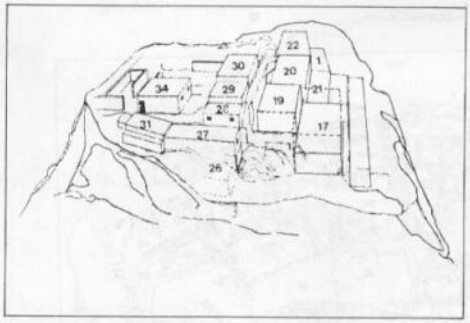


Fig. 449. Vrokastro. Graphic restoration of the Upper Settlement by B. Hayden.

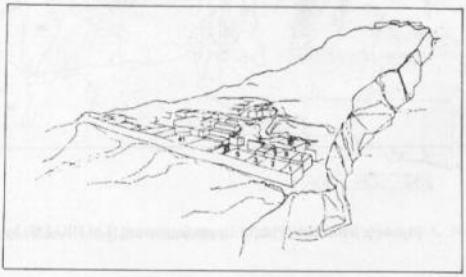


Fig. 450. Vrokastro. Graphic restoration of the Lower Settlement by B. Hayden.

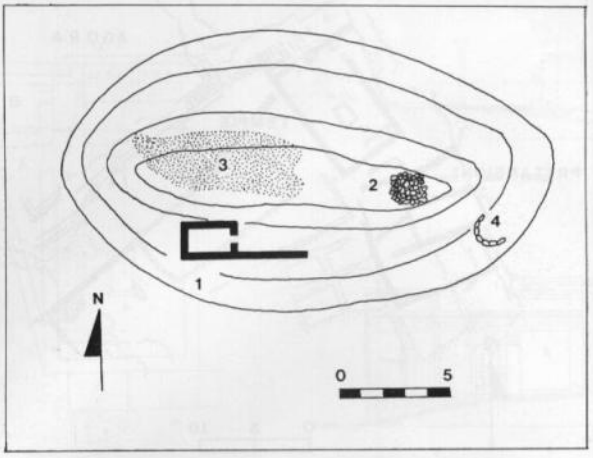


Fig. 451. Thylakas. Plan of peak sanctuary.
1: cult building. 2: heap of stones (altar?). 3: votive deposit (figurines). 4: modern pen.
Scale 1:200.

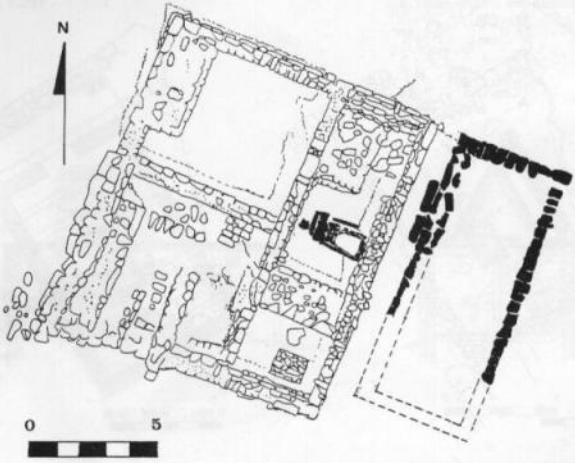


Fig. 452. Olous. Plan of temple of Aphrodite, in black (9th c. B.C.?). Scale 1:200.

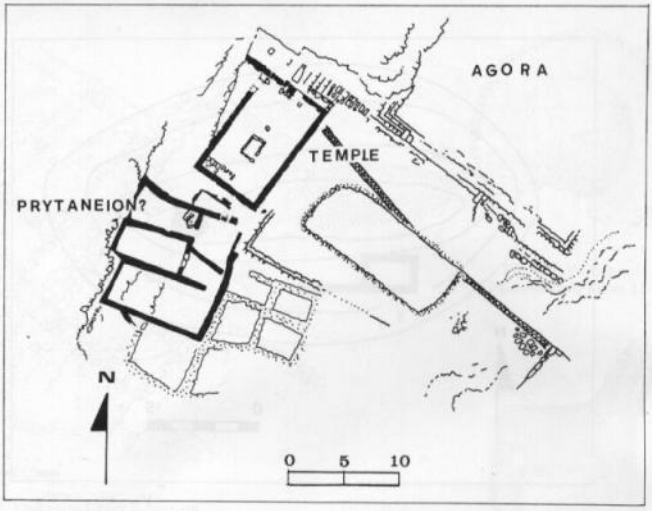


Fig. 453. Dreros. Plan of the surroundings of the LG temple of Apollo Delphinios.

Fig. 454. Dreros. Plan of LG temple of Apollo. Scale 1:200.

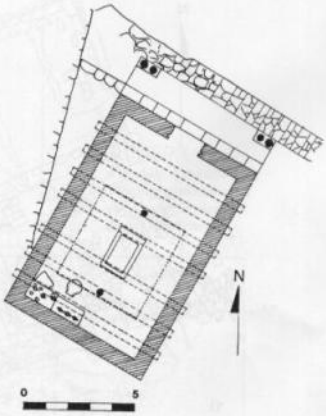


Fig. 455. Dreros. Restored plan of temple of Apollo by S. Marinatos. Scale 1:200.

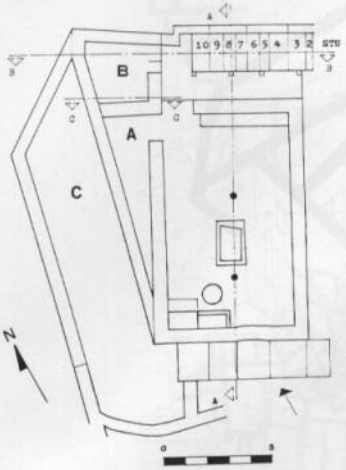


Fig. 456. Dreros. Restored plan of temple of Apollo by I. Beyer. Scale 1:200.

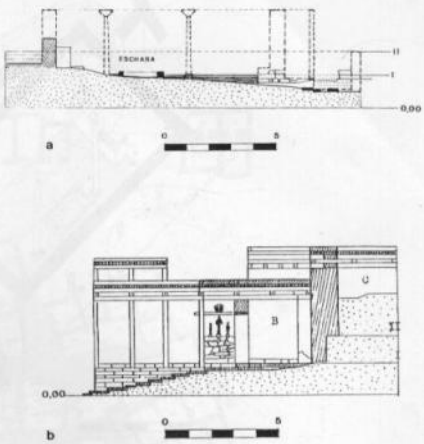


Fig. 457a-b. Dreros. Temple of Apollo.
a: cross-section AA.
b: cross-section and elevation BB, (I. Beyer).

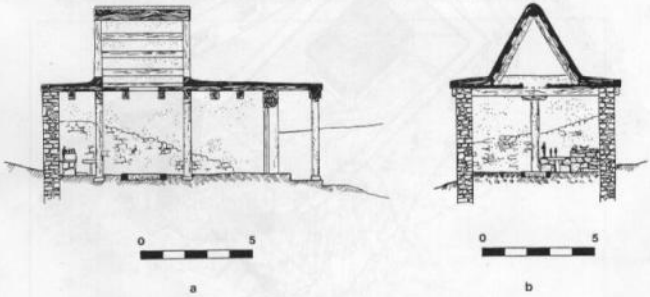


Fig. 458a-b. Dreros. Sections of the temple of Apollo by S. Marinatos.
a: NE-SW. b: NW-SE.

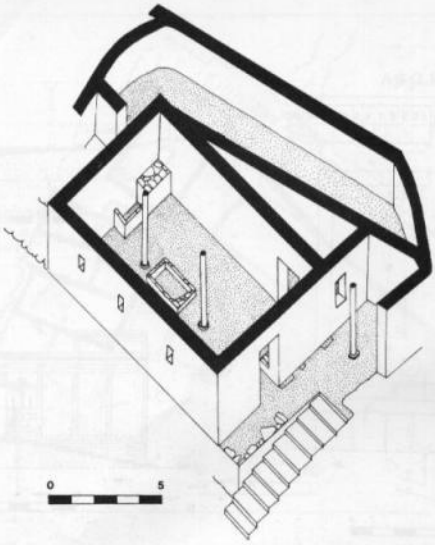


Fig. 459. Dreros. Isometric restoration (cut-away) of temple of Apollo. Scale 1:200.

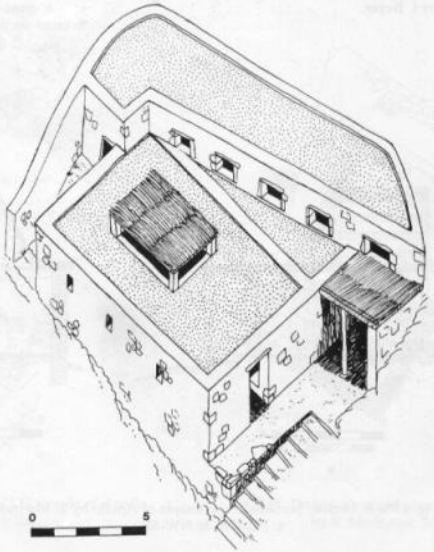


Fig. 460. Dreros. Isometric reconstruction of temple of Apollo. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 461. Karphi. Plan of the settlement (LM IIIC-SMin and perhaps early PG).

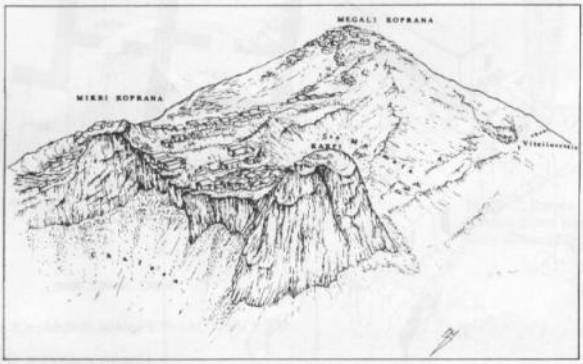


Fig. 462. Karphi. Imaginative restoration of the settlement by K. Nowicki

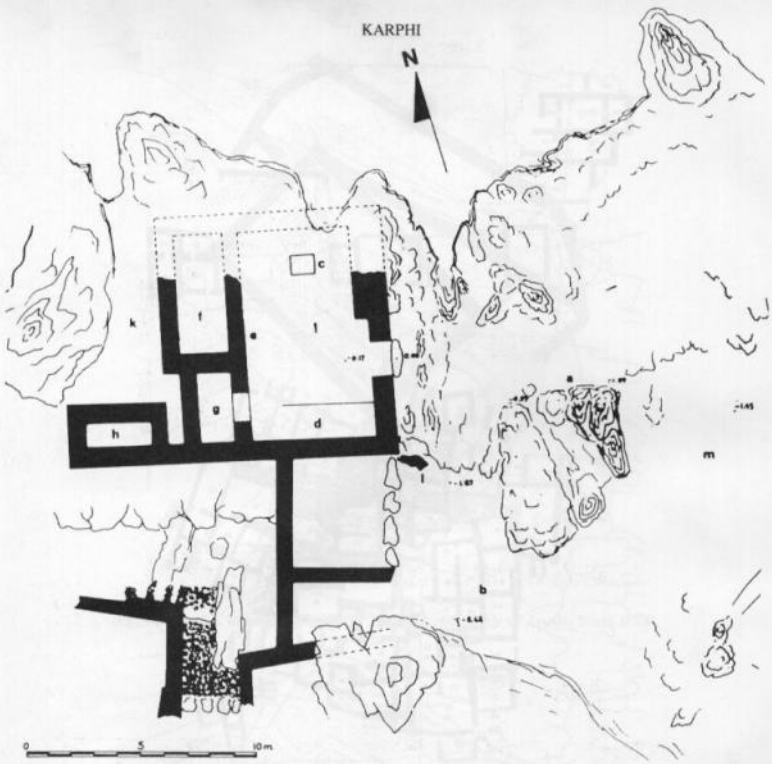


Fig. 463. Karphi. Plan of the Temple. Scale 1:200.

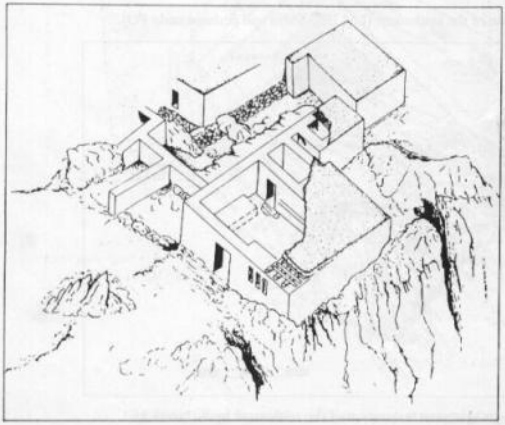


Fig. 464. Karphi.

Graphic restoration of the temple according to B. Rutkowski.

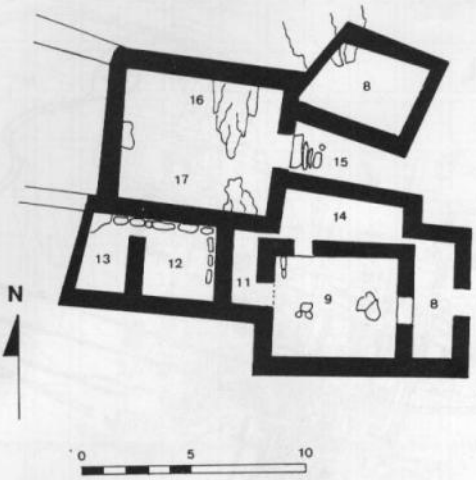


Fig. 465. Karphi. Plan of Unit 8-9/11-17 ("Great House"). Scale 1:200.

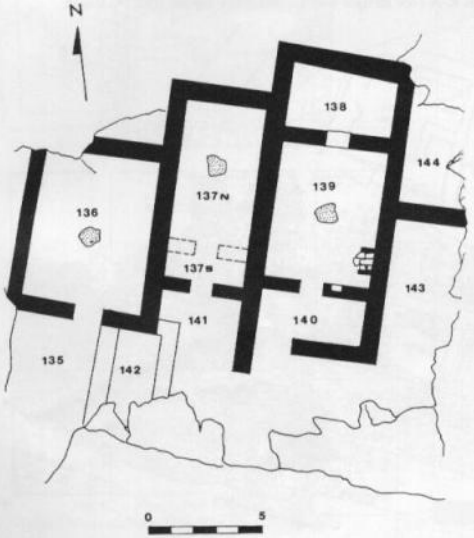


Fig. 466. Karphi. Plan of Unit 135-144. Scale 1:200.

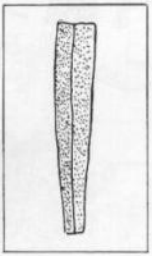


Fig. 467. Karphi. Bronze tripod fragment from Room 137.

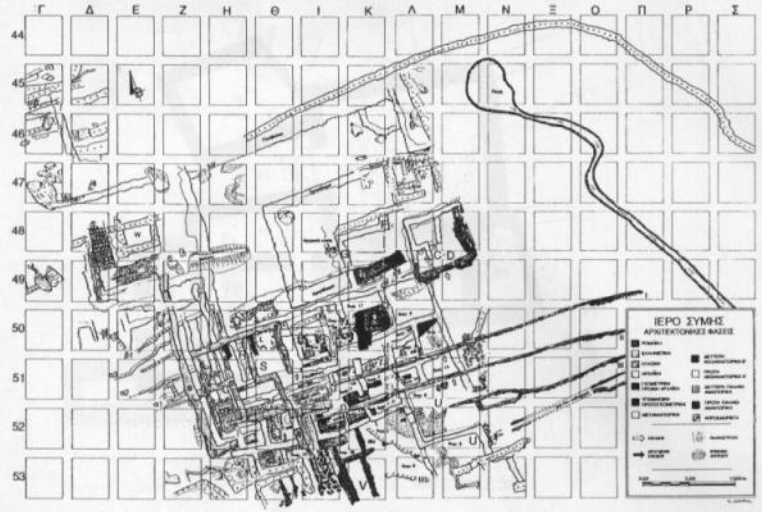


Fig. 468. Kato Syme. Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite. Plan of architectural remains (MM II–3rd c. A.D.). Squares Θ-I / 50-51: West Room (LM IIIC). Squares H-Θ / 50: tripartite building? (late LM IIIC–PG). Square K 50: PG and LG altars. Squares K-Λ / 49: straight wall (*c.* 700 B.C.). Square I/52: PG hearth.

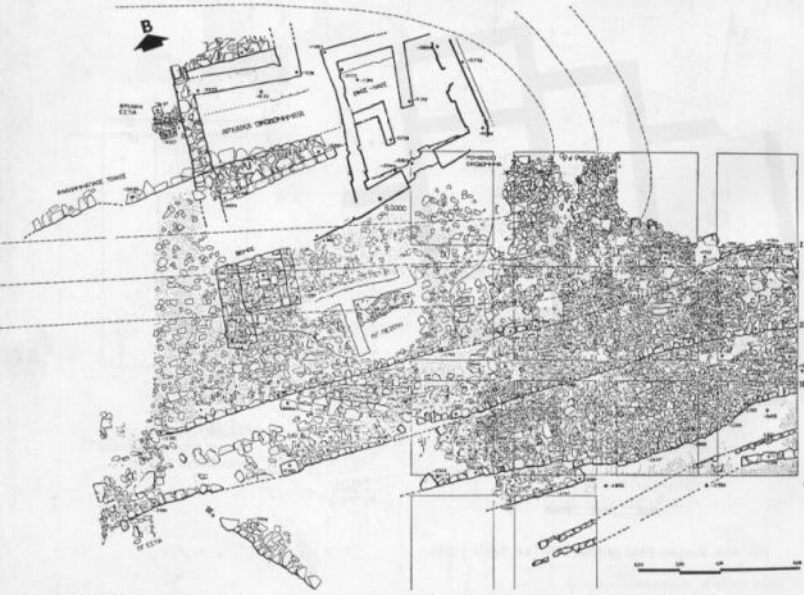


Fig. 469. Kato Syme. Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite. Remains of the Geometric and Archaic periods.

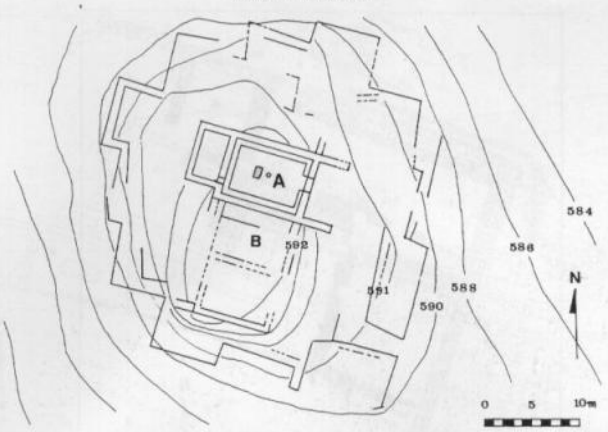


Fig. 470. Smari. Plan of architectural remains on the summit of the hill of Prophetes Elias (MM II and EIA).

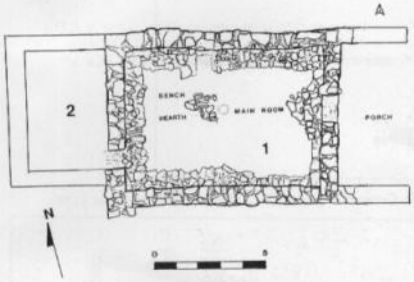


Fig. 471. Smari. Plan of Building A (SMin?-EO). Scale 1:200.

Fig. 472. Smari. Building B.
Animal bones near the N wall of the main room.

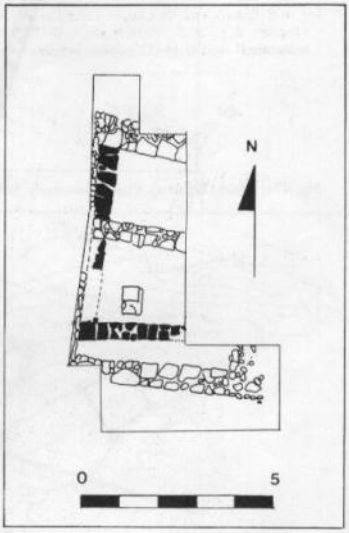


Fig. 473. Knossos.
Shrine of Glaukos. Scale 1:200.

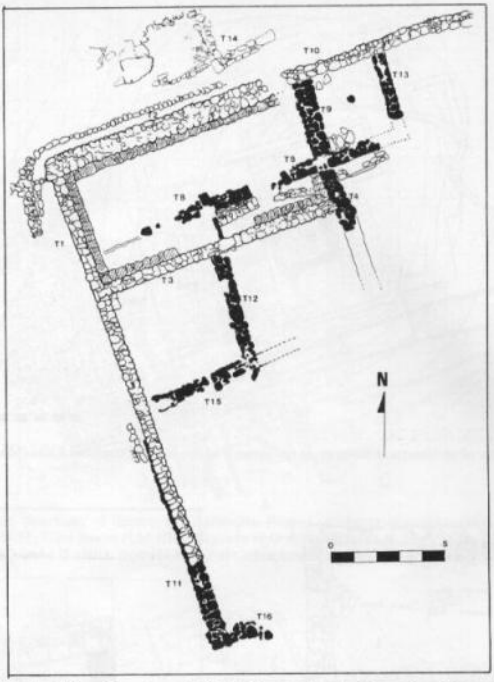


Fig. 474. Afrati (Arkades). Plan of sanctuary. In black: Geometric period. In outline: EA period. Scale 1:200.

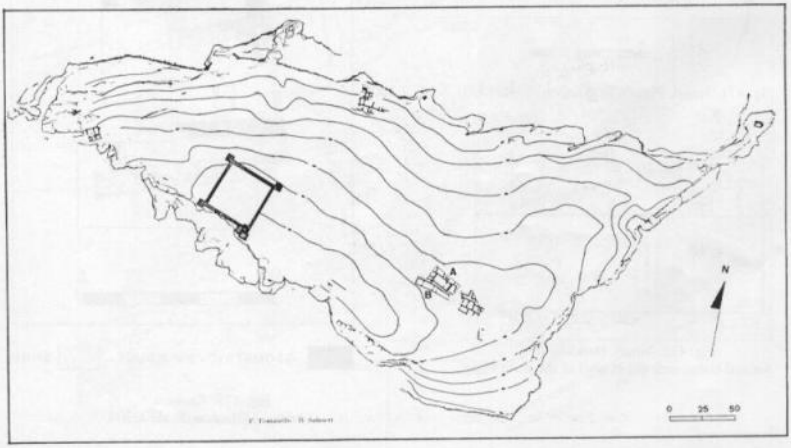


Fig. 475. Prinias. Topographical plan. A: Temple A. B: "Temple" B.

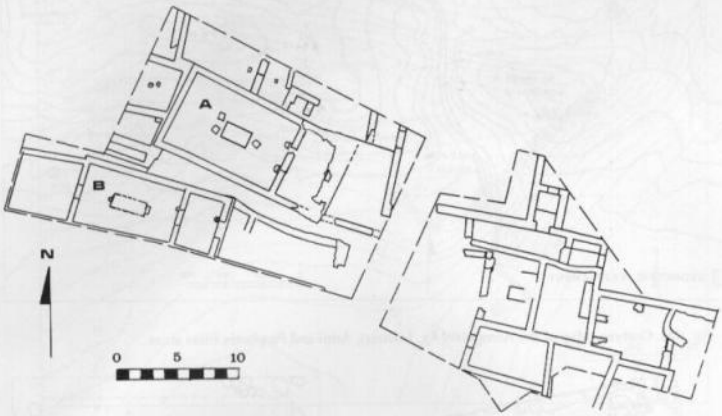


Fig. 476. Prinias. Plan of EIA architectural remains. W trench: old excavations; E trench: new excavations.

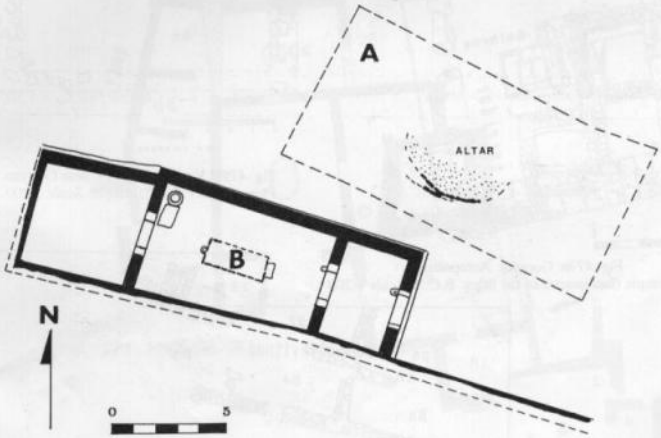


Fig. 477. Prinias. Plan of so-called Temple B and sacrificial area beneath Temple A. Scale 1:200.

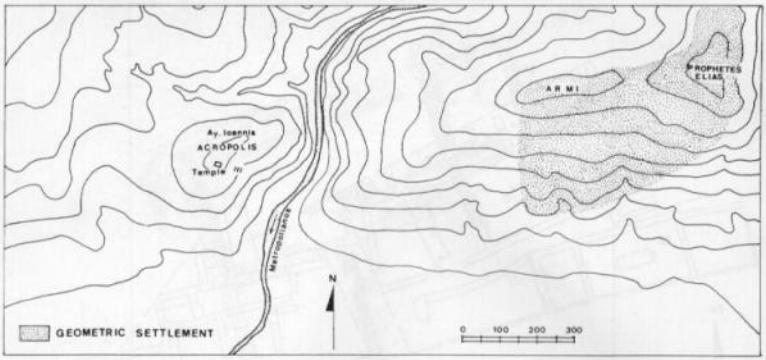


Fig. 478. Gortyna. Map of the Acropolis (Ay. Ioannis), Armi and Prophetes Elias areas.

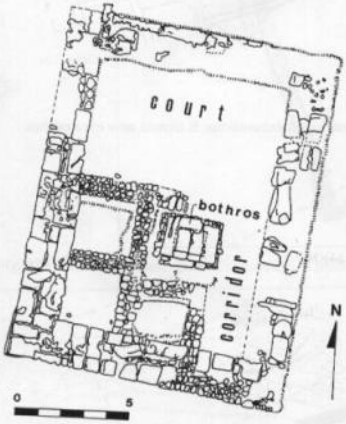


Fig. 479a. Gortyna. Acropolis.
Plan of temple (last quarter of the 8th c. B.C.?). Scale 1:200

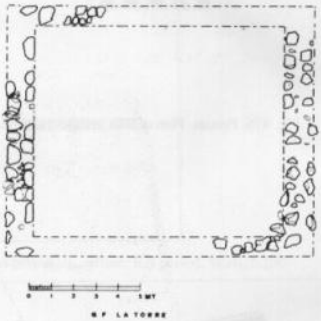


Fig. 479b. Vourvoulitis hill, near Gortyna.
Plan of EIA (7th c.?) temple. Scale 1:200.

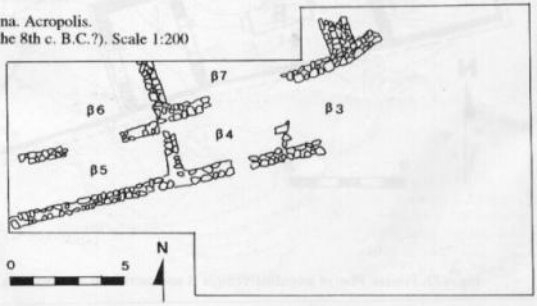


Fig. 480. Gortyna. Prophetes Elias. Plan of houses of the Geometric period. Scale 1:200.

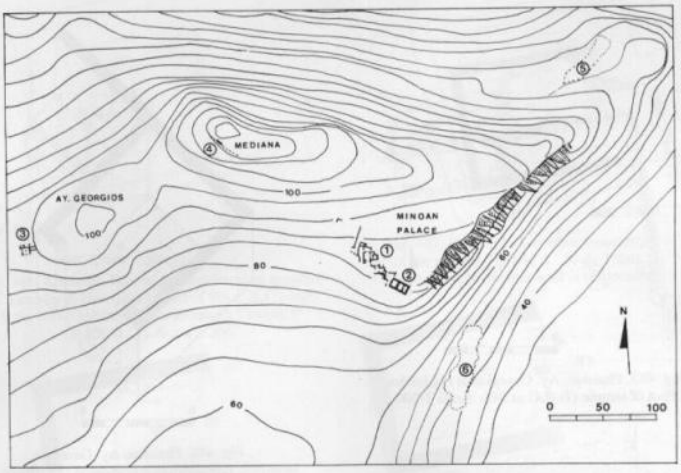


Fig. 481. Phaistos. Map. 1: Unit AA and dependencies. 2: "Greek Temple". 3: Temple at Ay. Georgios. 4: SMin-PG fortification wall. 5: Ay. Photeini. 6: Chalara.

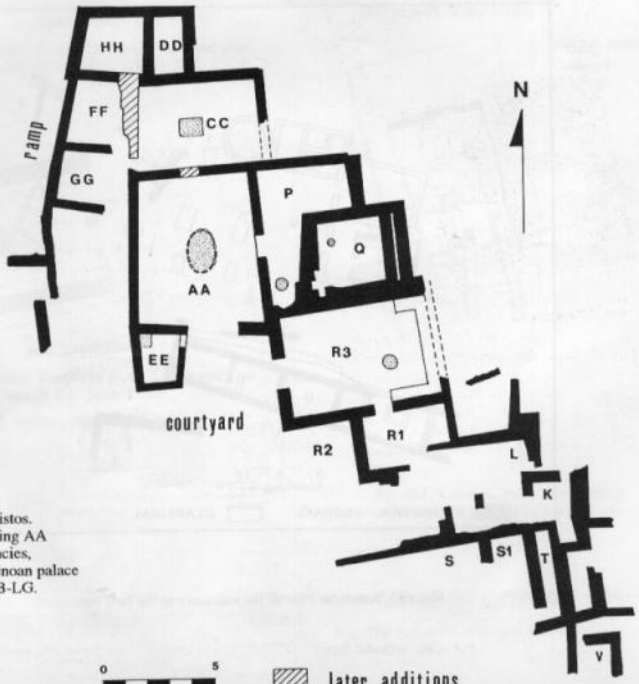


Fig. 482. Phaistos. Plan of Building AA and dependencies, SW of the Minoan palace (area 1). PG B-LG. Scale 1:200.

Fig. 483. Phaistos. Ay. Georgios at Phalandra. Plan of temple (?) (LG or SG). Scale 1:200.

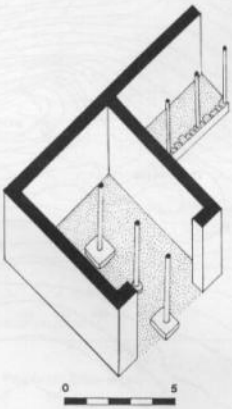


Fig. 484. Phaistos. Ay. Georgios. Isometric reconstruction (cut-away) of temple (?).

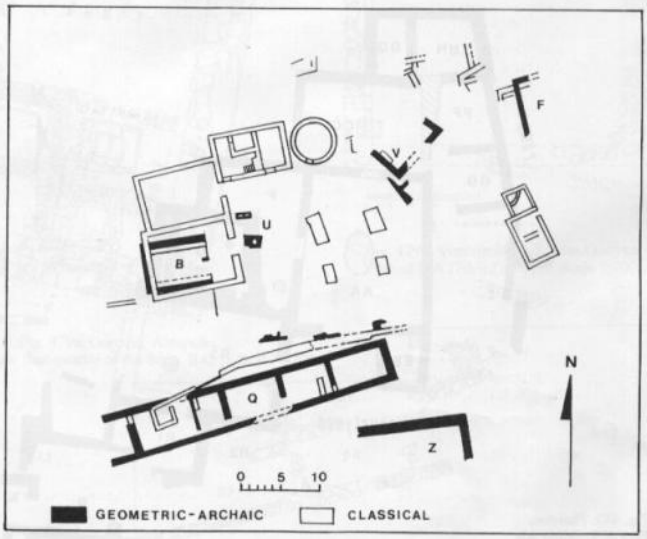


Fig. 485. Kommos. Plan of the sanctuary in the Iron Age.

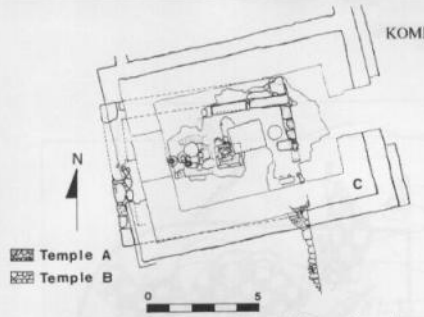


Fig. 486. Kommos. Plan of the architectural remains of Temples A (late 10th c.-end of 9th c. B.C.) and B (c. 800-620/600 B.C.) underneath Temple C (c. 350 B.C.). Scale 1:200.

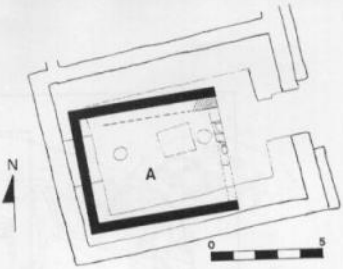


Fig. 487. Kommos. Tentative restoration of the plan of Temple A. Scale 1:200. (The location of the rear wall is conjectural).

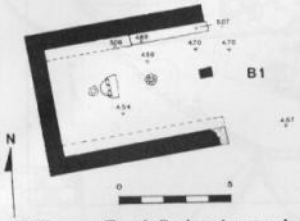


Fig. 488. Kommos. Temple B, phase 1: restored plan (c. 800-late 8th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

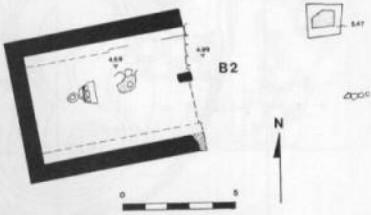


Fig. 489. Kommos. Temple B, phase 2: restored plan (EO period). Scale 1:200.

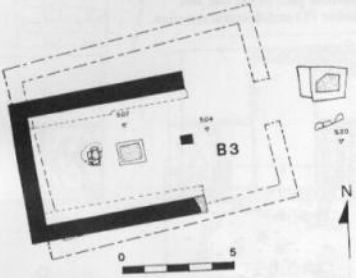


Fig. 490. Kommos. Temple B, phase 3. Restored plan (7th c. B.C.). Scale 1:200.

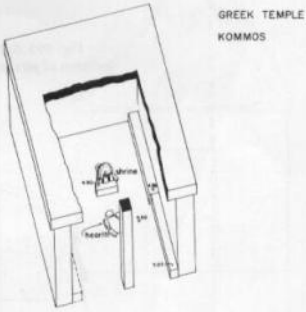


Fig. 491. Kommos. Isometric drawing of Temple B, phase 2 by J. Shaw and G. Bianco.

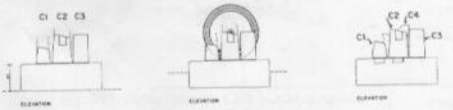


Fig. 492. Kommos. Restored drawing of "tripillar shrine".

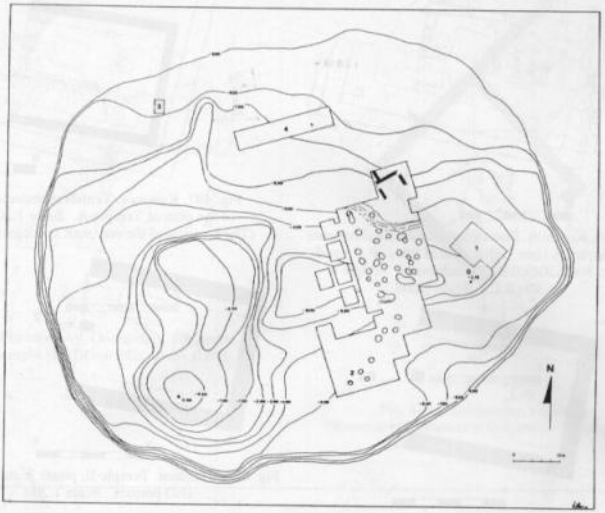


Fig. 493. Sybrita. Topographical plan of the site and location of pits and LM IIIC and/or PG architectural remains.

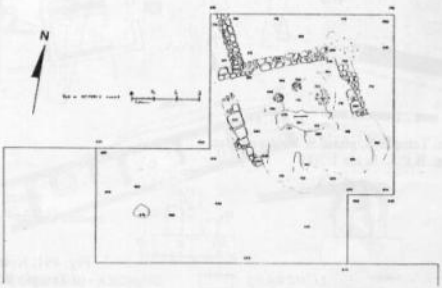


Fig. 494. Sybrita. Plan of the LM IIIC and/or PG architectural remains. Scale 1:200.

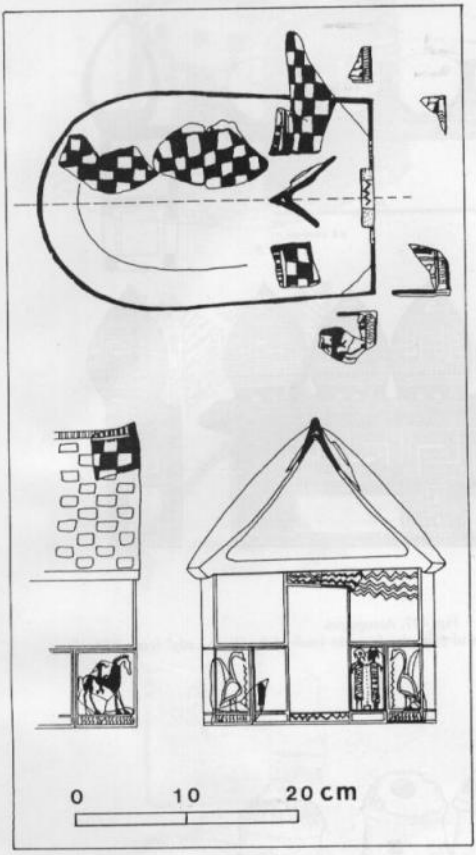


Fig. 495. Aetos (Ithaca). Clay model of apsidal building according to I. Beyer (c. 700 B.C.).

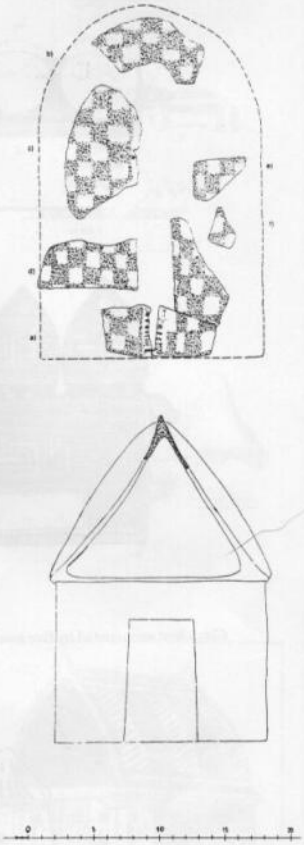


Fig. 496. Aetos (Ithaca). Restoration of clay model of apsidal building by T. Schattner.

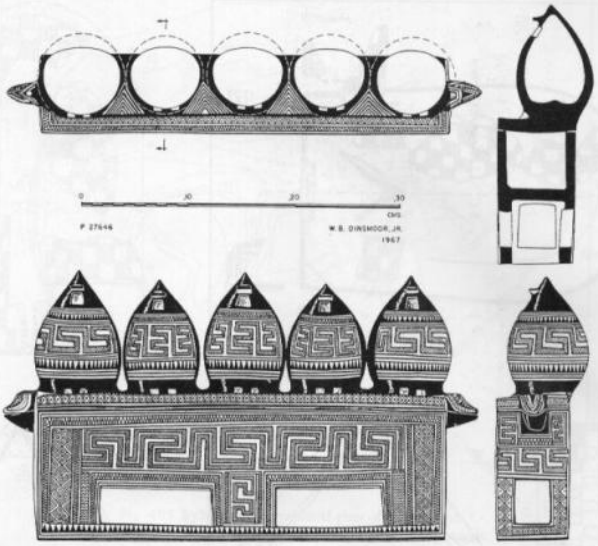


Fig. 497. Areopagus.
Clay chest surmounted by five models of granaries from the tomb of the "Rich Lady" (end of EG II).

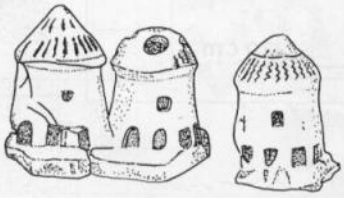
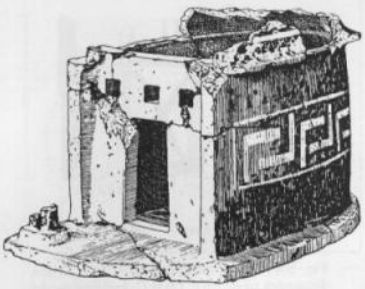
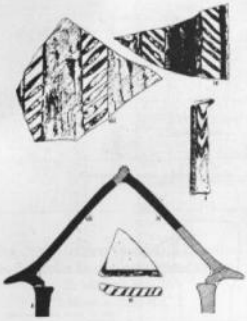


Fig. 498. Ano Mazaraki (Rakita). Terracotta building model of three granaries (LG).

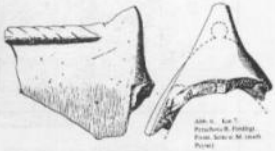


a

b

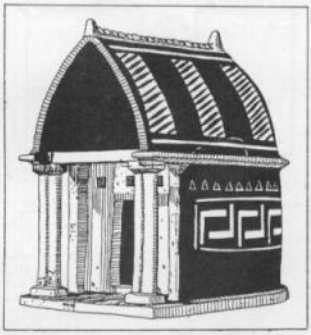


c



d

e



f

Fig. 499a-f. Perachora. Votive deposit S of apsidal temple of Hera Akraia.

Clay models of apsidal buildings (third quarter of 8th c. B.C.?). a: Model A (pr. base: 35,6 x 20,8cm). b-c: fragments of Model D. d-e: roof fragments of Model B. f: restoration based on the above fragments.

Fig. 500. Argive Heraion. Clay model of rectangular building with prostyle porch (c. 700-650 B.C.).

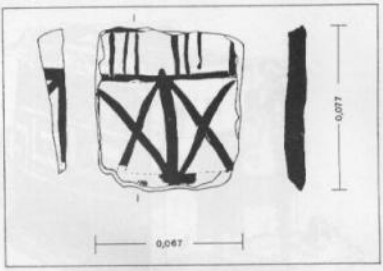


Fig. 501. Sparta. Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Fragment from 7th c. (?) B.C. building model (R.W.V. Catling).

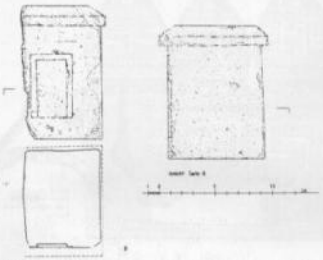


Fig. 502. Heraion (Samos). Rectangular model of poros stone, Schattner, no. 27 (second half of the 8th c.).

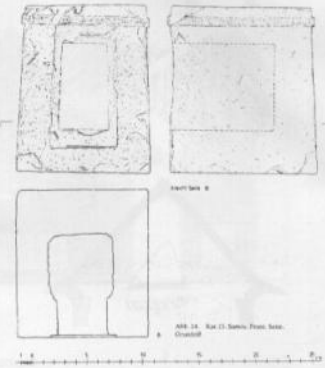


Fig. 503. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of rectangular building, Schattner, no. 13 (8th c. B.C.).

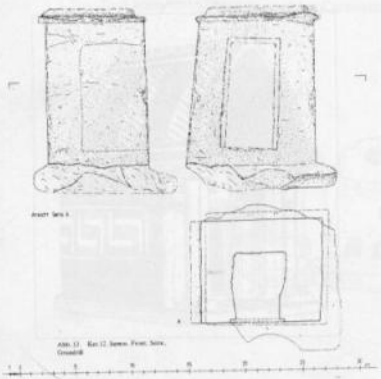


Fig. 504. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of rectangular building, Schattner, no. 12 (8th c. B.C.).

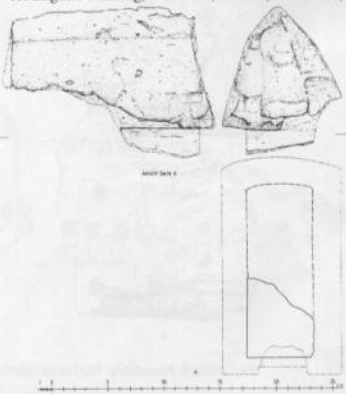


Fig. 505. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of rectangular building, Schattner, no. 18 (early 8th c. B.C.?).

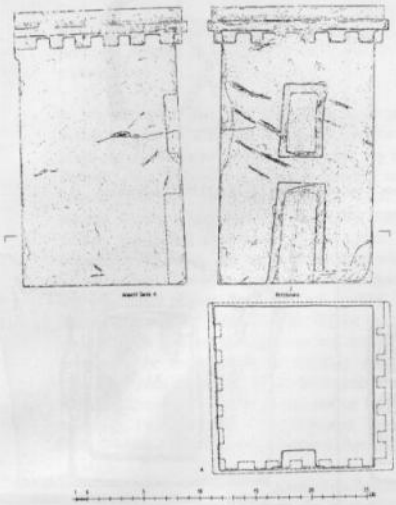


Fig. 506. Heraion (Samos). Limestone rectangular model with upper storey, Schattner, no. 26 (before *c.* 550 B.C.).

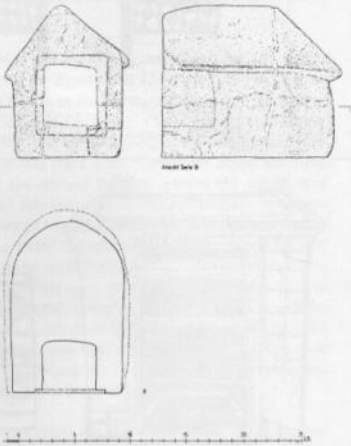


Fig. 507. Heraion (Samos). Clay model of apsidal building, Schattner, no. 37 (last quarter of the 8th c. B.C.).

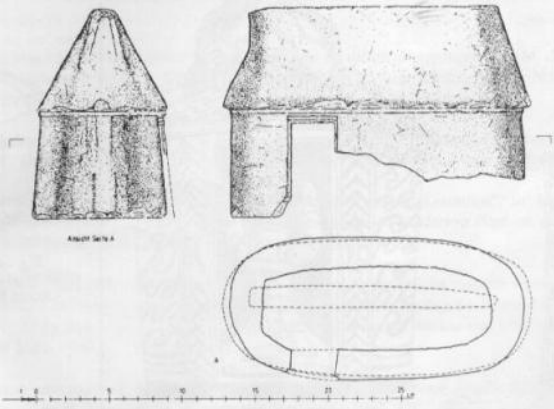


Fig. 508. Heraion (Samos). Limestone model of oval building, Schattner, no. 38 (*c.* 650-550 B.C.).

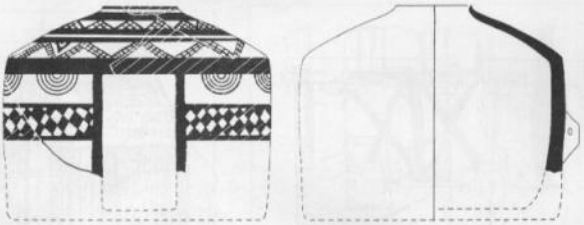


Fig. 509. Knossos. Unexplored Mansion. Round clay model GB 1 (LPG) (J.N. Coldstream).

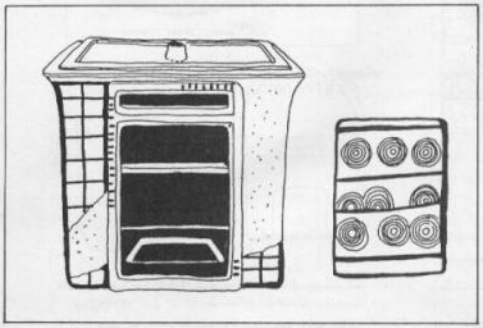


Fig. 510. Knossos. Chaniale Teke. Clay model from a tomb (PG B)

Fig. 511. Knossos. Round clay model from Spring Chamber (LM IIIC-SMin) (R. Merserau).

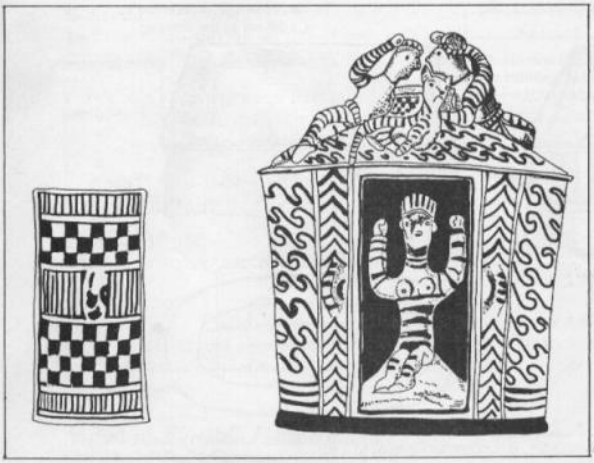


Fig. 512. Archanes. Clay building model, from a tomb (PG B).

Fig. 513. Phaistos. Cylindrical clay model from Room R3 (MG-LG).